

A Comparative, Iconographic Study of Early-Modern, Religious
Emblems

Julie E. Barr

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Glasgow

French Section

May 2008

Acknowledgments

There are a number of people without whom this would not have been possible. I am deeply grateful to my supervisors, Professor Alison Adams and Dr. Laurence Grove for all their help and advice, as well as to the staff of the French Section at Glasgow University. I would like also to extend my thanks to David Weston, Keeper of the Special Collections at the University of Glasgow for kindly allowing me to reproduce the images included in this volume. My thanks must go also to my fellow postgraduate students, in particular Fiona Barclay, Sally Clark, and Lucy Whiteley for their collegiate spirit. Above all else I must thank my parents, John and Shirley, my sister, Marianne and last, but not least, Marcus for their continued and unwavering support and patience.

Abstract

Although scholarly interest in the field of emblematics has increased greatly over the last decade, there is still much to be done, particularly in the area of religious emblems. The emblem form has been considered from the perspective of individual author, geographical factors and theological background but there have been few comparative studies with respect to religious emblems. This study will compare Protestant and Catholic emblems produced during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, drawing on specific examples from, in particular, France, but also Germany and England.

Emblems played a huge role in early-modern life. They expressed contemporary thought and also became part of the physical environment, being etched into stone, or wood, or sewn into cloth as decoration. In a period of such political, civil, and religious unrest, it would, therefore, seem likely that the Catholic and Protestant emblem would be quite distinct types either expressing theologically opposed notions, or manipulating the text/image relationship in quite different ways. Understanding how these emblems functioned, therefore, necessitates close reading, indeed, reading in the way the emblems were intended to be read. This study, therefore, will address the question of differences through detailed analysis of specific examples.

This study begins with an introduction which gives a brief history of emblem literature and a review of relevant secondary material. Key terms and definitions regarding emblems are also explained here. This chapter also introduces the authors of the emblems analysed in later chapters.

The first part of this thesis examines the emblem form in the wider context of the Reformation. From an initial overview of some of the key issues of the Reformation in chapter one, chapters two and three move on to analyse closely a wide corpus of Catholic and Protestant emblems. In these chapters the emblem is broken down into its component parts of verse and picture. Chapter two examines the religious emblem from the perspective of motif while chapter three approaches the emblem from a thematic angle.

The second part of this study adopts a different approach presenting case studies of three authors. Chapter four explores the importance of the visual element in the emblems of Protestant author Rollenhagen. Chapter five investigates the Jesuit influences which shape the emblems of Catholic Berthod. While chapters four and five offer an insight into the work of prototypical Protestant and Catholic authors chapter six demonstrates the successful fusion of both Protestant and Catholic influences in the emblems of Wither.

Indeed, this study suggests that the differences between Protestant and Catholic at this time are largely exaggerated with respect to emblems. Protestant and Catholic emblems are not, this study maintains, in essence all that different. It argues that, in fact, Protestant and Catholic emblems were often very close in terms of content and that the real difference is in the way they manipulate the text/image relationship.

Contents

	Page Ref.
Acknowledgments	2
Abstract	3
Contents	4
Introduction	5
Part 1: The Religious Emblem and its Context	
Foreword	27
Chapter 1: The Religious Emblem in Context	30
Afterword	66
Foreword	69
Chapter 2: ‘I am the light of the world’: An Examination of Motifs of Light	71
Chapter 3: ‘Time waits for no man’: An Examination of the Theme of Time	111
Afterword	154
Part 2: Case Studies of Specific authors	
Foreword	157
Chapter 4: Rollenhagen: A Visual Puzzle	159
Chapter 5: Berthod: A Franciscan Following a Jesuit Model	194
Chapter 6: Wither: A European, Fusional Approach to Emblems	229
Afterword	256
Conclusions	260
Bibliography	271
Appendix 1	289

Introduction

The early-modern period was a time of great change. In particular it was also a time of great technological and scientific advancement. The advent of the printing press, for example, was radically to change the face of European culture. The Renaissance also saw the advancement of the arts and the emergence of new forms of art and literature. Emblem books were just one of these new forms which sprang up. This may have been a period of immense development but it was also an age of great political and religious upheaval with the Reformation causing an irreconcilable rift in the Church. That the events of the Reformation forever changed the course of modern Christianity is undeniable. It marked a dramatic and permanent divide between Protestant and Catholic cultures in terms of education and worship for centuries to come. Elizabeth Eisenstein stresses the immediate impact of this divide and, arguing that the Reformation had further reaching implications than simply theological ones, points to a rift in Protestant and Catholic thinking on all levels:

Sixteenth century heresy and schism shattered Christendom so completely that even after religious warfare had ended, ecumenical movements led by men of good will could not put all the pieces together again. Not only were there too many splinter groups, separatists, and independent sects who regarded a central church government as incompatible with true faith; but the main lines of cleavage had been extended across continents and carried overseas with Bibles and breviaries. Within a few generations, the gap between Protestant and Catholic had widened sufficiently to give rise to contrasting literary cultures and lifestyles.¹

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 155.

If the ramifications of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation had indeed given rise to independent literary styles, then we would expect this to be reflected in emblematic literature, which by its very nature was a reflection of contemporary culture. Elisabeth Labrousse, however, disagrees. She argues that hostility between Protestants and Catholics has been exaggerated and warns against overstating the differences between Protestants and Catholics, arguing that this conceals what they shared, especially at the level of the community where they had a number of common interests'.² Labrousse does not deny the differences between Protestants and Catholics, rather she argues that aside from the irreconcilable theological issues, on a social level, if there were differences at all, they were differences of degree. That there is much work still to be done in this area is highlighted by Christopher Hill, who writes, 'There is certainly room for further thought and enquiry about a literary form which could appeal alike to Jesuits and to fiercely anti-Catholic Protestants'.³ This study aims to examine French Protestant and Catholic emblematic literature in light of these conflicting opinions.

Emblem books are unique in that they are conventionally understood to be the first pan-European text-image form. Unlike the illuminations of the earlier manuscript tradition, the symbolic imagery of the emblem is, more often than not, central in unravelling the meaning. The *picturae*, in other words, are not simply illustrative: not only do they complement the text, but they carry their own set of codified meanings which need to be 'read' in conjunction with the text in order to gain a full insight into

² Elisabeth Labrousse, 'Une Foi, une loi, un Roi?': *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, c. 1985), p. 70.

³ Christopher Hill, 'Francis Quarles and Edward Benlowes', in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, (Brighton: Harvester, 1985), II, pp. 188-206 (p. 196).

the message of the emblem.⁴ Anne-Elisabeth Spica, for example, defines symbolic in an emblematic context in the following way, ‘la symbolique donc désigne la codification des rapports d’analogie entre l’objet et l’idée’.⁵ Defining an emblem, however, remains difficult: for Daniel Russell, the emblem is neither one thing or the other but the ‘bridge between allegory, the dominant symbolic and rhetorical form of late medieval culture, and the type of metaphor that begins to take shape with European romanticism’.⁶

But what is it that sets emblems apart from other early-modern allegorical forms such as the *impresa*? As a general rule (although there are many exceptions), emblems can be described as having a tripartite format comprising a title or motto (*inscriptio*), an image (*pictura*), and a verse (*subscriptio*), usually printed in that order.⁷ The meaning of an emblem is gleaned from the combination of these elements: the text and image must be considered together for the full moral lesson to become apparent. What the interaction between text and image necessitates is a special kind of ‘emblematic reading’. The eye of the reader does not scan from left to right, from top to bottom as

⁴ For more on the relationship between text and image in emblems see: Alison Saunders, ‘Picta Poesis: The Relationship between Figure and Text in the Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book’, *BHR*, 48.3 (1986), 621-52. See also: David Graham, “‘Voiez icy en ceste histoire...’: Cross-Reference, Self-Reference and Frame-Breaking in Some French Emblems”, *Emblematica*, 7.1 (1993), 1-24.

⁵ Anne-Elisabeth Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique (1580 – 1700)* (Paris: Champion, 1996), p. 40.

⁶ Daniel Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 10.

⁷ Emblems are by their very nature difficult to define. For a discussion of the French emblematic form with reference to specific French authors see: Alison Saunders, ‘The Long and the Short of it: Structure and Form in the Early French Emblem Book’, in *The European Emblem: Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11-14 August 1987*, ed. by Bernhard F. Scholz, Michael Bath and David Weston (Brill: Leiden, 1990), pp. 55-83. See also: Saunders, ‘Picta-Poesis’, 621-52, for a discussion of the role of the image in early French secular emblems. For a broad definition in a European context, see: Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2 vols (London: Warburg Institute, 1939-47). Michael Bath examines the phenomenon of the English emblem in *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*, (London: Longman, 1994). Laurence Grove and Daniel Russell’s *The French Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Geneva: Droz, 2000) is an invaluable research tool. They give a comprehensive list of secondary emblematic sources and divide this into subsections including one dedicated to the emblematic form (pp. 39-48). See also: Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique (1580 – 1700)*.

it would for a conventional text. Instead the eye darts back and forth piecing together information, doubles back to check or reinforce a point and lingers over the image, which is read in anything but a linear fashion. Likewise, one does not read a collection of emblems as one would read a novel. The somewhat erratic arrangement, especially of some of the earlier collections of emblems, allows the reader to dip in at will, to return time after time to old favourites, whilst ignoring others, devising his or her own personal reading plan. Other collections are more carefully arranged, and while they may not always enforce a sequential reading upon the reader, the grouping of emblems reveals some consideration. Thus there might be some progression from the beginning of the book to the end, some cyclical movement, or emblems may be grouped loosely by theme. The way in which emblems are read both individually and within the context of the emblem book as a whole can therefore have an impact on their meaning. The reader is required to take an active role in reading, piecing together information from the text and image, bringing his or her own bank of knowledge to complete the whole. It is this which sets the emblem apart from other forms of allegorical literature: the author offers a recipe to the reader that only comes to life upon the interaction of the reader with the text and image and is therefore necessarily coloured by the reader's own cultural reference-system. In this way, the emblem retains a certain flexibility. Whether the subject of an emblem be a commonplace or a more specialised topic the interpretation will always vary to some extent depending on the knowledge and understanding the reader brings to it.

With respect to subject matter, emblems reflected contemporary moral and intellectual thinking.⁸ Although the didactic nature of an emblem can vary tremendously from one author to another, we find in emblems a moral guidebook, often intended to educate the reader and criticise behaviour considered to be unacceptable on a moral, social, or religious level. And so we find emblems commenting on the pain (or otherwise) of profane love, promoting the moral code of the day (extolling, for example, traditional virtues, such as chastity and prudence) and dealing out practical social advice (such as being wary of flatterers). Furthermore, the reader is not simply passive in this process but is forced to think as often emblems (even within one book) can be contradictory. More often than not these works are miscellaneous collections, a jumble of emblems on assorted topics offering a kaleidoscopic spectrum of advice on contemporary culture, but there exist also several examples of themed books, such as Otto Van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* (1608),⁹ for example, which takes the theme of secular love as a central premise and features Cupid in each of the plates.

While common moral conventions often formed the basis of emblems, authors also drew their content from elsewhere. Other sources of inspiration for subject matter included nature, common folklore and classical mythology. In line with the humanist train of thought which advocated returning to original texts rather than trusting to later 'flawed' translations and interpretations, emblems often drew on classical sources, although, as Henri-Jean Martin points out, this practice became less common in Catholic works than in Protestant ones:

⁸ For a systematic listing of most major sixteenth and seventeenth-century European emblem books by both theme and motif see: Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts*. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1967).

⁹ Otto Van Veen, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp: Verdussen 1608).

In the last thirty years of the 16th century change was apparent. The Church urged its scholars to concentrate more on the literature of the early Church and less attention was paid to the classics, except by Protestants or sceptics.¹⁰

We find emblems influenced by subjects from Ovid, Seneca, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Aesop to name but a few. Authors did not necessarily draw directly on these sources: many of the teachings of these ancient scholars had, thanks to the humanists' interest in antiquity, become commonplaces.¹¹ While some authors or publishers signalled their sources through the inclusion of marginalia (references alongside the verse in the margin), this was by no means standard practice. Thus, for a modern reader it is very often far from immediately obvious to what emblems may owe their content. The sources of emblems would often have been well-known and easily recognised at the time but the same is not true for the modern day reader and this distances us, rendering the emblem all the more obscure.

It was possible to experiment to a certain extent with various combinations of theme and image: modifying the format was another way in which authors or printers could put their own personal stamp on an emblem. While text and image are usually both present, they are, for example, by no means always equally weighted. The chosen organisational structure of an emblem is crucial in highlighting or undermining the importance of the various components. Placing one element before another or, indeed, physically separating parts by moving beyond a single page can change the focus of an emblem as Barbara M. Benedict underlines when she writes, 'all books

¹⁰ Henri-Jean Martin, *Print Power and People in 17th Century France*, trans. by David Gerard (London: Scarecrow Press, 1993), p. 14. For a history of the beginnings of Humanism in Italy and France see: *La Littérature française: Du Moyen Age à l'âge baroque*, ed. by Henri Lemaître, Thérèse Van der Elst, and Roger Pagoisse, 5 vols (Paris: Bordas and Laffont, 1970-72), I (1970), pp. 309-310. For a discussion of humanist thought and a discussion of compatibility with Protestant thought see the same volume, pp. 314-318.

¹¹ For a detailed look at these commonplaces see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

demonstrate their “meaning” by their format – the details of their presentation – as well as by their contents'.¹² And so we find emblems with varying lengths of verses, reshuffled page layouts, or comprising added elements, like prose commentaries. While the first verse is usually relatively short, the secondary sections tend to be longer and can be either prose or verse. These may have been included for clarity: they sometimes provide additional information and, perhaps written by the original author or a later editor, they may also include classical sources or other sources of authority. While some modern-day emblem scholars may consider these sections to be additional to the tripartite model as set out by Andreas Alciato this was not initially the case and certainly became more commonplace throughout the seventeenth century. In France, for example, we find an early example of this practice of including a further section in French as early as 1540 in Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie*. It is to this very fluidity, the constant evolution and reworking of the developing literary genres in the early-modern period that Benedict is referring when she notes:

In these early books, this format [anthologies] combines visual signs from traditional and new literary culture. By their distinctive practice of separating previously published literature into small chunks of reading matter and arranging these according to the principles of the new text or context, each of these literary genres characterises literature as composed of quantifiable, malleable, even mechanical units. These units, furthermore, are represented as responsive to new or personal recombinations and reinterpretations. While commodifying literature into usable and reusable elements, this format allows both the traditional, intensive study of a few texts, and the new, comparative survey of many that a burgeoning literary market would increasingly promote.¹³

Similarly, due to cost, amongst other reasons, woodcuts, and, later, engravings were often reused. Sometimes plates were simply copied, or were redone on a similar design or altered in some way. This did not mean, however, that the emblem tradition

¹² Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 34. See also: Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book: A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Geneva: Droz, 1988).

¹³ Benedict, pp. 34-35.

became stagnant. Re-workings of emblems became common across Europe as authors reinterpreted an image or manipulated iconographic motifs to complement a particular theme.¹⁴ Acknowledging that both text and image were often independently pillaged in the name of some newer literary creation ‘with little regard for original usage’ Laurence Grove underlines the importance of context. The individual components matter little, he argues; rather it is the *product* of these that is of interest:

Such an adaptation to context was very much in keeping with the workings of the emblematic process of creation. By its very definition an emblem is the bringing together of disparate parts in the knowledge that the process of amalgamation will create a finished product that surpasses the sum of the individual elements.¹⁵

Roger Chartier notes a similar phenomenon in his study of the images used in the ‘images volantes’ in Paris between 1530 and 1660:

This double use of the print – as a flysheet and as a plate in a book – is, moreover, only one instance of the multiple reuse of such engravings, and confraternity materials give many examples of this. The same picture could be printed with different titles and texts for different confraternities, when a new text was not simply glued onto leftover stock.¹⁶

Although Chartier, Benedict and Grove write about different types of literature in which text and image interact we see that there are nevertheless parallels between the evolution of these ‘images volantes’, anthologies and emblems. A study of

¹⁴ John Manning discusses this phenomenon with respect to the English emblem tradition in his study of Whitney’s continental sources: John Manning, ‘Geffrey Whitney’s Unpublished Emblems: Further Evidence of Indebtedness to Continental Traditions’, in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS, 1998), pp. 83-107. See also the following bibliographies of primary emblematic sources:

Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles, and Alison Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Geneva: Droz, 2002); Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*. See also: Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964).

¹⁵ Laurence Grove, ‘Tristan l’Hermite, Emblematics and Early-Modern Reading Practices in the Light of Glasgow University Library SMAAdd.392’, in *Emblems and the Manuscript Tradition: Including an Edition and Studies of a Newly Discovered Manuscript of Poetry by Tristan l’Hermite*, ed. by Laurence Grove (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1997), pp. 159-175 (p. 173). For more discussion on this see also: Laurence Grove, *Emblematics and Seventeenth-Century French Literature: Descartes, Tristan, La Fontaine and Perrault* (Charlottesville: Rockwood Press, 2000).

¹⁶ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early-Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 161.

emblematic literature, therefore, does not simply permit an understanding of the relationship between text and image during the early-modern period or allow an insight into contemporary culture but also benefits our understanding of early-modern literature in the wider sense. In this way emblem books may be seen as a microcosm of their environment as Spica underlines, quoting Ovid, ‘Le monde est livre comme le livre est un monde’.¹⁷ It is perfectly logical, she writes, that ‘de même que l’homme est le microcosme du monde divin, de même l’image symbolique, et le recueil emblématique davantage, forme le microcosme organisateur de ce monde’.¹⁸

If emblems are, as Spica suggests, a microcosm of their environment, a reflection of the world around them, then they were no less instrumental in shaping their physical environment and were far from being limited to the pages of books. Emblems were ubiquitous in both religious and profane life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and formed part of decorations in the home, in churches, in embroideries, carvings, tapestries, clothes and personal seals. As Alison Saunders has shown with respect to Jesuit school ceremonies (a topic I will examine in more detail in the next chapter), they influenced the performative arts as well.¹⁹

The reuse of images also raises the question of collaboration. While we refer to the writer of verses as the emblem author, the engraver and publisher were equally vital cogs in the creative wheel. Very often it is impossible to determine the extent to

¹⁷ Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique (1580 – 1700)*, p. 70.

¹⁸ Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique (1580 – 1700)*, p. 170.

¹⁹ Alison Saunders, ‘Make the Pupils do it Themselves: Emblems, Plays and Public Performances in French Jesuit Colleges in the Seventeenth Century’, in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, ed. by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 187-206. See also: Judi Loach, ‘Jesuit Emblematics and the Opening of the School Year at the Collège Louis-le-Grand’, *Emblematica* 9.1 (1995), 133-176.

which writer and artist worked in conjunction with each other, the extent to which image and text were created independently of each other. While a modern reader might assume that the text came first and the artist worked around this either autonomously (as happened with Alciato's first collection of emblems), or under instruction from the writer or editor/publisher, this was by no means always the case. Barthélemy Aneau's *Picta poesis* (1552) is a case in point. He explains in the preface to this work that he found the woodcuts lying in the workshop of Lyons printer Macé Bonhomme and that the *Picta poesis* is the result of his labour to give these blocks new life. Rather in the same way as sometimes a melody might come to a musician first and other times the lyrics, the creation of an emblem does not follow a concrete model but is the sum of parts created by a group of people, in which the role of the reader is important.

Religious emblem books *per se*, that is to say whole collections of emblems focusing on religious subjects, which this thesis considers from a comparative Protestant and Catholic perspective, did not begin to appear until the end of the sixteenth century.²⁰ While Protestant authors readily adopted the emblem, collections of Catholic emblems were longer in coming, thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, echoing the general pattern of book production and propaganda. It was not until the Jesuits began promoting the new teaching techniques influenced by Ignatius of Loyola during the Counter-Reformation that changes in Catholic teaching methods were introduced and

²⁰ See John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion books, 2003), for discussion of religious emblematic forms. See also: Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c. 1979), pp. 188-196, where she identifies five categories of religious emblems: collections of miscellaneous Christian emblems, collections of emblems which take a biblical verse as a central motif, emblems which feature Anteros, collections of emblems which feature a heart-motif, the *Schola Cordis*, or school of the heart.

it was really much later, with respect to emblematic literature at least, that these changes began to make themselves felt.

Aside from the bible, and teachings of the Church Fathers, another main source of subject matter for these primarily religious collections was the early so-called secular works. While these did not deal explicitly with specific religious or biblical ideas, so great was the influence of the Church at this time, that some evidence of Christian thought is evident in many of these. Allegorical figures and traditional motifs found themselves reinterpreted to convey a Christian message either through the manipulation of text, the inclusion of Christian iconography in the image or a combination of both.

While some scholars argue that prior to Georgette de Montenay's 1567²¹ collection of specifically Christian emblems, the moral element of early emblems, in keeping with the humanist tradition, is based on the authority of the *anciens* and remains entirely secular, I would argue that due to the pervasiveness of Christian thought at this time, there is no such thing as an entirely secular emblem book. Later specifically Catholic or Protestant emblems often used existing emblems as a source but while there is certainly a difference in emphasis, the early secular emblem books were nonetheless, if not consciously based on, at least imbued with Christian teaching.

²¹ Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567). The first edition of Montenay's *Emblemes* has recently been redated from 1571 to 1567. For more information about this see: Alison Adams, 'Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, 1567: New Dating, New context', *BHR* 63 (2001), 567-574.

Miriam Chrisman notes, with respect to other forms of religious literature, similar sources of inspiration to those influencing emblem books. She writes that ‘religious ideas were drawn not only from the Bible, sermons, and the Creed. They evolved out of the pragmatic experience of political events, the experiences of wars and persecutions’.²² The same is true of emblem books. The experience of political events manifests itself in two ways in emblem books either in the content of individual emblems or in the overarching theme of a book as a whole. Emblems reflect an emotional response and, because of the individual reading they require, they encouraged figurative thinking. Thus the sense of impending doom, the certainty of an imminent apocalypse created by the years of persecution and war colours many of the emblems of the period. ‘The apocalyptic tendencies of the thought of the age’, writes Janine Garrisson, ‘saw heresy as a sign sent by an avenging God as a warning of worse plagues and evils to come.’²³ On the Protestant side of the fence we see new anti-Catholic imagery emerging as the Catholic Church and in particular its clerics are compared unfavourably to demons, gluttons, liars and cheats. The Pope came to be described in terms of the Antechrist and evidence of this new way of thinking is apparent in Montenay’s emblem ‘Sic vivo’ (‘Thus I live’) where we find an owl, a creature of the night, representing the Pope, who is referred to as ‘L’Antechrist’ in the verse.²⁴

Other books were written as a direct response to a specific historical event. Le Jay’s *Triomphe de la religion sous Louis le Grand*, for example, was written in celebration

²² Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social change in Strasbourg, 1480 – 1599* (London: Yale, c. 1982), p. 269. See also: André Courvoisier, *Les Danses macabres* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), p. 61.

²³ Janine Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*, trans. by Richard Rex (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 304.

²⁴ Montenay, p. 21.

of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.²⁵ Sometimes individual emblems make reference to historical events or figures such as the first emblem of Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* which depicts Jeanne d'Albret (to whom the book is also dedicated), the Protestant Queen of Navarre, building the walls of the Protestant Church.²⁶ While collections recording a specific event are perhaps rarer many general collections of emblems reveal reactions to the contemporary social and political climate, often in their prefaces. Gabriel de Mello, for example, a century later, seizes the opportunity to condemn the actions of the iconoclasts and the consequent effects upon religious images in the preface of his 1673 *Les Divines operations de Jesus, dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle*:

Nous voyons à present tant de sortes d'images, & de differentes representations de Jesus Christ & des Saints, sous des postures si indecentes, que l'on peut avec justice souhaiter, & mesme demander la reforme, parce qu'elles sont les ouvrages de l'imagination phantastique des hommes, plutot que l'effet des devotions Chrestiens, & le plus souvent des productions de la malice des Heretiques, les ennemis déclarés des images, qui ne les ayant pû oster de nos Eglises font tous leurs efforts pour nous les rendre méprisables par leurs representations malicieuses.²⁷

Academic interest in emblematic literature has grown significantly in the last thirty years. The popularity of this field is evident in the growing number of new resources such as websites like 'French Emblems at Glasgow', which, thanks to new technology, render these texts accessible to a much wider audience.²⁸ A large number of critical works, including those by Daniel Russell, David Graham and Alison

²⁵ Gabriel Le Jay, *Triomphe de la religion sous Louis le Grand* (Paris: Martin, 1687).

²⁶ Montenay, p. 1.

²⁷ Gabriel de Mello, *Les Divines operations de Jesus dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle* (Paris: Van-Merle, 1673), eVr-eVv.

²⁸ www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/index/php. See also: the Open Emblem Portal which brings together various emblematic websites: <http://medialibrary.wiuc.edu/projects/oebp>.

Saunders,²⁹ examine the emblematic form attempting to define the often indistinct nature of the boundaries between emblems and other allegorical and symbolic works. Praz, Saunders and Russell have all demonstrated the importance of emblems and related forms in early-modern French culture. Laurence Grove and Russell have examined the influence of emblems on other forms of literature in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries respectively.³⁰ With respect to religious emblems Paulette Choné and Anne-Elisabeth Spica have both examined the wider context of religious emblems.³¹ Alison Adams has produced insightful works on three of the most influential French Protestant authors³² while Dietmar Peil and Wolfgang Harms have both contributed greatly to study of the work of continental Protestant authors, in particular Gabriel Rollenhagen, one of the principal authors in this study.³³ On the other side of the doctrinal fence the importance of emblematics within the Jesuit pedagogical system (specifically in French colleges) has been examined by Alison Saunders, Judi Loach, and many others.³⁴

²⁹ Graham, ““Voiez icy en ceste histoire...””, 1-24; Daniel Russell, ‘Emblème et mentalité symbolique’, *Littérature*, 78 (1990), 11-21; Saunders, *Picta Poesis*, 621-52.

³⁰ Praz; Alison Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem Book: A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Geneva: Droz, 1988); Daniel Russell, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Daniel Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France* (Lexington: French Forum, 1985); Grove, *Emblematics and Seventeenth-Century French Literature*.

³¹ Paulette Choné, *Emblèmes et pensée symbolique en Lorraine (1521-1633)*: “comme un jardin au coeur de la chrétienté” (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991); Ann-Elisabeth Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique: l'évolution et les genres (1580-1700)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1996).

³² Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003); Alison Adams, *Jean Jacques Boissard's Emblematum liber: Emblèmes latins* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

³³ Wolfgang Harms, ‘The Authority of the Emblem’, *Emblematica*, 5.1 (1991), 3-29; Dietmar Peil, ‘Emblem Types in Gabriel Rollenhagen’s *Nucleus Emblematum*’, *Emblematica*, 6.2 (1992), 255-282.

³⁴ Saunders, ‘Make the pupils do it themselves’, pp. 187-206; Judi Loach, ‘Architecture and Emblems: Issues in Interpretation’, in *Emblems and Art History*, ed. by Alison Adams (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1996), pp. 1-21, and ‘The Teaching of Emblematics and Other Symbolic Imagery by Jesuits Within Town Colleges in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France’, in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, ed. by Marc van Vaeck and John Manning (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 161-86.

While there has been much research on religious emblems in general and several studies have been carried out on individual Protestant and Catholic authors there are fewer studies directly comparing works by both faiths, and these tend to present a general overview. This study will make a more detailed comparison of Catholic and Protestant emblems through close examination of a corpus of specific examples. What is considered to be the first collection of religious emblems, Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, appeared in France in 1567³⁵ and I will naturally take this as a starting point. Production of emblems, Protestant, Catholic and apparently secular decreased greatly after the end of the seventeenth century a fact that is acknowledged by most emblem scholars in their limitation of interest to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Consulting bibliographies of emblems, such as *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, points to a peak of religious emblem production around 1635.³⁶ This study, therefore, extends somewhat beyond this date to encompass texts produced as the flush of religious emblem production began to die down. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was signed in 1685, marking an end to a period of relative religious tolerance and the final quashing of the Protestants in France. This was also the year in which Protestant printers and booksellers were prohibited from trade in France. As such this seems a fitting point to terminate our comparison of Protestant and Catholic texts: this study therefore extends until 1687, the year of publication of Gabriel le Jay's *Le Triomphe de la religion sous Louis le Grand*.

The divide in the Church was much more complicated than a simple Protestant/Catholic split. A bewildering number of orders, groups and new branches in both

³⁵ See footnote twenty-one above.

³⁶ Adams, Rawles and Saunders.

camps began to be established during this period. However, for the purposes of this study authors will be grouped into two categories, either Protestant or Catholic, unless something is to be demonstrably gained in our understanding of the emblem from specifically labelling the precise denomination. For example it is at times expedient to consider works by Jesuit authors in light of seminal Jesuit works such as Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, a work which I will consider in detail in the next chapter. Nevertheless, I should make it clear that while I touch on some of the key theological issues of the Reformation in order to give some background this is not a theological study. I am not so much concerned with the doctrinal points of difference between Protestantism and Catholicism as with the presentation of these in an emblematic format. Furthermore, it is worth noting at this point that the exact denomination of authors is notoriously difficult to pinpoint. These are often minor, lesser-known authors and there is often a dearth of biographical information. Catholic authors, especially Jesuit authors, sometimes proudly proclaim their affiliation to their order in the frontispiece or title page of their emblem books. Protestant emblem authors are, on the whole, perhaps understandably, less helpful and it is often next to impossible to unearth biographical information on some authors. I have consulted both the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*³⁷ and the *Deutscher biographischer Index*³⁸ as well as numerous other works of secondary literature and wherever possible give biographical details.³⁹

* * *

³⁷ *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. by Marcel Viller et al., 16 vols (Paris: Beauschene, 1932-1994).

³⁸ *Deutscher biographischer Index*, ed. by Willi Gorzny (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1986).

³⁹ See appendix 1.

It is the relationship between text and image that makes emblems so special and this working can only be understood upon close analysis. By their very nature emblems require time when read: time for contemplation and consideration and re-reading. A brief glance does not suffice. Neither will it in this study which aims, through detailed, close analysis, to unlock the relationship between text and image in Protestant and Catholic emblems. Similarly, the wide range of themes expressed in emblems can only be reflected by including a wide number of examples. Of course it is not possible here to comment on every emblem, or indeed every emblem author, but I have tried to build as representative a corpus as possible from some of the key emblem authors.

The primary focus of this study is, of course, upon French emblems; it was in France that the first emblem books, both secular and religious were created and France remained at the forefront of the emblem tradition throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the emblem tradition spread across Europe and I wished to reflect the widespread appeal of these by including examples from outwith France (mainly from England and Germany), I have not included examples from every country producing emblems; my aim was not to do a comprehensive, comparative study of European emblems, rather to compare Protestant and Catholic and so I have concentrated on examples from countries in which the Reformation had a particularly strong following. Neither Spanish nor Italian emblems, as a result, are represented here.

The majority of emblems examined here either included French verses, were later translated into French or were based on texts which had included French. Some texts, such as some of the English ones, merit a place because they use one of the other texts in this study as a source. It is perhaps useful to explain that given the problems defining geographical boundaries in many places in Europe at this time, while not ignoring place of publication, I consider texts mainly from the angle of the languages in which they were printed. If we look as an example at France, which was at the forefront of both secular and religious emblem production, the reasoning behind this becomes clear. Until 1790 France was organised into provinces. Despite attempts by the governing forces to create a centralised state out of these provinces, France at this period remained a patchwork of local privileges and historical differences and so pinpointing exactly what constituted France is tricky to say the least. Religious persecution, amongst other factors, meant that texts were produced in French in areas that would not have been considered part of France at the time. Similarly, the large numbers of polyglot editions which included French and translations of continental texts into French, although not necessarily published in France, were clearly intended for a francophone audience. For this reason it is more prudent to delimit the scope of this study to the target language audience rather than to the geographical boundaries of a particular country.

While of course there are too many emblem authors to represent them all in this study, the examples that I have chosen are typical examples of their kind. I examine examples from the early fathers of the emblem tradition, such as Alciato and Corrozet, in order to explore the beginnings and possible sources of the later religious emblems. In the Protestant group, I begin, logically, with Montenay and consider also

other examples in French by popular authors such as Boissard, and Bèze, himself an interesting figure in light of his involvement in the Reformation. The exploration of these provides an overview of the French religious emblem which is considered alongside further continental examples. An examination of emblems from Whitney, for example, who reworked emblems by Montenay (including others) gives an interesting point of comparison. Similarly the emblems of Rollenhagen (which often featured French in polyglot editions suggesting targeting a French market) feature prominently as do Wither's English reworkings of these emblems. With respect to the Catholic emblems, I have once again concentrated on French examples from prominent emblem authors such as Sucquet, Berthod and Baudoin who reflect the general trends found in Catholic emblems. Here too French examples are contrasted with their continental counterparts: Catholic Hugo, for example, is examined alongside Anglican Quarles.⁴⁰

The first section of this thesis will contain three chapters. The first of these will give some historical background to the Reformation. Although this is not a theological study some clarification of the events of the Reformation and the key points of doctrinal difference is necessary. This chapter will examine Catholic and Protestant rates of publication with respect to literacy levels. It will focus on some of the central figures of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, such as the Jesuits, and, in particular, will examine their contribution to emblems. This chapter will also consider the fundamental question of iconoclasm and attempt to reconcile this with the production of Protestant emblematic images.

⁴⁰ For more bibliographical and biographical detail on these authors and the others included in this study see appendix 1.

The final two chapters in this section break individual Protestant and Catholic emblems down into their individual components of word and image. Chapter two will consider the treatment of one particular motif (light) in a selection of Protestant and Catholic emblems and will demonstrate the iconographic style and the function of the image in these examples. Chapter three will adopt a similar approach and will examine a selection of specific examples from a thematic point of view and consider emblems which focus on some aspect of the theme of time. Emblems were extremely varied in subject matter covering virtually every aspect of early-modern life. To gain a true understanding, therefore, of the range of themes presented in emblematic literature as wide a selection as possible has been included.

The second section of this study approaches the question from a different perspective. Rather than examining individual emblems, this section concentrates on three emblematic works in their entirety. Three chapters will focus on three specific authors, examining the religious emblem book as a whole. Chapter four, the first of these, will consider a Protestant work, the *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* by Gabriel Rollenhagen.⁴¹ While on the one hand this chapter will, for the first time, compare the original Latin distichs with the French translations, this chapter will also examine in some detail the relationship between text and image. The second of these author-specific chapters, chapter five, will analyse emblems from François Berthod's *Emblemes sacrez*.⁴² Once again, this chapter will consider the relationship between text and image in this Catholic work but will also address the question of Jesuit

⁴¹ Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611-1613).

⁴² François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loyson, 1665).

influence. Chapter six examines George Wither's *A Collection of Emblems*.⁴³ This final chapter examines this text in light of both the Protestant and Catholic texts that influenced it.

* * *

Emblems are reflective of the time in which they were written. This was a particularly tumultuous time and, it seems reasonable, as a result, to expect to find Protestant and Catholic emblems to be very different. It is this question the following chapters will consider.

⁴³ George Wither, *A Collection of Emblems* (London: Allot, 1635).

Part 1

The Religious Emblem and its Context

Chapter One Foreword

Emblems, as we have seen, are, like other literary and artistic genres, a product of their environment, a microcosm of the world in which they were created. In the case of emblems this is all the more true as a result of the didactic element present in varying degrees in all emblems. They reflect early modern thinking, itself shaped by cultural events and advances. This does not mean that they are inaccessible to a modern reader: quite the contrary. Many of the truths and morals contained within the pages of an emblem book are universal and transcend cultural and temporal boundaries. Nevertheless, modern readers do on occasion lose their footing when reading an emblem, certain stumbling blocks hinder the path and make comprehension just that little bit more difficult. At times this might be the result of differences in approaches to reading between early modern and modern times. Other times it might be that the emblems contain references to real historical figures, events or customs, which would have been instantly recognisable to a contemporary reader but have since been forgotten and lost in the mists of time. It is for this reason that understanding the context of emblems is important.

In the case of this study, the specific context was that of the Reformation and Counter Reformation. These were massive cultural events which sent shockwaves across Europe, forever changing the face of Christianity, and, as we have seen some historians argue, perhaps led to the development of distinct literary styles. To understand these differences, if they exist, one must look back to the events that caused them.

This, as I said in the introduction, is not a theological study, nor could I hope to tackle the history of such a broad subject in such a few brief pages, yet it is essential to cover some of the key issues of both Reformations in order to understand the context in which the emblems were written. What were the beginnings of the Reformation? How did events develop over time? What sparked these events and what were the key issues Protestants and Catholics disagreed upon? Much is made in contemporary popular thought, for example, of the Protestant mistrust of images and this is a question that must be addressed in this study of emblems which combine both text and image.

One of the most influential movements in Reformation History across Europe, both in literary and religious terms were the Jesuits who became a formidable counter-force to the Protestants. Their far-reaching influence over teaching practices, literature and the arts is well documented, and, they were one of the most prolific producers of emblem books. This chapter will consider, in particular, their interest in the emblematic form and the role they played in shaping this. Again I will pay particular attention to the Jesuits in France as representative of Jesuits across the rest of Europe.

Indeed, this brings us more generally to the question of book production: several key issues must be addressed, not least the question of iconoclasm. How is the Protestant mistrust of the image reconciled with the prolific Protestant production of emblems particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries? This chapter will also query the production of emblem books: who was producing collections of

emblems and for what purpose? If Catholic and Protestant authors developed distinct literary styles did they begin producing emblem books at the same time and who read these collections?

It is also useful, at this point, having established some of the key issues of the Reformation and Counter Reformation and given an outline, at least, of the context in which emblems were produced, to examine the emblem form in more detail. Two examples are analysed in light of this context in order to gain a preliminary understanding of how a Protestant and Catholic emblem function.

These questions may seem diverse, and they are. They consider a number of seemingly unconnected issues all of which must be considered. Indeed, in some ways, the interplay of questions that must be answered here is evocative of the melting pot of ideas that was the Reformation.

Chapter One

The Religious Emblem in Context

It is all too easy to view the Reformation as a simple split between Protestant and Catholic but this is far from being the case. The prominent Reformation leaders were by no means in agreement with one another.⁴⁴ While all were agreed on the primacy of the Word, *sola scriptura*, and that grace could not be earned, Luther and his disciples soon parted company over major doctrinal issues. With respect to the question of grace, all agreed that it could not be achieved through good works and that salvation was achieved through a combination of grace and faith alone, *sola fides*, but Calvin's insistence on the notion of predestination was the source of another divide in Reformed thought. Zwingli could not accept Luther's unwillingness to give up many Catholic ceremonies and, unlike Luther, insisted upon the doctrine of reading Christian Scriptures with unwavering literalness. Calvin also insisted on the literal reading of the bible but went further than Luther in his questioning of the Church finding fault with the hierarchical structure, which, he felt, by placing the papacy as supreme authority, detracted from the lordship of Christ. Opinion was divided also over Eucharistic doctrine: Luther upheld the real presence of Christ while for Zwingli and Calvin the Eucharist merely symbolised the body and blood of Christ.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ For more discussion of the disagreements between the various branches of Protestantism, see: Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572-1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 116.

⁴⁵ For more on the particularities of Calvinist and Lutheran doctrine see: Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1995); Michel-Edmond Richard, *La Vie des protestants français: De l'édit de Nantes à la révolution (1598-1789)* (Paris: Les Éditions de Paris, 1994).

The rise of Protestantism was not the only rift in the Church. There was, at various times, also dissension even within the traditional Catholic Church. On the one hand, in France, for example, we find the Jansenists of Port Royal preaching a static Christianity anchored in Augustinian teachings and tradition opposed to the Jesuits who adopted a more fluid system of reform. Spicer argues that this break from tradition cost the Church dearly in terms of authority thus facilitating the rise of religious pluralism. It is true that the beginning of the seventeenth century saw a boom in the number of religious orders:

During his reign [Henri IV] other religious orders settled in France : the reformed Augustinians, the Barnabites, the Brothers of Charity, the Capuchins and Capuchin sisters, the Feuillants, the Minimes and the Thérésiennes (Carmelites).⁴⁶

Thus the Reformation, which is all too often simplified to a Protestant/Catholic divide, is in fact a maze of doctrinal issues.⁴⁷ By the end of the seventeenth century the Church is divided into many factions. On the one hand, in France, for example, we find Jesuits, Jansenists, Benedictines, Carmelites, Franciscans and Oratarians, while on the reformed side we find Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists and more radical reformers like the Anabaptists and followers of Karlstadt and Thomas Munz.

* * *

⁴⁶ Andrew Spicer, 'Huguenots, Jesuits and French Religious Architecture in Early Seventeenth-Century France', in *The Adventures of Religious Pluralism in Early-Modern France*, ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Bern: Lang, 2000), pp. 245-260 (p. 254).

⁴⁷ For an introduction to the Protestant Reformation, see: Bard Thompson, *Humanists and Reformers* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1996), p. 484 where he concentrates specifically on the differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism. See also: Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Shaping of the Reformed Baptismal Rite* (Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans, 1992), pp. 133-137, for a brief explanation of Protestant doctrine and pp. 140-142 where Calvin's adoption of the argument is discussed.

A study of the ways in which authors harnessed the power of the printed page to politicize and Christianize works during the Reformation is particularly appropriate, for the printed word played a major role in the spread of Reformation ideas. The Reformation may not have been the first major movement in history to have the power of the printing press behind it but the impact it was to have on the dissemination of new ideas was immediately felt, as Elizabeth Eisenstein writes:

In this [...] field, historians confront a movement that was shaped at the very outset (and in large part ushered in) by the new powers of the press.⁴⁸

Production

Both Protestants and Catholics harnessed the press as a tool of propaganda⁴⁹ and a war of pamphlets raged during the wars of religion.⁵⁰ ‘Catholic propagandists’, Luc Racaut recounts, ‘were successful in fostering an image of Protestants as dangerous and treacherous agitators, enemies of the kingdom and of true religion’.⁵¹ Because of the often strong links Protestants had with the rest of Europe (for example trade and printing), they were often perceived as being a rebellious force when in fact this was far from being the case:

Protestants promoted the oneness of political space in the kingdom with many remaining fiercely loyal to the crown even at the height of their persecution.⁵²

⁴⁸ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 48.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of propaganda in the south of France see: Phillip Conner, ‘A Provincial Perspective: Protestant Print Culture in Southern France’, in *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Phillip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 286-382

⁵⁰ See: Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 54-60, for a more detailed account of pamphlet literature in France.

⁵¹ Luc Racaut, ‘The Cultural Obstacles to Religious Pluralism in the Polemic of the French Wars of Religion’, in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early-Modern France*, ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Bern: Lang, c. 2000), pp. 115-127 (p. 121).

⁵² Henry Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 189.

While Protestant authors were quick to harness the power of the printed word, the Roman Church was slower to realise the full potential of print. Even when the full power of the press became clear, the Catholic Church was still hesitant:

Catholic publications may have been initially less forthcoming than Protestant ones, but once they had joined the propaganda race Catholic authors soon eclipsed their Protestant counterparts:⁵³

In the late sixteenth century numbers of Catholic theologians, from Paris especially, issued books of all shapes and sizes, denouncing Calvinism and upholding Church teaching, but after peace was restored with the Edict of Nantes there followed a period of toleration based on a balance of power, and verbal conflict took the place of armed struggle and the dictatorship of the Catholic League. But it was an unequal conflict: on the Catholic side a vast outpouring of propaganda, and very little from the Protestants because, under the terms of the Edict, the Huguenots could only publish their works in certain prescribed areas, which did not include Paris.⁵⁴

By the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which marked an end to the series of changes and adaptations accommodating Protestants, the rate of publication of Catholic emblem works had accelerated, partly as a response to Protestant publications, and partly as an attempt to promote the changes in traditional Catholic ideologies. Conversely, though initially at the forefront of the printed propaganda movement, Protestant publications in France began to peter out towards

⁵³ See: Sawyer, p. 137, where he concludes that, ‘the history of the political press from 1618 onward is one of increasing surveillance, censorship and manipulation by royal officials. These efforts accomplished a great deal, especially after 1635, as Richelieu’s government clamped down on booksellers, printers, and the literary establishment’. For a discussion of publication rates in France see also: Michel Vernus, *Histoire du Livre et de la lecture de l’invention de l’imprimerie à nos jours* (Dijon: Bibliest, 1995).

⁵⁴ Henri-Jean Martin, *Print, Power and People in 17th Century France*, trans. by David Gerard (London: Scarecrow Press, 1993), p. 110.

the latter half of the seventeenth century although illegal works continued to be imported.

Word as weapon

As opposed to the more exclusive nature of the manuscript tradition, print increased accessibility to the written word. Print allowed authors to disseminate ideas quickly and widely and rendered literature reusable thus permitting reinterpretation of previously published work. The printed text not only permitted the wide dissemination of ideas, but, for the first time, a large number of individuals were given the opportunity to analyse and evaluate information. A side effect of the humanists' revival of Roman and Greek texts had been a growing discontent among some groups with the standard translations and interpretations of these put forward by the Catholic Church: dogmatic debate which had previously solely been the domain of the clergy, was now opened up to public consideration:

The portability of the printed book also facilitated the study of multiple readings and thus the sense that some manuscripts were more authentic than others. It now became possible to achieve a sense of standards for an authentic text of scripture, if not the authentic text itself, and thus to prompt questions about the validity of received interpretations based on what now appeared to be faulty manuscripts. Once such questions had been raised, it also became possible to disseminate widely the evidence for interpretations that differed from received opinion and the polemics that grew from these conflicts. As a result, what might otherwise have remained a purely academic debate could become a mass popular movement that would decisively undermine the authority of the medieval Church and create the possibility of rival versions of Christendom.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ John N. Wall Jr., 'Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution: "By this printing... the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations"', in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, ed. by Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), pp. 208-221 (pp. 208-209).

What print allowed the reader for the first time was, amongst other things, the possibility of comparison.⁵⁶ Different interpretations of a text could be feasibly examined side-by-side promoting a critical response from the reader.

Personal reading of the bible

It is unsurprising given the importance Protestants placed upon the Word of God, *sola scriptura*, that they seized upon the newly evolving mass medium of print in order to spread their ideas. Protestants very much placed the onus on the individual to take responsibility for his/her own faith and thus access to texts, especially the bible was of primary importance.⁵⁷ Luther himself, despite an underlying unease about books, described the new art of printing as ‘God’s highest and extremest act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward’.⁵⁸ The idea of the supremacy of God’s Word, or Scripture, was common to all the developing Protestant sects.⁵⁹ Contrary to the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church, where the priest was invested with the power of interpretation, Protestants believed in the ‘priesthood of all men’. They preached that the written word of the bible, as a recording of the spoken Word of God, carried its own authority and, therefore, that individual Christians should be free to read and absorb its truths.⁶⁰ The Protestants assumed, ‘that the bible

⁵⁶ Thompson outlines eight of the effects printing had on the social and intellectual history of the West, p. 42.

⁵⁷ Phillips, p. 281.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of Luther’s mistrust of books see Dominique de Courcelles, *Le Pouvoir des livres à la Renaissance* (Paris: Éd. de l’École nationale des chartes, 1998), p. 115, where she explains that Luther perceived books to be a screen between the faithful and the word of God.

⁵⁹ There is some disagreement over this between Protestant groups. For example as stated above both Calvin and Zwingli insisted upon a literal reading of the bible which Luther did not.

⁶⁰ Miriam Usher Chrisman reminds us that, nevertheless, Protestants did not encourage the laity to interpret scriptures, explaining that, ‘the laity understood the bible in their own way. They did not approach it critically or analytically, they received it as the word of God’, in *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599* (New York: Yale University Press, c. 1982), p. 282.

was a clear mirror which reflected a simple and self evident truth⁶¹, and the primacy of the Word was reflected in the architecture of Protestant churches which featured a raised pulpit. Whatever the theological controversy that arose around predestination, the value of works or the priesthood of all believers, beneath all these lay the bible, a force of righteousness for the Protestants.

If we examine the situation in the Catholic camp we find that, with respect to personal bible reading, prior to the Council of Trent the opposite is true:

In the course of the sixteenth century, vernacular bibles that had been turned out on a somewhat haphazard basis in diverse regions were withheld from Catholics and made compulsory for Protestants. An incentive to learn to read was thus eliminated among lay Catholics and officially enjoined upon Protestants.⁶²

However, the decision arrived at regarding the Vulgate during the Council of Trent, that unapproved copies of the scriptures were to be prohibited, made it clear that this did not reflect an intention that either textual revision of the Vulgate or study of the sacred books in their original languages was to be prevented marking a renewed emphasis on the scriptures, among the clergy at least.⁶³

Literacy

Of course levels of literacy cannot be ignored. One of the ways in which authors attempted to make texts accessible in spite of the high levels of illiteracy was to move away from the traditional Latin. The sixteenth century saw a new emphasis placed on

⁶¹ Phillips, p. 127.

⁶² Eisenstein, p. 172.

⁶³ John B. Morrall, ‘The Council of Trent: Its Background and Its Significance’, *History Today*, 7.2 (1962), 476-486 (480).

the vernacular⁶⁴ and, while there were of course French translations of the bible, both Luther and Calvin were considered to be pioneers of the vernacular, Luther producing, for example, the first vernacular bible in 1522.⁶⁵ Similarly, Bèze worked upon translating the psalms, ‘Les Psaumes avaient été traduits en vers français (par Marot et par Bèze) et mis en musique au XVIe’.⁶⁶ Where Catholic authors did write in the vernacular they ‘all justified their seemingly radical move from Latin by the need to reach *les simples*.⁶⁷ It is commonly believed that the same motivation fuelled the Protestant adoption of the vernacular. This is to some extent true, but it is worth noting that while Luther’s humoristic eloquence made him popular, Calvin spoke at all times to the learned, his classical manner distancing him from *les simples*. He also rejects this argument as a defence of the use of images.⁶⁸

The fact that Protestants were encouraged to read the bible and understand it for themselves, alongside their early adoption of the vernacular has, Phillips argues, led to the mistaken belief that Protestants were more literate than Catholics:

It has been assumed almost as a matter of course that personal possession of the bible and familiarity with its texts (particularly the Psalms often produced in pocket-sized versions) implied a higher level of literate skills among the Huguenots.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ See Thompson, pp. 367-368, for a discussion of the production of vernacular publications in France.

⁶⁵ It is worth noting at this point that Calvin also wrote prolifically in Latin.

⁶⁶ Elisabeth Labrousse and Robert Sauzet, ‘La lente mise en place de la Réforme tridentine’, in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. by Jacques le Goff and René Rémond, 4 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1988), II, pp. 321-474 (p. 465).

⁶⁷ Racaut, 115-127 (118).

⁶⁸ *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. by Marcel Viller et al., 15 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-), X, pp. 195-203. See also Michalski, Sergiusz, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 64, where Michalski argues, ‘Calvin, by contrast to Luther, but like Karlstadt and to a lesser extent Zwingli, was not inclined to show any leniency towards the ‘weak in faith’, either in theory or in practice. [...] That can explain the fact that he so forcefully attacked the Gregorian argument on ‘images as books for the unlearned’..

⁶⁹ Phillips, pp. 209-210.

If, as Phillips argues, Protestants were hardly more literate than Catholics then this marked linguistic difference must have been the result of something other than personal reading. As Roger Chartier says:

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, doubtlessly more so than earlier, a relationship with the written word did not necessarily imply individual reading, reading did not imply possession of books and familiarity with the printed word did not necessarily imply familiarity with books.⁷⁰

Indeed, the number of people who could read in the vernacular remained relatively low for members of both faiths and the high level of illiteracy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, combined with the price of books meant that familiarity with the printed word was often achieved through group readings. Luc Racaut underlines the importance of the spoken word when he says:

By all accounts, printed books had only a small audience predominantly composed of the urban elite. [...] But these ideas did not circulate exclusively within literate circles as they were also expounded from the pulpit.⁷¹

Jeffrey Sawyer estimates, based on a survey of signatures on marriage documents, that in France, for example, ‘fewer than twenty-five percent of French males and about ten percent of French females had benefited from some basic schooling’. ‘It is reasonable to assume’, he writes, ‘that literacy rates were about the same for the early decades of the seventeenth century.’⁷²

The growing number of vernacular editions and translations of emblem books that were being produced in or imported across Europe does suggest authors were trying to increase accessibility to a readership not familiar with Latin. Although book ownership existed primarily among the more privileged classes, it was by no means

⁷⁰ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early-Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 152.

⁷¹ Racaut, 115-127 (118).

⁷² Sawyer, pp. 67-68.

exclusively the privilege of the aristocracy.⁷³ While the printing press permitted large numbers of a work to be quickly and more cheaply produced and distributed, books remained, however, by and large an expensive commodity. And yet, although illiteracy rates remained high, and, as we have seen, familiarity with the printed word was still to a great extent achieved through group readings, the wider accessibility of books did, on the whole, mark the beginning of the move towards personal reading.

Image as weapon: iconoclasm

We cannot proceed in this study of the relationship between text and image in Protestant and Catholic emblems without first considering the question of iconoclasm. One might find it surprising to find Protestant emblems which not only feature an image but also rely heavily on this image as a meaningful, not merely decorative, component but it is a popular myth that to be Protestant at the time of the Reformation meant to reject all images; if the Church was divided over the Word/word, then it was no less so over the image.

Mistrust of images among Protestants developed into full-blown destruction of religious art in churches in 1522. The wave of iconoclasm that was to spread across Northern Europe was sparked off by a series of iconoclastic events in Wittenberg:

Events in Wittenberg quickly moved towards a climax in which the validity of religious art became a major issue. Under the leadership of Zwilling, the Augustinians destroyed the images in their own houses on 10 January, and the third iconoclastic incident took place at the end of January or the beginning of February.⁷⁴

⁷³ For discussion of the reading public and reading habits in Europe, see: Eisenstein. See also: Chrisman.

⁷⁴ Michalski, p. 10.

Iconoclastic incidents were not simply confined to Germany and the movement soon spread:

From the Netherlands (especially the South) we know also about bloody clashes between the local populace which adhered to the old faith, and wandering groups of iconoclasts.⁷⁵

Iconoclasm reached France in the 1550s and in many instances was no less violent.

Luther's response to the image questions was precipitated by the events in Wittenberg in 1522.⁷⁶ Prior to the iconoclastic riots, art had always been a marginal issue for theologians. Luther had previously addressed the question of art in his sermons and his objections to art are linked with his objections to Catholic doctrine. He links religious art with indulgences arguing that through endowing churches with images, believers were trying to buy their way into heaven:

By 1520 –1 [...] Luther began to apply to idea [sic] of rejecting justification through works (*Werkheiligkeit*) to various aspects of ecclesiastical and social life. He started from the most immediate problem, that of indulgences, then moved through an intermediate stage, the fight against the cult and collection of relics, and finally arrived at the problem of art in the service of the Church: that is, art as an instrument in the efforts of each believer or of entire communities to acquire merit with God through which to earn salvation.⁷⁷

It is a common misconception, however, that the wave of iconoclasm represented a global Protestant perspective of inflexible intolerance with respect to the image. This is far from being the case. Indeed, the first, as we have seen, to 'exploit fully' the

⁷⁵ Michalski, p. 81. For more on Protestant visual culture, see also: William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ 'It so happened, however,' Michalski claims, 'that the question of art confronted Luther in dramatic form, in the shape of the Wittenberg iconoclastic riots, and forced him to take an unequivocal stance', p. 30.

⁷⁷ Michalski, p. 7.

potential of print ‘as a mass medium’,⁷⁸ Protestant propaganda, perhaps unexpectedly, ‘exploited printed image no less than the printed word’.⁷⁹ During the Wars of Religion and particularly during the League, a war of images paralleled the war of pamphlets turning pious imagery to political ends.

While Luther may have criticised certain uses of images for the reasons given above, he condemned events in Wittenberg and ultimately spoke out in defence of images. Luther never ceased to praise the educational merits of religious art, and ‘recognised it as a genuine aid in the propagation of the Gospel’.⁸⁰ Indeed, ‘for his complete German bible of 1534, Luther oversaw the design of one hundred and twenty-three woodcuts, establishing his translation as a fully illustrated book’.⁸¹ Michalski tells us that, ‘As the imagery of his writings attests, Luther was a man of strong visual and sensual impulses’.⁸² For Luther words were unquestionably more important both psychologically and theologically but, to him, ‘the absence of images [...] becomes something unnatural, inconsistent with the special laws of religious experience’.⁸³ Images, Luther argued, are an intrinsic part of this religious experience. Irrespective of exterior images or signs, man’s thinking is figurative:

Whether I want to or not, when I hear the name of Christ, there appears in my heart the image of a man nailed to a cross, just as my face appears in a mirror of water when I look at it.’⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Eisenstein, p. 148. For an analysis of the relationship between printing and the Protestant Reformation see: Thompson, pp. 44-46. Thompson concludes that ‘printing was indeed a major asset to the Lutherans in the dissemination of their ideas’ (p. 44). See also: Conner.

⁷⁹ Eisenstein, p. 36. For a discussion of the cause and effect relationship between the Reformation and print from a Protestant perspective see also: De Courcelles.

⁸⁰ Michalski, p. 29.

⁸¹ Koerner, p. 42.

⁸² Michalski, p. 1.

⁸³ Michalski, p. 28.

⁸⁴ Michalski, p. 27.

Here ‘faith from hearing’, to use a well-known Lutheran term, is connected with figurativeness, both with the mental products of our imagination and – though to a somewhat lesser degree – with real works of art.

Calvin, too, although much less tolerant of images than Luther, condemned the wave of iconoclastic riots which had been sweeping across Europe:

In 1561 news of the great iconoclastic campaigns in France began to reach Geneva. Calvin was shocked both by the fact of widespread, armed iconoclasm and by the many scandalous episodes connected with it.⁸⁵

Calvin may have been less tolerant than Luther, completely forbidding the use of any religious figures, but he did permit the use of images of non-religious subjects in private homes,⁸⁶ arguing in the *Institutes* that these should be used for commemorative or instructive purposes:

As regards what can be painted or engraved, it is permissible to represent ‘histories’ as a memorial, or figures, or [to create] medals of animals, cities or countries. Instructive things or remembrances can be derived or depicted from them. As for the rest, I see no other purpose they can serve except pleasure.⁸⁷

That the backlash from some Protestant groups against images was violent cannot be denied. What is evident, perhaps surprisingly in light of the violence demonstrated by some, is that there was a certain amount of tolerance towards images. All Protestant leaders prohibited the depiction of religious subjects in churches but there was, as we can see, agreement, even among the more radical branches of Protestantism that

⁸⁵ Phillips, p. 73.

⁸⁶ Michalski, p. 70.

⁸⁷ Michalski, p. 71.

images depicting non-religious subject matter were acceptable, in the home, as educational tools.

That the ramifications of iconoclasm were far reaching, and, like the debate over the word, not simply confined to theological issues, is underlined by Michalski, who writes, ‘The image problem may have a narrowly defined theological point of departure, based on scriptural exegesis, but its wide cultural and social ramifications are relevant to central problems in cultural history’.⁸⁸ The controversy over the image raged throughout the sixteenth century becoming, as Phillips emphasises, one of the central and most damaging causes of the rift in the Church,

The extremely drastic iconoclastic events in France in the years 1559-62 greatly impeded the effort of the royal court at mediation and deepened the gulf between the two faiths.⁸⁹

The very nature of art was thrown into question, and for the first time art began to be separated into categories:

Up to Luther’s time art had been almost exclusively religious. In Northern Europe the division into secular and religious art had not yet crystallized and impinged on the consciousness of wider circles of artists and viewers.⁹⁰

The effects of iconoclasm upon the development of art during the Reformation were devastating.⁹¹ As we have seen above, for ‘some radical reformers, faith’s renewal required the destruction of images’⁹² as Koerner argues:

⁸⁸ Michalski, pp. xii-xiii.

⁸⁹ Phillips, p. 84.

⁹⁰ Michalski, p. 2.

⁹¹ It is difficult to estimate the damage caused by iconoclast reformers for as Koerner tells us, ‘In Wittenberg, as in most sites of iconoclastic destruction, church cleansing left no record of things removed or broken’, Koerner, p. 84.

In areas of Northern Europe where this attitude held sway – in Swiss and south Germany during the 1520's, in Huguenot France, in England from 1526, in Flanders during the ‘wonder year’ 1566, and elsewhere – the history of art became the history of the image’s annihilation.⁹³

Protestant iconoclasts attacked all forms of art but took a special relish in the breaking of crucifixes. Catholic churches were not the only victims of iconoclasts. Koerner reminds us that the divide between the various Protestant factions could at times be just as bitter:

Sometimes the conflict caused Calvinists to destroy Lutheran church pictures, as occurred in Languedoc in 1584, under orders of the ruling count.⁹⁴

Corby Finney argues that the Reformation ‘generated a dramatic shift in themes favoured by those who purchased paintings for display in their homes’.⁹⁵ He notes a drop in Calvinist and Reformed buyers’ demand for paintings of a religious nature and underlines a Protestant shunning of canvases depicting the Virgin, saints or crucifixion. Koerner offers the following support to this argument:

Despite Luther’s relative tolerance of them, Marian images vanished from Protestant iconography and from Protestant churches after c. 1550. In this sense Christocentric Protestant theology caused the disappearance of an entire pictorial theme.⁹⁶

The effects of Protestantism on art in Northern Europe can therefore be defined, perhaps, not by what the Reformers brought to art, but rather what they took away. For the rest, Finney argues, there is little difference. He stresses the fact that Protestant and Catholic artists undertook commissions for rival faiths and argues that iconographic traditions developed gradually over time, claiming that these traditions

⁹² Koerner, p. 27. See also *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. by Paul Corby Finney (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), in which the Protestant stance on images is outlined.

⁹³ Koerner, p. 27.

⁹⁴ Koerner, p. 158.

⁹⁵ Finney, p. 40.

⁹⁶ Michalski, p. 36.

were ‘the common property of artists of all post Reformation confessional families’.⁹⁷

What remains to be seen is if this is as true of emblems as it is of other forms of art.

Protestant use of text and image

Despite the debate surrounding images and the importance of the scriptures, the practice of combining word and image had long been a Protestant tradition:

Inscriptions in churches became more the preserve of the Calvinists, while the process of including inscriptions in Protestant pictures had already begun – as an autonomous artistic phenomenon – in the early 1520s.⁹⁸

While inscriptions in churches may have been more predominantly the preserve of Calvinists, this was not exclusively the case. Luther too advocated the prolific painting of inscriptions and indeed urged his followers to do the same:

Luther compiled long lists of them [words], wrote them on books, walls and doors, and had them etched in stone, iron and glass, where they could function as enduring emblems - he termed them ‘symbola’ of his faith. In his preface to the Wittenberg Church Ordinance of 1526, he instructed parents to do the same, to write bible quotations all over their houses and even to sneak them into their children’s ‘little sacks and bags’.⁹⁹

Not content with simply painting inscriptions inside churches, ‘Lutheran churches coupled pictures with inscriptions so that the two might be ‘read’ together. In his response to iconoclasm in Wittenberg in 1522, Luther expressly recommended that ‘the whole bible [be] painted before everyone’s eyes on the inside and outside of homes’.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Finney, p. 43.

⁹⁸ Michalski, p. 41.

⁹⁹ Koerner, p. 282.

¹⁰⁰ Koerner, p. 42.

Although the fear of idolatry may have led some, like Calvin, to ban the use of images in churches, Christian humanists, on the whole, saw images as a vital component in understanding God.¹⁰¹ Humanist thought was anchored in the medieval belief that images, as a mirror (albeit warped) of God, were the first step on the ladder towards God, ‘L’image qu’on voit s’interpose devant la réalité que l’on devrait contempler en Dieu’.¹⁰² Indeed, Bèze, Calvin’s deputy in France defended the use of some images which could be regarded as idols or cult figures in his emblematic work, *Icones*.

In some instances the word *became* the image in Protestant hands. It became a visual marker of iconoclasts, the visual word replacing the image in churches:

Strasbourg’s iconoclasts concealed their gesture with stone coloured paint. Sometimes, though, they marked their work indelibly and legibly. By one contemporary account, in 1529, the parishioners of Old St Peter’s, together with their pastor, ‘white-washed’ the church ‘within, and instead of saints’ portraits, the walls were written all over’.¹⁰³

Similarly the spoken word adopted a visual dimension in the space of learning. As I said above, Luther, amongst others, maintained that the word, written or spoken, is represented figuratively in the minds of men, ‘Lutherans [...] exhibited writing as a beautiful emblem of the truths it conveyed’.¹⁰⁴ Hence rote learning, which remained the pedagogical norm, attempted to impress the understanding and *image* of God’s Word upon learners:

‘God wants us to ponder his Word diligently in our hearts,’ preached Luther in 1533, ‘and so impress [einbildeten] it on ourselves that at length it will

¹⁰¹ Christian humanists sought to reconcile ancient pagan wisdom with Christian teaching. They promoted the idea that human freedom and individualism are compatible with the practice of Christianity. Desiderius Erasmus was the most influential of the Christian humanists. For more on this see, *Érasme et la montée de l’humanisme: la naissance d’une communauté européenne de la culture*, ed. by Julien Ries (Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d’histoire des religions, 2001).

¹⁰² Anne-Elisabeth Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique* (Paris: Champion, 1996), p. 48.

¹⁰³ Koerner, p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ Koerner, p. 297.

become a natural thing to us.' Letter by letter God's Word imprints an image (a *Bild*) of itself within the heart, and it will be this that allows us properly to understand what the Word actually says.¹⁰⁵

This approach is reflective of Protestant meditation that emphasises the responsibility of the individual:

Two elements especially characterise Protestant meditation, whatever the subject or formal structure: a focus upon the bible, the Word, as guiding the interpretation of the subject and providing meditative models, and a particular kind of application to the self.¹⁰⁶

The Protestant emblem

The progression from the combinations of text and image discussed above to combining text and image in an emblematic format seems a logical one and, having cleared the way of some of the central issues of the Reformation, it would be useful at this point to consider the Protestant emblem in more detail. The image is not just tolerated in Protestant emblems. It does not simply serve as illustration or as a memory aide but interacts with the text and indeed at times acts independently of the text to add to the overall message. Just such a close relationship between text and image is evident, for example, in Montenay's 'Foedere perfecto' (With the covenant fulfilled).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Koerner, p. 305.

¹⁰⁶ Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 148.

¹⁰⁷ All Latin and Greek translations are by Alison Adams.



Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567), p. 48.

The motto of Montenay's emblem is not in this instance a biblical quotation, although the terminology used does bring to mind God's covenant with man. The *pictura* features a lion, a sheep and a wolf all eating from a bale of corn. In the background four figures in discussion or argument appear to take shelter against the side of a hill from storm clouds overhead. While, as Adams underlines, 'the fulfilment of the covenant must mean the coming of Christ',¹⁰⁸ the motto seems to bear little significance for the animals in the foreground. The background figures are identified in the text as being Jews and Greeks and so a reading of these human and animal figures as suggesting a union of Christian denominations would seem reasonable. This is not in fact the case. Adams points to the text with its emphasis on people who are

¹⁰⁸ Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), p. 51. The *picturae* reproduced here are not actual size.

‘renez par l’Evangile’ concluding that, ‘Montenay is in fact talking of the Jews and the Greeks (Gentiles) who are equally called to Christ, as opposed to the situation of the Old Testament where the Jews alone were singled out’. The biblical references to this idea are numerous, and indeed, Montenay presupposes a familiarity with these on the part of her reader. Corinthians 12.13, for example, fits particularly well: ‘For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bound or free; and we have all been made to drink into one Spirit’.¹⁰⁹ This is not the only biblical allusion Montenay expects her reader to pick up on: Adams identifies the background human figures being rained upon as ‘Le Juif, le Grec, le doux, le vicieux’ and sees in these an allusion to Matthew 5.45: ‘For he maketh the sun to rise on the evil and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust’. It is the detail in the engraving of the rain that permits this identification. On the one hand this detail helps to create a realistic setting, on the other, when combined or ‘read’ with the other details in the *pictura*, it forms part of a visual puzzle that conveys implicit biblical authority.

This attention to background detail is very much influenced by the Dutch emblem tradition exemplified by later authors such as Heinsius and Van Veen whose *picturae* featured central figures set in often very detailed background pastoral scenes.¹¹⁰ The difference between these is in the purpose of these secondary, background details: while in the Dutch examples these tend to simply fill in the background space and add charm, in Montenay’s emblems, for example, these details are also important

¹⁰⁹ All English biblical references are from the King James version.

¹¹⁰ Commenting on the influence of Low Countries upon emblem production Bart Westerweel pinpoints Antwerp as ‘the most important crossroads of the early phase of European emblem book production, especially of the humanist emblem book. ‘The European dimension of Dutch Emblem Production’, in *Emblems of the Low Countries: A Book Historical Perspective*, ed. by Alison Adams and Marleen van der Weij (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2003), pp. 1-16 (p. 6).

symbolically, combining to add to the overall message of the emblem. Of course not only does Montenay presuppose a high level of biblical knowledge on the part of her reader but also demands very careful reading. This is a very complex emblem comprising several layers of meaning. This density renders it particularly inaccessible to a modern reader: a different approach to reading is required here, a patient to-and-fro-ing between text and image as the message is unravelled.

* * *

The Catholic Emblem in Context

Not until Paul III became Pope in 1534 did the Roman Catholic Church receive the leadership it needed to meet the challenge of the Protestants. This Pope approved new religious orders like the Jesuits, and he convoked the Council of Trent (1545-63) to deal with the doctrinal and disciplinary questions raised by the Protestant reformers. Aside from the secular state legislation controlling Protestant space, the Catholic Church also played a proactive role in the fight against Protestantism. The Council of Trent, for example, aimed to recall all Christians to the Catholic faith. Inaugurated on December 13th 1545 it was concluded in 1563 after 25 sessions, the Tridentine decrees it set out attempted to reaffirm some of the areas of Catholicism that were being attacked by the Reformers. It defined and published Catholic teaching in the face of the Protestant challenge. It supported ‘l’usage légitime des images’,¹¹¹ and defended the principle of the material representation of the sacred, arguing that the ability to create was a gift from God and, as such, exercising this ability brought man closer to God. In particular, the decrees of the Council of Trent, ‘reasserted the

¹¹¹ Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique*, p. 122. For a more detailed look at the Catholic defence of images, see: Spica, pp. 125-126.

doctrines of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, Purgatory, the invocation of saints' although the decrees were not fully promulgated in France for almost fifty years after the Council.¹¹² Spiritual renewal was of prime importance and, as Robert McNally, S.J. writes, 'involved the inner renewal of religious observance among the faithful'.¹¹³ This entailed a focus on personal prayer, penance and the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The ramifications were far reaching and the 'dogmatic and disciplinary decisions were to provide the inspiration for the Counter Reformation'.¹¹⁴

The Jesuits also proved to be an extremely influential force that moulded not only the face of modern Christianity but also the literature and the arts, and, in particular, emblems. Marc Fumaroli underscores the far-reaching scope of the Jesuit influence when he underpins the Society of Jesus as a key factor in the changes in Catholic thought and learning:

In many ways, the Jesuits had been the leading and driving spiritual force behind the 'enlightenment' of Catholic Europe, spreading Renaissance and post-Renaissance learning among the laity and succeeding its synthesis with the legacy of the patristic, medieval, and Tridentine Roman Church.¹¹⁵

The huge impact of the Jesuits on emblematic literature has, as we shall see, been well documented. While the terms Jesuit and Catholic, are not of course, synonymous, the role Jesuit meditational practices played in shaping the development of the Catholic emblem requires that we spend some time examining key aspects of this group.

¹¹² Spicer, pp. 245-259 (p. 255). Mantesch dates the promulgation of Tridentine decrees from 1615 (p. 117). For a more general discussion of all three assemblies of the Council of Trent see also: Thompson, pp. 515-521.

¹¹³ Robert E. McNally, 'The Council of Trent, the *Spiritual Exercises* and the Catholic Reform', *Church History*, 34 (1965), 36-50 (37).

¹¹⁴ Morrall, 476-486.

¹¹⁵ Marc Fumaroli, 'The Fertility and the Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 90-106 (p. 99).

The influence of the Jesuits, especially that of their teaching and meditational programmes was world-wide. A detailed exploration of the development of the Jesuits in every location they were based would be, of course, impossible: the geographical and pedagogical scope is just too great. However, the Jesuits were an organised force who practised a universal programme of conversion and education. The situation of the Jesuit movement, therefore in France echoed, with the exception of England, the position of Jesuits across Europe. The programme of reform followed by the Jesuits in Germany echoes quite closely, for example, that followed by the Jesuits in France. I will, therefore, examine the Jesuit movement with particular reference to France, where the first Jesuits met.

Established in 1540,¹¹⁶ the Society of Jesus became over the next two-hundred and fifty years one of the most controversial and powerful organisations in Europe. Founded by Ignatius of Loyola,¹¹⁷ the Society nevertheless owes its formation to France and to the University of Paris as O'Malley writes:

Ignatius was soon joined by nine other men, not all of them Spanish, who had known each other at the University of Paris and banded together to become the nucleus of the future Society of Jesus.¹¹⁸

Along with six students of the university, Loyola formed the embryonic Company of Jesus, taking a vow of chastity and poverty and promising to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ From this early beginning the Company grew from strength to strength.

¹¹⁶ Keith Randell, *The Catholic and Counter Reformation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990), p. 71.

¹¹⁷ Ignatius was born in 1491 at the castle of Loyola and died in Rome in 1556. He came to Paris in 1528 to study the Arts where he founded the Company of Jesus. For a detailed biography and discussion of the aims of and the events leading to the foundation of the Society see: Michael Mullet, *The Counter Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Early-Modern Europe* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 22-30.

¹¹⁸ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 1.

¹¹⁹ A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early-Modern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 1.

Noted for their educational, missionary and charitable work, the driving aim behind the Society was the conversion or re-conversion of individuals to the Roman Catholic faith. The prolific Jesuit teaching programme combined with the efforts of the League to promote Tridentine reforms met with some success:

The French Church was certainly a different institution at the end of the century [17th] from what it had been at the start. Its activities were spread over a remarkably wide area. Much attention was paid to the improvement of the clergy and to the reform of the orders. Churches were built or restored and greater contact of the clergy with believers existed through schooling and charitable services.¹²⁰

The Society established communes across the world and became the foremost arm of defence against the rising wave of Protestantism. It must be noted, however, that the Society was not founded with the avowed intention of opposing Protestantism; missionary Jesuits were sent by Ignatius to new, pagan lands and only targeted ‘Protestant’ countries upon request of the Pope. Nor was the Jesuit mission in France initiated as a response to Protestantism. Michael Mullett argues this point when he says, ‘his [Ignatius’s] apparent unawareness of the German Reformation helps to demonstrate that the Catholic Reformation in the south was not brought into being by the Protestant Reformation in the north’.¹²¹ Neither the papal letters of approbation nor the Constitutions of the order mention this as the object of the new foundation although as the mission of the Jesuits was the promotion and preservation of the Catholic faith, suppression of Protestantism and reconversion naturally became one of their central aims. The fight against Protestantism was merely, A. Lynn Martin

¹²⁰ Phillips, p. 297.

¹²¹ Michael M. Mullett, *The Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (London: Methuen, 1984) p. 23.

underlines, ‘an extension of Jesuit apostolic labours to save souls, albeit an increasingly important extension in France’.¹²²

The Jesuits were not, as Marc Fumaroli points out, ‘by any means the only or the first Counter Reformation religious order to send missions to the new-found or newly conquered parts of the world’¹²³ but, he underlines, they were arguably the most influential:

The wealth of scientific, linguistic, and cultural data they returned to the Roman generalate, and the eloquent use their European-based stationary colleagues made of this material in print during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, brought about a revolution in Europe’s world view.¹²⁴

Jesuit Colleges

Perhaps the most significant changes introduced by the Jesuits in France, and indeed, elsewhere, were on an educational level with their programme of creating Jesuit centres of learning, or ‘collèges’, across France. The first Jesuits, although mostly Spanish, were all sent to the University in Paris to be educated under the supervision of the Bishop of Clermont. Over time his *hôtel* grew into the Collège de Clermont (1563), afterwards known as Louis-le-Grand. Billom, the first officially opened of the colleges opened in 1556 and colleges at Mauriac and Pamiers soon followed. Between 1565 and 1575, others at Avignon, Chambéry, Toulouse, Rodez, Verdun, Nevers, Bordeaux, and Pont-à-Mousson were established.¹²⁵ A precursor to liberal education, the Jesuit plan of studies incorporated the classical teachings of Renaissance Humanism into the Scholastic structure of Catholic thought. In addition to teaching

¹²² Martin, *The Jesuit Mind*, p. 89.

¹²³ Fumaroli, p. 259.

¹²⁴ Fumaroli, pp. 90-106 (p. 99).

¹²⁵ Martin, *The Jesuit Mind*, p. 1.

faith, the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599) emphasized the study of Latin, Greek, classical literature, poetry, and philosophy as well as non-European languages, sciences and the arts.¹²⁶ The programme of education followed a set pattern: three classes of rhetoric were followed by one of humanity.¹²⁷ An aspect of Jesuit teaching which was new was the responsibility placed on the pupils. In a move away from earlier, more dogmatic pedagogical methods, the Jesuits introduced a new emphasis on production, ‘the stress on studying the work of others in order to be able to do the same thing oneself was one of the important features of Jesuit education’.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Jesuit schools encouraged the study of vernacular literature and rhetoric, and thereby became important centres for the training of lawyers and public officials.

The Jesuits and emblems

Alison Saunders has demonstrated the importance of emblems and related forms in Jesuit teaching practices. While she acknowledges that the Jesuits ‘excelled in producing devotional emblem books’,¹²⁹ she also highlights the several other uses made of emblems by Jesuits. Following the Catholic tradition that God can be encountered through created things and especially art, Jesuits encouraged the use of ceremony and decoration in Catholic ritual and devotion. In particular emblems formed an important part of Jesuit end of year productions and celebrations, both as informative decorations complementing the theme of the production and as integral parts of the productions themselves. With respect, for example, to the ballet staged at

¹²⁶ The full title is: *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu Collegio Romano*.

¹²⁷ Alison Saunders, ‘Make the pupils do it themselves: Emblems plays and public performances in French Jesuit colleges in the Seventeenth Century’, in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, ed. by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 187-206, (p. 188).

¹²⁸ Saunders, ‘Make the pupils do it themselves’, pp. 187-206 (p. 188).

¹²⁹ Saunders, ‘Make the pupils do it themselves’, pp. 187-206 (p. 203).

the college in Paris (1660) to celebrate the marriage of Louis XIV with the Infanta Maria Theresa in which sections performed on stage were followed by a spoken epigram, Saunders comments:

In such epigrams the combination of word and image is exactly that of conventional emblems, the only difference being that the word is spoken as opposed to being written, and the image is presented by a living actor rather than being depicted in static painted printed or engraved form.¹³⁰

Such performances had long since been central to the Jesuit educational programme and formed part of the official curriculum as set out in the 1599 *Ratio studiorum*.¹³¹

Further to these performances was the production of emblem books specifically commemorating such celebrations. Gabriel François Le Jay's *Le Triomphe de la religion sous Louis le Grand* as I mentioned briefly in the introduction is one such example.¹³² A Jesuit priest who taught at the College Louis le Grand,¹³³ Le Jay produced this work as a commemoration of an oration given at the beginning-of-year celebration held at the College Louis le Grand in Paris in 1686 to celebrate the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the King's eradication of heresy. In it the decorations in the hall are faithfully reproduced in detailed engravings, accompanied by verse, as indicated in the title, in French and Latin.

With respect to education, emblems formed an integral part of Jesuit teaching especially in the classes of humanity and rhetoric.¹³⁴ In the foreword to the *Jesuit Series* (1997), a bibliography encompassing all extant books of emblems and theoretical works on emblems written by members of the Society of Jesus, Peter-Hans

¹³⁰ Saunders, 'Make the pupils do it themselves', pp. 187-206 (p. 191).

¹³¹ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 256.

¹³² Gabriel Le Jay, *Triomphe de la religion sous Louis le Grand* (Paris: Martin, 1687).

¹³³ Saunders, 'Make the pupils do it themselves', pp. 187-206 (p. 189).

¹³⁴ Saunders, 'Make the pupils do it themselves', pp. 187-206 (p. 188).

Kolvenbach, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, pinpoints some of the pedagogical uses to which emblems were put:

Jesuits used the emblem form for a range of didactic purposes imparting information on topics ranging from symbology, poetry and rhetoric, through philosophy and ethics and mythology, to alchemy and medicine.¹³⁵

Emblems became the focus, therefore not just of devotion but of a large number of lessons. They formed not only part of the taught course content but in keeping with the new Jesuit emphasis on having pupils emulate and produce things themselves, students were encouraged to design their own:

They could equally well exploit the genre [emblematics] for quite different purposes, encouraging their school pupils to produce – in the interest of their purely secular intellectual development quite different types of emblems, exercises in wit and ingenuity.¹³⁶

Collections of emblems were produced by individual authors and colleges alike. While the Jesuits may have been later than the Protestants in producing emblem books, production of Jesuit emblem books soon overtook that of the Protestants as is underlined in the foreword of the *Jesuit Series*: ‘members of the Society of Jesus produced more books in this genre than did any other identifiable group of interest’.¹³⁷

Jesuit meditation and the Jesuit Emblem

To understand the Jesuit style of emblem one must first consider the programme of meditation set out in the *Spiritual Exercises*, the best-known legacy of the Jesuits. The widespread and long lasting influence of this manual of interior conversion is quite

¹³⁵ *The Jesuit Series*, ed. by Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler (London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997).

¹³⁶ Saunders, ‘Make the pupils do it themselves’, pp. 187-206, (p. 203).

¹³⁷ Daly and Dimler, eds, *The Jesuit Series*.

remarkable.¹³⁸ Formulated by Ignatius of Loyola, the *Spiritual Exercises* represented a programme of meditation, still widely read today, for those wishing to enter the Society of Jesus or those wishing simply to lead a more Christian life.¹³⁹ Originally a Spanish manuscript, which has since been lost, the *Spiritual Exercises* were later published as two Latin translations (*Exercitia Spiritualia*): a Latin translation, *Antiqua versio latina*, a literal version probably made by the saint and a free translation by Father Frusius, more elegant and more in accordance with the style of the period and generally called the ‘Vulgata’ (1548). This is a programme of meditation which has as a goal the interior spiritual conversion of the participant through meditation on the example of Christ. Adopting the imagery of a spiritual journey as an overall organisational theme, it is split into three sections; the purgative way, the illuminative way and the unitive way. In the first of these the exercitant focuses upon his sins and in the second and third sections looks to the example of Jesus for guidance on how to behave. Each section takes a week to complete (though it must be noted that this ‘week’ is understood not as seven days but as an abstract concept and days can be omitted or appended as necessary). For each meditation the meditant is asked to project him or herself into the scene being described. In so doing the importance of the imagination is emphasised as the reader initially focuses upon the *compositio loci*. It is the ultimate goal of persuasion that truly marks Jesuit literature. Projecting oneself into a scene to the extent of being persuaded of a ‘truth’ requires a belief and

¹³⁸ In an interview published online Father Joseph Tetlow claims that Loyola’s spiritual Exercises has been printed once a month for 450 years; no one knows how many millions of copies. This interview is published online: Lawrence Johnson, *An Interview with Father Joseph Tetlow* (1997) www.sjweb.info/spirituality/introspect.cfm [06/07/05].

¹³⁹ Randell tells us, ‘At the heart of the *Spiritual Exercises* was an extended period, ideally of several weeks, of retreat from the world during which a planned sequence of contemplations on the life of Jesus took place. The contemplations which involved imaginative reconstructions of the events of Jesus’s life, and an attempt to experience what were thought to have been his feelings, were interspersed with sessions during which the client committed himself to live a more Christ-like life’, p. 73.

an interest in the scene being presented. This, as Judi Loach points out, in turn necessitates an engagement of the imagination which is achieved through appealing to the senses. The words must speak to the soul, not just to the mind, and consequently we find that much of the language in Jesuit literature is emotionally loaded. Ignatius, for example, highlights in the *Spiritual Exercises* the importance of the role of the imagination in meditation, ‘The first Point will be to see with the sight of the imagination the great fires, and the souls as in bodies of hell’ (week one, fifth meditation).¹⁴⁰ The language he employs is frequently graphic, appealing directly to the senses and is intended to provoke an emotional response in the meditant. In the fifth meditation on hell (week one), for example, the following line appears, ‘The third, to smell with the smell smoke, sulphur, dregs and putrid things’.¹⁴¹ It is this sensory appeal that Judi Loach underlines when she writes:

The senses must be captured as well as the intellect, as intellectual consent alone would not suffice, would not engage the whole person mind, body and will; it would not end in full participation. This was, of course, the mentality of the *Spiritual Exercises*, a product of its age but also a refinement of it which owed so much to specifically Jesuit theology and to specifically Ignatian spirituality. If the fundamental aim is to move the observer, in other words is the act of *persuasion*, it was because the Jesuits’ religious beliefs led them to develop forms of rhetoric which would ensure that their audiences were not merely convinced, but were driven to act on these convictions. In their original, sixteenth-century context the *Spiritual Exercises* were developed for private use, by an individual. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits’ very success forced them to operate more often through an early kind of mass culture than on an individual basis. Yet their aim was still to move the individual, to stimulate him to act.¹⁴²

The *Spiritual Exercises* propose a regimented plan of interior conversion based on Catholic doctrine and yet art historians do recognise the fluidity and flexibility of the

¹⁴⁰ I am quoting here from an edition by David L. Fleming, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: A Literal Translation and a Contemporary Reading* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1978), p. 12

¹⁴¹ Fleming, p. 12.

¹⁴² Judi Loach, ‘Jesuit Emblematics and the Opening of the School Year at the Collège Louis-le-Grand’, *Emblematica*, 9.1 (1995), 133-176 (269).

Spiritual Exercises, commenting on their adaptability to other forms.¹⁴³ Keith Randell, for example praises this aspect of the *Spiritual Exercises* when he says, ‘One of the strengths of the *Spiritual Exercises* was their infinite flexibility’. These meditations are, for example, particularly well suited to the emblematic form. The influence of Jesuit teaching, inspired by Aristotelian and Thomist philosophy is evident, as Loach has demonstrated, in the treatises of contemporary emblem theorist, Claude François Menestrier.¹⁴⁴ Menestrier considers the constituent parts of emblems (he identifies three: the image, the motto, and the verse) in philosophical terms borrowed from Aristotle, referring to the ‘âme’ and the ‘corps’ of an emblem. For Menestrier the image of an emblem (of which the purpose is to persuade) is two-fold appealing both to the eyes and to the ‘esprit’ as Loach explains:

Menestrier compares the eye with a mirror, or anything polished, because having received imagery of physical objects in the external world it reflects these inwards into the mind¹⁴⁵

The component parts of the emblem (the image, the verse and the motto), according to Menestrier, make up the body of the emblem, while the ‘âme’ of the emblem (the meaning these combined parts convey), is what communicates with the ‘esprit’.

The parallel between Menestrier’s model of an emblem and the way in which the *Spiritual Exercises* function is clear. The image of the emblem fulfils the role of Loyola’s *compositio loci*, providing a visual focus for the meditation, opening up a scenario on which to focus the reader’s attention and encourage self-projection upon

¹⁴³ Randell, p. 74.

¹⁴⁴ Menestrier’s first published treatise on emblems was the *Art des Emblemes* (Lyon: Coral, 1662); For discussion of the development of Menestrier’s earlier theoretical works and the context in which he wrote the *Art des Emblemes* see: Judi Loach, ‘Why Menestrier Wrote about Emblems, and What Audience(s) Had in Mind’, *Emblematica*, 12 (2002), 223-283.

¹⁴⁵ Judi Loach, ‘Body and Soul: A Transfer of the Theological Terminology into the Aesthetic Realm’, *Emblematica Emblematica*, 12 (2002), 31-60 (40). See also: Loach; ‘Menestrier’s Emblem Theory’, *Emblematica*, 2 (1988), 317-336

the scene. The accompanying verse/prose combinations satisfy the role of the meditations.

Karl Josef Höltgen demonstrates the adaptability of the *Spiritual Exercises* to the emblematic form in his analysis of the emblems by Henry Hawkins, an English Jesuit, remarking with respect to *The Devout Hart* (1634) that:

The structure of the book follows even more closely that of the *Spiritual Exercises* [than Hawkins' first book *Partheneia Sacra*], with Preamble, Preparatory Prayer, Preludes, Points, and Colloquy, each meditation to be concluded by *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*.¹⁴⁶

The *Spiritual Exercises* represent a standard, uniform programme of spiritual meditation that spread across Europe and so, while Hawkins may be an English author, Höltgen's comments regarding the overlap between emblem and meditation are equally as valid with respect to Jesuit emblems in France. Acknowledging Hawkins' debt to both Hugo and the three-fold Ignatian meditation, Höltgen underscores the parallel between the visual scene drawn from memory or imagination recommended in Ignatian meditation and the visual component of the emblem. He links too the meditative considerations on the life of Jesus to the verbal aspect of the emblem:

The *pictura* of the devotional or meditative emblem represents the *compositio loci*, where the application of the senses takes place. The explanatory poem of the emblem stands for the *analysis*, and the final epigram for the *colloquium* (the second and third parts of the Ignatian meditation).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Karl Josef Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins: A Jesuit Writer and Emblematist in Stuart England', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al. (London: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 600-626 (p. 617).

¹⁴⁷ Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins', p. 605. For more on the similarities between Hawkins' emblematic work and the *Spiritual Exercises*, see: Anthony Raspa, 'The Jesuit Aesthetics of Henry Hawkins' *Partheneia Sacra*', in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August 1996*, ed. by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 25-32.

'Ignatian meditation', Höltgen affirms, echoing Loach's emphasis on the sensory, 'involves the consideration, apprehension, and acceptance of spiritual truth through the senses, the mind and the will'¹⁴⁸. While the image provides a sensory focus, the words direct the imagination and the mind towards a particular episode or moment in the life of Christ. These words constitute, in Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, the four-part series of rules and meditations. This begins with preparation, self-examination, and the realisation of the powers of sin and hell, continuing with contemplations of the life of Christ up to his Ascension, the most important mysteries of the Christian faith, and culminating with meditation on the risen and glorified Christ. The verse, and in some cases, especially in later Catholic examples, the additional commentary sections, constitute the corresponding elements in the emblematic form.

Höltgen further demonstrates the flexibility of the emblematic genre when he assesses the originality of Hawkins' work with respect to that of Hugo, the underlying influence. 'Hawkins's realisation', he remarks, 'is different and quite new',¹⁴⁹ and, he concludes, 'Hawkins felt free to experiment with a form he evidently knew well'.¹⁵⁰ This, Höltgen suggests, is typical of the Jesuit approach to the emblematic form, which, he argues, 'did not adhere to a canonical form of the emblem but developed a variety of devotional and educational applications'.¹⁵¹

An examination of one of Hawkins' emblems confirms Höltgen's conclusions. The *picturae* of *The Devout Hart* (1634) each feature a representation of the human heart upon which Christ acts. As such, the emotional appeal targeted in the *Spiritual*

¹⁴⁸ Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins', p. 617.

¹⁴⁹ Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins', p. 605.

¹⁵⁰ Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins', p. 605.

¹⁵¹ Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins', p. 605.

Exercises is here visually represented in the *picturae* featuring Christ physically acting upon the human heart.

In ‘Jesus cleanseth the heart, &c’, Christ is in fact featured standing within the heart. Above him flies a dove, a symbol, we presume, of the Holy Spirit. Liquid pours from wounds on his hands and feet, and angels wash what looks like cloths in the basin at his feet into which this liquid runs. The premise, of Christ the redeemer, is one that is central to Christianity. The idea of sin, and the sinner’s desire to cleanse him or herself of this is introduced in the prose colloquy which precedes the image. That the cleansing liquid, or blood of Christ, should be seen to flow from the stigmata further reinforces the idea of sacrifice. The message, that Christ’s sacrifice cleanses man of his sin, is thus effectively and concisely expressed. The subject matter is certainly one likely to produce an immediate emotional response from the reader and so confirms the parallel drawn by Höltgen between the *picturae* in Hawkins’ emblems and the *compositio loci* of Ignatian meditation. Furthermore, although the reader must interpret to a certain extent the visual clues of the *pictura*, this is fairly easily understood, especially in light of the helpful motto and preceding colloquy. The intellectual response required from the reader is thus kept to a minimum while the emotional aspect is pushed to the fore.



Henry Hawkins, *The Devout Hart* (Rouen: Cousturier, 1634), pp. 71-82.

From this emotional start several textual sections follow. An initial verse, called the ‘Hymne’ is followed by the ‘Incentive’, the ‘Preamble to the Meditation’, and the ‘Meditation’, which consists of a preparatory prayer and colloquy. While the significance of the *pictura* is fairly clear, each of these subsequent sections breaks down the message of the emblem and comments in some way upon this. The verse, or ‘Incentive’, for example, comments directly on the image:

Behold the fountaines living spring
Both here & there in Angel brings
Souls soyl'd with ugly spots within

The direct reference to the image reinforces this initial contemplation in the mind of the reader. What it also does is diminish the active role played by the reader. It offers a straightforward verbal explanation of the significance of the image rather than further clues which the reader must solve. The following prose sections adopt a similar approach, each taking a point and clarifying this further. The ‘Incentive’, for example, likens Christ to the water of life, ‘If Jesus be absent, I am arid, dry and without juice’. The ‘Preamble to the Meditation’ develops this idea further looking to

biblical examples, of the life and strength that Christ's life-blood provides, citing, in particular, Samson. Indeed, all of these prose sections contain several biblical references, in line with the textual emphasis of the *Spiritual Exercises* to look towards Christ as an example. Once again, the role of the reader is diminished; all of these references are labelled – it is not left up to the reader to identify these. Furthermore, in the lengthy 'Preamble to the Meditation', the many allusions to biblical passages that occur are in fact identified at the end of the section with the help of a key. Thus point 'A' in the text corresponds to citation 'A' at the end of the text. In this way Hawkins' emblem follows closely the pattern of guided meditation found in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The above analysis provides a concrete example of the similarities noted by Höltgen between the emblems by Hawkins and the *Spiritual Exercises*. The *pictura* corresponds to the *compositio loci*; both elicit an emotional rather than an intellectual response from the reader and both guide the reader/meditant step by step.

Chapter One Afterword

This brief examination of the many elements that constitute the context of the religious emblem already suggests that things are not as clear-cut as one might expect. The divide between Protestant and Catholic, all too often thought of as clearly opposed factions, is not, it would seem, as distinct as popular thought would have it. There are key issues, certainly, for example the role of faith in salvation, over which the first Protestants and Catholics disagreed, but these questions proved to be as much an area of dispute among developing branches of Protestantism as they did between Protestants and Catholics. A prime example of this modern exaggeration of doctrinal differences is the misunderstanding of the debate surrounding images: while Protestants were divided over this issue, the belief that their rejection of images was absolute and unwavering is a modern myth. The boundaries are not so distinct. Neither Protestants nor Catholics had firmly established doctrines at this time: these were still evolving. Within the Catholic Church, too, the number of new orders that emerged to join the ranks of existing orders reflects the evolution in religious thinking. It would seem, therefore, that the number of points upon which Protestants and Catholics disagreed has been exaggerated, or at least over-emphasised, and, on the whole, early Protestantism at least, remained theologically very close to Catholicism on many of the major doctrinal points of Christianity. So while the Reformation and Counter Reformation became, in many ways, periods of great diversity, of development, perhaps most importantly they remained periods of great overlap.

The same appears to be true for emblems: both Protestants and Catholics are producing collections of religious emblems at this time and while production of these may not have developed at the same rate, both denominations harness this format as an expression of religious thought. Protestants, for example, despite the issue of iconoclasm, are the first to begin producing religious emblem books. Indeed, far from rejecting all images, as is commonly believed, it would seem that the practice of combining text and image has long been a Protestant concern.

Furthermore, our preliminary examination of a Protestant emblem seems to suggest that the visual element, far from being a necessary evil, is in fact of primary importance. What is of particular note in this example from Montenay is the role played by the reader, who, far from being passive, is actively engaged in the process of reading and deciphering the moral of the emblem. This is, as we have seen, reflective of a Protestant point of doctrine, which saw their belief in the priesthood of all men place the emphasis on the individual and personal reading of the scriptures.

The Jesuit example by Hawkins works in a very different way. The image seems to adopt a secondary role in this example, which instead places the focus on the text which guides the reader step by step and thus the role of the reader is much more passive. The influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* is clear in this example: the *pictura* does not provide visual clues as it does in Montenay's emblem but instead functions as an initial point of focus upon which the reader, or meditant, is expected to project him or herself.

Although the above examples are quite different in their approach to the text image relationship it would seem that theological differences between Protestants and Catholics have at times been exaggerated. It is with these notions in mind that we will begin our investigation of Protestant and Catholic emblems.

Foreword to Chapters Two and Three

An emblem is the sum of its parts and, indeed, more than that, for each of these parts combines to create a more meaningful whole. It combines text and image in a unique form that faithfully expresses the moral attitudes and thinking of its time. It cannot function fully if one of these parts is removed, and yet, to understand fully how an emblem works, the inner mechanism as it were, the individual role of each of these elements must be considered. A television advert, for example, appears as a unit from the outside, but it is only upon considering it from the angle of the images used, the soundtrack, the dialogue or subtitles that the way in which it functions, the way in which these parts interact to exert an influence over the spectator, becomes clear. What the following two chapters propose to do, therefore, is examine the religious emblem from each of these interdependent perspectives, in other words, text and image, *verse* and *pictura*.

Chapter two will examine the concrete notion of light as it is presented in Protestant and Catholic emblems. It will attempt to identify the types of iconography found in these examples while looking for denominational patterns, and will explore the role of the image in these works in relation to the other component parts of these emblems. This chapter will, in particular, consider the relationship between text and image. How does the *pictura* relate to the text? Or indeed how does the text relate to the *pictura*? Is there an identifiable preference for either in the chosen corpus? Is the relationship between text and image different in any of the examples and if so does it

look like this would allow conclusions to be drawn regarding denominational emblematic styles?

The following chapter, chapter three, will examine the abstract notion of time, identifying the kinds of themes that are covered and looking at the way in which these are presented. Our preliminary exploration in the previous chapter of some of the central issues of the Reformations seems to suggest that other than a few key issues whereon Protestants and Catholics disagreed, doctrinal differences have, perhaps, been exaggerated. This chapter will explore this idea in relation to the theme of time.

Perhaps most importantly both chapters will also address the question of the reader's involvement in the process of reading an emblem. Is the reader passive? Or is the reader actively engaged in the process? What, if anything, does he or she bring to the interpretation of the emblem?

Chapter Two

'I am the light of the world': An Examination of Motifs of Light

While religious emblems of this period feature a vast number of motifs, an examination of the motif of light seems particularly appropriate, in part due to the overwhelming number of emblems featuring a light motif, but equally because of the associated symbolism and biblical connotations that still have contemporary significance.圣ly figures have, for example, for centuries been depicted with a nimbus or halo of light around their heads. Similarly, using light imagery to refer to concepts such as truth or the passing of time remains to this day, a commonplace. Both secular and religious emblem authors use the light motif to illustrate a wide number of themes ranging from those emblems which comment on a physical property of light, such as the contrast between light and dark, or the heat of the sun, to more complex emblems which develop this symbolism to express an abstract ideology, such as the grace of God or the pain of love. This study will examine a number of examples in order to demonstrate the wide variety of ideas associated with the light motif. Some of these interpretations are specifically religious while others express general moral truths and so I will begin by examining some of the so-called 'secular' precursors of the more specifically religious examples I examine in this chapter.

Secular precursors

The earliest secular example of an emblem to feature the physical aspects of a light motif is Andreas Alciato's 'In Astrologos' which I am analysing using the 1536 edition. In this, it is the warming properties of the sun's rays that Alciato focuses on in his warning against astrologers. In the woodcut Icarus falls to the sea, leaving a trail of feathers behind him, the wax that attached them softened by the blazing sun overhead.



Andreas Alciato, *Livret des emblemes* (Paris: Wechel, 1536), h2v.

While the motto makes it plain that astrologers are the focus of this emblem, the verse clarifies the precise characteristics of astrologers that Alciato is condemning. Picking up on the image, the verse gives the example of Icarus, describing his fall as the result of having 'trop grand exaltation'. The reader makes the comparison between Icarus and astrologers and deduces that this is a warning that the same fate awaits those who are similarly presumptuous. This is confirmed in the last lines of the verse:

Que leur haulte discussion,
Les mette ou dieu reduit tous roges.¹⁵²

While it is not made explicit, it seems reasonable to assume a parallel between the sun

¹⁵² Unless otherwise stated, all analysis of emblems is my own.

in the image which reduces Icarus to his earthly status and God in the verse who punishes these ‘rogues’. Indeed, earlier printed woodcuts depicting Icarus exist. The earliest known example of these is in Frédéric Rederer’s *Spiegel der Waren Rethoric* (Freiburg: 1493). In this way Alciato uses a well-known mythological example and a contrasting contemporary example to criticise a human trait that transcends time and culture.

Gilles Corrozet’s ‘Qui faict mal, hait la lumiere’ is another early secular example which uses the motif of light. In this instance it is not the sun but a candle that forms the focal point of the *pictura*. The puzzling woodcut portrays a man holding a sword and burning torch in one hand and shielding his eyes from the rays of the sun with the other. The quatrain picks up on this image and describes those who do wrong and disobey God as hating light:

Et à Dieu n'est obéissant
Il hait vérité, & lumière.

These lines clarify the *pictura*: the man, whom we assume to be a wrongdoer, shields his eyes from the light.



Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatographie* (Paris: Janot, 1540), c4v.

Once again, as in Alciato's emblem, it is the physical properties of light that are being focused upon here and this is elaborated in the longer additional verse. In the inclusion of this we see a move away from the tripartite format tradition associated with Alciato with the inclusion of a lengthy second verse which is not additional but an integral part of the emblem. The first two stanzas of this verse give a concrete reason for criminals preferring the dark to the light:

Celuy qui à son prochain nuyt,
Et luy veult faire du domage,
Cherche tenebres & la nuict,
Pour avoir mieulx son avantage.

The association between wrongdoing and darkness is further emphasised through the rhyme between 'nuyt' and 'nuict'.

The man hides from the sun presumably because it casts light upon his misdeeds but what is not clear is the significance of the sword, or the flames from the torch. Neither is the significance of these clarified in either of the two verses. The sword is ablaze, as if lit by the rays of the sun, which permits a second, spiritual interpretation, for the light of the sun is also, we assume, representative of the light of God. This association is reinforced in the third stanza where our assumed link between God and justice and light is verbalised:

Or ce pendant que temps avons
Laissons la noire obscurité
Le reluysant Soleil suyvons.

The sword, therefore is presented not just a weapon, an attribute of the wrongdoer, but, lit with God's truth, becomes perhaps also a symbol of justice.

Thus it is not only the practical cloaking properties of darkness to which this emblem

is referring. It simultaneously expresses this in spiritual terms, describing wrongdoers as fleeing the truth and light of Christ. While this ‘secular’ emblem is clearly set within a Christian context, it is not, however, at least traditionally, an emblem one would include within the religious emblem group. Linking the dislike of the revealing properties of light with wrongdoing and, therefore, disobedience to God, is a natural step and the reference to God is simply indicative of the pervasiveness of religious thought in the consciousness of the time.

Iconography found in ‘secular’ emblems also proved adaptable in the hands of another author to a more specifically religious context. Such is the case with the motif of the flame and the moth which the following two emblems both focus on to very different ends.

It is the pain of secular love, for example, that Hadrianus Junius chooses to illustrate with a moth flying around a burning candle, in ‘Tourment de franc amour’. This is just one example of a number of emblems which feature this motif alongside variations of this theme. Corrozet, Rollenhagen and Boissard and various poets such as Ronsard, to name but a few, all include variations on this emblem in their collections.



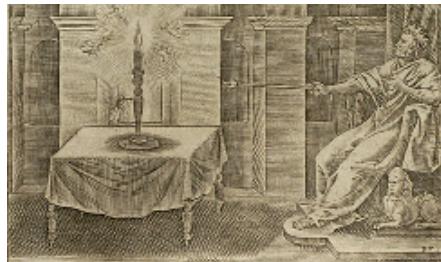
Hadrianus Junius, *Les Emblemes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1567), p. 53.

An Italian motto appears on the pedestal on which the candle sits, ‘Cosi de ben amar porto tormento’ (Thus I bear the pain of living well). While this is enough to convey the idea of attraction, Junius relies upon the natural instincts of the moth, attracted to light to illustrate this idea. It is the women tending the fire on either side of the pedestal that lifts the emblem from being simply a zoological observation and injects it with human significance, making a visual comparison between the moth and flame, women and fire. Just as the moth is burnt by the flame which attracts it, so too, we presume, is the lover scorched by the flames of his passion. This is reinforced in the verse which begins by drawing attention to the habits of the moth, and, moving on to talk of the lover, makes the comparison between these two explicit with the inclusion of the word ‘ainsi’ at the beginning of line four.

Boissard, however, adopts a similar motif for ‘Temerité dangereuse’ but finds a different significance in this. While the first part of the verse echoes fairly closely that of Junius and refers to the action in the image, this emblem is not, in fact, about the dangers of profane love. Rather, as the beginning of the second part of the verse suggests, this emblem appears to defend the divine nature of kings,

Les Princes sont de Dieu les vivantes images
Nous leur sommes tenus & de foys & d'hommages,
Et qui leur fait honneur, il obeit à Dieu.

This immediately introduces a new religious element. Just as the moths in the image are burned by the flame that attracts them, so too, this emblem warns, will those be punished who defy royal authority. This is expressed nicely in the image in the figure of the King pointing towards the candle and is an excellent example of a religious reworking of a ‘secular’ motif.



Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Emblemes* (Metz: Faber, 1588), pp. 58-59.

An explicitly religious context

If the light source has a firm existence as a motif in profane emblems and even in the secular domain carries contrasting positive and negative connotations, this is even truer of religious emblems. Light has always played an important symbolic role in religion and scriptural support for this is strong. Jesus, for example, refers to himself as ‘the light of the world’ in the New Testament, and, indeed, light forms the basis of God’s very first commandment: ‘And God said, Let there be light: and there was light’. Haloes of light distinguish saintly, holy figures in religious artworks. The source of light varies: sometimes it is the product of a natural source such as the sun, moon, or stars. Other times it results from a man-made source like a candle or a lamp. Candles in particular play an important role in Christianity. Within Christianity the

burning candle is often taken to be representative of Christian prayer and sacrifice, or in some cases the extinguished candle symbolises the transience of life, life ‘snuffed out’.¹⁵³ It is estimated that candles have been an integral part of the Catholic mass since apostolic times, and it is precisely during the sixteenth century (coinciding with the production of emblem books) that the custom of placing candles on the altar became commonplace.¹⁵⁴

The light source forms the basis for individual emblems in collections of devotional emblems but, testifying to the popularity of these motifs, also provides the framework for collections as a whole. Perhaps one of the best known of these is Quarles’s influential *Hieroglyphikes of the life of Man* (1638), described by Karl Josef Höltgen as ‘the most notable English version of the theme of the ages of man’. Every emblem, or ‘hieroglyph’ in this collection features a burning candle, representative of the life of man, in various stages of consumption, as the central motif alongside various additional elements which set each candle within a specific context. Each *pictura* is followed by a motto in Latin, a biblical citation and a lengthy poem. This is in turn followed by a citation often attributed to (amongst others) St Augustine and a final epigram, much in line with the steps in Ignatian meditation. There is no discernible progression of theme other than the collection being loosely contained between the first emblem which, based upon Psalm 51.5, ‘Behold I was born in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me’, highlights the innately sinful nature of man from birth and the last emblem which underlines man’s mortality.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Sarah Carr-Gomm, *The Dictionary of Symbols in Western Art* (New York: Facts On File, c. 1995), p. 49.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Albert Stafford, *Christian Symbolism in the Evangelical Churches: With Definitions of Church Terms and Usages* (New York, Abingdon Press, c. 1942), p. 134.

¹⁵⁵ *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (London: Marriot, 1638). For detailed analysis of Quarles’s emblems with respect to their continental sources see; Karl Josef Höltgen, *Francis Quarles 1592-1644*:

In the same year as Quarles, the Protestant Scottish author, Robert Farley, also produced an emblem book, *Lychonocausia* (1638), featuring a candle as a central motif in all but one of the fifty-eight images.¹⁵⁶ These candle emblems, the ‘Lights morall emblems’ to give them their English title, are described by Farley in his verse dedicated to the reader as a guide to a Christian life:

But harke you, least in darknesse we doe stray,
Here be some lights for to direct our way:
Make use of these, until you come to shore,
Where we shall have Heavens Light for evermore¹⁵⁷

The dominance of this motif is so great that it colours even the celebratory poems written by friends of Farley included at the very beginning of the book. Celebrating Farley’s talent as a writer, these verses recognise the eternal nature of the Christian truths or lights contained within the pages of Farley’s book:

But thy Lights most transcendent, can no hand
Of time or Fate (which all things we hath scand)
Put to these Lights an end, for these shall be
Bright shining Tapers to Eternity.¹⁵⁸

The format of his work is simpler than that of Quarles and follows the ‘traditional’ tripartite arrangement pioneered in Alciato’s collections of emblems. Like Quarles, the candles in Farley’s emblems often represent man and in a number of emblems the candle symbolises the human soul.

While these two works opt for visual depictions of light this is not always the case.

Meditativer Dichter, Emblematiker, Royalist: Eine biographische und kritische Studie (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978); Höltgen, ‘Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words? The Adaptation of the Jesuit Sources in Quarles’s *Emblemes*’, *Emblematica*, 9.2 (1995), 221-238.

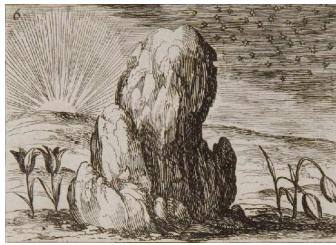
¹⁵⁶ Robert Farley, *Lights Morall Emblems* (London: Cotes, 1638)

¹⁵⁷ B1r.

¹⁵⁸ A6r.

French-born Jacques Callot, recognised today as one of the most successful Catholic engravers of the seventeenth century, adopted a different approach in one of his emblematic works, which also focuses on light. Rather than featuring a light source in each of the plates, he instead bound the collection together under the abstract notion of light, entitling his work *Lux Claustri* (1646).¹⁵⁹ The majority of the engravings are of pastoral scenes: of the twenty-seven plates only a few depict light in any way but all offer advice for leading an enlightened Christian life. Emblem six which does feature the sun presents this as a life-giving force. A central rock divides the picture into two halves, day and night. Tulips stand on either side of the rock – standing tall on the daylight side and drooping on the night side. The correlation between the life-giving properties of the sun and the healthy tulips is quite clear and it does not take a great leap of the imagination to see the spiritual relevance of this. Nevertheless, the verse makes this link explicit:

L’Ame fleurit aux rays de la Clarté divine,
Et languit sans vigueur, quand ce feu luy defaut.



Jacques Callot, *Lux Claustri* (Paris: Langlois, 1646), p. 6.

The vast majority of emblems, however, which feature a light source as a motif are individual emblems contained within devotional emblematic works. While this study will not examine these or similar collections in their entirety it will, in order to give a broad overview of emblematic representations of light, analyse closely a selection of individual emblems featuring a light source from some of the best-known emblem

¹⁵⁹ Jacques Callot, *Lux Claustri* (Paris: Langlois, 1646).

authors across the denominational spectrum. I will focus in particular on the image, its role and function within the emblem and the different representations of light sources.

Protestant Examples

Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (1567), as explained in the introduction, is a logical place to start an examination of Protestant emblematic iconography as it is considered to be the first collection of religious emblems. 'Surge illucescit tibi Christus' (Arise and Christ shall give thee light) features light in both the motto and the image. The engraving features a man lying amongst bones beside an empty grave. Nearby, Christ is seen lighting a candle.



Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567), p. 57.

The message is made explicit in the verse that it is this light, God's grace, which gives us life:

Si Jesus-Christ n'eust esclairé notre ombre
Comme cestuy, nous serions endormis
Et reputez d'entre les morts au nombre.

Comme cestuy provides a strong point of reference, directing the reader's attention

back to the image, back to the disturbing visual signs of our own mortality such as the skull and human bones, thereby visually increasing the impact of the emblem.

Montenay links the light of the candle with grace in the verse and, building upon the visual reminder of mortality, verbally links this to salvation, ‘Mais de sa grace il ne l’a permis’. Importantly, she also links this to faith, ‘Et donné foy pour à luy nous conduire’, and so the text and image are combined in the mind of the reader. It is this saving combination of faith and grace that situates this otherwise generally Christian emblem in a Protestant context.

That it is this combination alone that saves man is reinforced in the other details of the engraving. Calvinist Montenay, undermining man’s power to act, also hints at the idea of predestination. The inclusion of Christ in the engraving highlights God’s active role. The fact that Christ is *seen* to actively light the candle is significant: He and He alone, Montenay suggests, chooses whether or not to bestow upon man His grace. While the verse links grace and faith, it is in the image that, contrary to the emphasis placed on good works by Catholics, it is suggested that grace is not something that can be earned.

God’s sacrifice for mankind is evoked in the cross shape formed by the pick and the spade in the foreground of the image, a detail that must be interpreted in context. While these are implements used in grave digging, they also carry a further meaning. Alison Adams suggests that ‘the pick and shovel might also be taken as symbols of

the Old Testament, of Adam sent, after the fall, to till the ground'.¹⁶⁰ If so, these elements introduce the idea of original sin. This idea is only vaguely touched upon in the verse which speaks of pulling man out of the shadows, 'Puis qu'il nous a hors de tenebres mis'. The *pictura* therefore clarifies this vague acknowledgement permitting a more specific interpretation of what these shadows might represent (a state of sin). This is reinforced in the last two lines which contain a sombre warning:

Prions toujours que n'y soyons remis,
Et que sur nous sa clarté face luire.

Tying in with the figure of Christ seen actively lighting the candle, Montenay, by suggesting that man cannot be worthy of the grace that he has been granted through Christ's sacrifice, protects her reader against complacency by warning that it may one day be 'remis'. Montenay presents, on the one hand, man as unworthy, tainted by original sin, and, on the other hand, God's grace as a gift over which man has no control. Through the first person plural, 'prions', Montenay includes herself in these lines on the same sinful level as her reader, thereby creating a tone of complicity, and draws her readers in forcing them to apply these truths to themselves. This, as I underlined earlier in chapter one, is typical of the meditational style of Protestant devotional works which call for the application of the subject to the self.

The role of the individual is evident in the attitude towards the scriptures expressed in Montenay's emblem, 'Et usque ad nubes veritas tua' (Your truth as far as the clouds) which takes the power of the word of God as its central theme. This is based on a passage from Psalms, 'For above heav'n thy mercy's great, thy truth doth reach the

¹⁶⁰ Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), p. 57.

sky'.¹⁶¹ Although the motto in this instance echoes quite closely the words of the passage, at no point is the relationship between the two made explicit. It is left to the reader to make this connection.



Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567), p. 72.

What is most striking about Montenay's emblem is once again the image. Against a backdrop of a large sunburst, the engraving focuses on a book that is both crowned with a laurel wreath and winged. The motto of Montenay's emblem does not appear at the top of the image as is usual in her emblems, but is written on the pages of the open book, thereby visually reinforcing the importance of this element. From the book hangs a chain, and on the ground two devil-like creatures skulk in the shadows of rocks. One of these holds one end of the broken chain. Although striking and bizarre, the message is fairly clear. We quite naturally assume the demon, covered in shadow and physically positioned on the sinful, terrestrial plane, to represent sin and the forces of evil. The book, in contrast, winging its way skyward assumes a more spiritual association, free from the physical restraints of the world because the chain has been snapped. Montenay refers to it in the eight-line verse as 'Verité', its importance emphasised through the capital 'V'. Although this book is referred to nowhere explicitly as being the bible, it is a fairly safe assumption given the visual

¹⁶¹ Psalm 108.4.

primacy placed upon the book (and echoed textually), that this is in fact the case. As I underlined in the first chapter where some of the central causes of the rift in the Church were discussed, accepting the scriptures as truth was a central tenet of the Protestant faith. In contrast to the pre-Reformation Catholic tradition of investing the priest with the power of interpretation of the scriptures, Protestants believed in the priesthood of all men, and encouraged familiarity amongst the lay people with the Word of God. The engraving symbolises the constant battle between good, and evil represented visually as this game of tug-of-war between the winged book, straining to fly upwards and the demon pulling the chain towards the ground. The eternal nature battle between good and evil is evoked in the first two lines through the repetition of the verb ‘faire’, ‘Satan a fait & fait tous ses efforts / De supprimer & cacher Verité’. This, the perfect tense highlights, is an age-old battle, but, the present tense warns, an ongoing one. The broken chain, however, visually declares the victor: good triumphs as the book flies upward while evil is left holding the end of the broken chain.

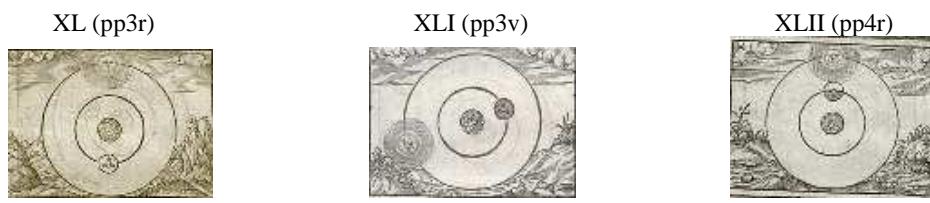
This element is changed in Geffrey Whitney’s version of this emblem of the same motto (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586).¹⁶² In Whitney’s version, the engraving, which is not the same plate, but rather a copy of the one used in Montenay’s, is almost identical save for one important difference. The chain, leading from the bible, which the devil is holding on to is not broken. While the overall message remains essentially the same, this detail, which may or may not have been deliberate, changes the emphasis somewhat. Not broken, this chain reflects the ongoing struggle between the forces of good and evil. While Montenay describes the struggle between good and evil in her verse, Whitney visually summarises this in the subtle alteration to the

¹⁶² ‘Et usque ad nubes veritas tua’ Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: Plantin, 1586), p. 166.

depiction of the chain. Montenay highlights the power of the word in the engraving; Whitney chooses to underline the importance of the word of God in the text: ‘And those that are so happy for to looke, / Salvation find within that blessed book’.

In both emblems, the Word of God is taken to be representative of Christian truth versus the darkness of Satan. Although both make clear the triumph of light over dark, in Whitney’s emblem it is made more verbally explicit that the Word of God is the key to this salvation. A comparison of these two emblems highlights to just what extent background visual details may be important in Protestant emblems and the careful reading of both text and image that this implies. Not simply decorative, the background iconographical details can change the focus of an emblem.

The importance of visual details is evident in these next, later Protestant examples. The sun is the focus of three consecutive emblems (XL-XLII) in *Vrais Pourtraicts* (1581) by Théodore de Bèze. This is the French edition of *Icones* originally published in 1580 and translated by Simon Goulart, a Calvinist colleague of Bèze. The plates require some effort on the part of the reader. Each features the sun and moon in their orbits of concentric circles around the earth in what Adams terms a ‘pre-Galilean arrangement’, since in each of the images, the celestial bodies are aligned with the earth in centre place.¹⁶³



Théodore de Bèze, *Vrais Pourtraicts* (Geneva: De Laon, 1581).

¹⁶³ Adams, *Webs*, p. 126.

Resembling an astrologer's diagram more than a 'conventional' emblematic image, the significance of these images is far from immediately clear. The first of these, emblem XL, shows the sun, earth and moon in vertical alignment in that order. The sun shines down on both the earth and the moon, and it is upon this astronomical phenomenon of the moon reflecting the light of the sun that the verse initially comments. On the one hand then, the image is what it looks like: a diagrammatical representation of the alignment of earth and its sun and moon. On the other hand the facial features ascribed to the sun hint at a metaphysical interpretation of this image, a notion that the verse continues by underlining:

L'Eglise aussi, voyant de son Christ le doux oeil,
Luit d'entiere lumiere.

On the basis of these lines it is safe to assume that the sun in the image is a symbol for the light of Christ which lights the moon, in this case representing the Christian Church. Appropriately, the earth is caught, as it is in nature, between the light of the Christ (sun) and the moon (or the Church as reflective of the light of the sun/Christ). Of course, in a Calvinist context the 'church' referred as much to the congregation as it did to the physical architecture of the building. Although initially seemingly impenetrable, this is a particularly effective emblem, memorable on the one hand because of the initial complexity and yet successful because of the simplicity and ease of the analogy on which it hangs.

Having established the analogy between the sun/Christ and moon/Church, understanding the following two emblems is made easier as they work in the same way. Emblem XLI shows the same alignment but at an angle, with the moon hidden behind the earth in shade. The verse, as in the above emblem verbalises this

relationship before proceeding to give the religious significance. It is the earth that obstructs the sun from lighting the moon. Given what we know from emblem XL it seems plausible to interpret this as the earth interfering with Christ's light in the Church in some way. Indeed this is confirmed in the verse, which, referring to 'sagesse humaine' (which we assume to refer to the world), holds this as responsible for darkening the light of the Church. This is a particularly apt warning in the context of the Reformation and Counter Reformation: It is not, Goulart's verse suggests, the Church which is in shadow, or, we assume, corrupt, but the interference of man that makes it so. Within this we might also interpret a veiled criticism of the Catholic Church which, according to Protestants, invested its priest and clergy with too much authority with respect, for example, to interpreting the scriptures.

The third of these astrological emblems realigns the sun, moon, and earth vertically but this time sees the moon slip in-between the sun and the earth in its orbit. The half of the moon nearest the sun is lit while the half nearest the earth is in shadow, typically of the alignment of these bodies at the new moon. Once again the verse follows the same pattern by initially referring to the *pictura*. The moon half in shade cannot be seen from earth but exists nevertheless and its existence is confirmed in the image. It is a fool, the verse warns, who believes the moon to be gone because he cannot see it. Indeed, the verse claims this occurs:

Alors qu'elle est plus proche du Soleil.
Mais de lueur elle est plus anoblie

In fact the moon, hidden from view from the earth, is closer than ever to the light of the sun. In a similar vein, the dead, the verse argues, have not disappeared simply because they have gone from the earth but are in fact closer to the light of God:

Ainsi celui, que le fol monde pense
Mort en la mort, vit estant approché
De Christ, duquel ayant la jouissance,
Il a le bien si long temps recerché.

These are particularly abstract, symbolic examples; the images and the meanings locked within them are very complex. Using the same basic figures, Bèze creates three very different emblems, which although all based around the central premise of God's love as light each treat very distinct themes. This is achieved through changes in detail, in particular changes in positioning of the elements in the *pictura*. The image is a complex puzzle to be solved, and demands an intellectual effort on the part of the reader. While the verse gives the key, there are further interpretations to be made upon considering the text and image together.

While Bèze reflected God's light in the cosmic alignment of the sun, moon, and earth, Gabriel Rollenhagen presents this from a more earthly perspective. Rollenhagen's Lutheran emblem 'In hunc intuens pius esto' (Trusting in him be pious) from the *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (1611-1613) is almost a concise visual summary of Montenay's emblem 'Surge illucescit tibi Christus' (Arise and Christ shall give thee light'). A disembodied hand holds a torch from which, instead of a flame, a rather grotesque skeleton rises. Without the saving flame of God's grace, we are, Rollenhagen suggests, as the skeleton, without life.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 8.

Like Montenay, Rollenhagen urges his reader to be pious. There is a similar sense of warning here which is effectively highlighted through the disturbing, striking visual imagery, which, emphasising our mortality, provides a visual impetus to follow the advice given in the motto. Although there is no explicit reference made to grace, it is understood that God's grace is the missing life-giving flame; the skeleton appears to hold his arms outstretched in supplication. Without grace, we are then as the lifeless skeleton in the image. In particular it is self-restraint that is being lauded here and there is a clear link between lack of self control and loss of God's grace. Rollenhagen, like Montenay, puts the onus on the individual reader and presents the emblem as an example to be followed, a notion which is made explicit in the French, 'quel tu dois estre.'

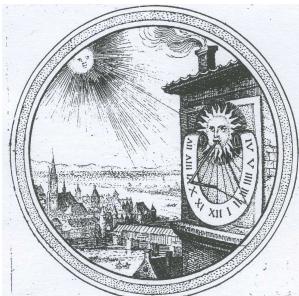
There are other similarities between Rollenhagen's emblems and those of Montenay. 'Cor rectum inquirit scientiam' (An upright heart seeks after knowledge), for example, features a winged smoking heart which sits on top of an open book. Above, a sunburst, surrounding a tetragram, shines down on the heart. There is, in addition to the Latin motto which circles the image, a Greek inscription written on the pages of the book, which visually reinforces the importance of this element. Montenay, as we have seen, also underlines the importance of the book in her emblem 'Et usque ad

nubes veritas tua' ('Your truth as far as the clouds') in the same way by including it as a central point of focus in the engraving. The book we assume to be the bible: visually it is central to the image and, along with the sunburst/tetragram (obviously representing God), sandwiches the heart between two strong symbols of Christianity. The smoking heart we assume to be the Christian heart ignited with the light of the sun/God and indeed, other than God, this is the only element in the image that is directly referred to in the French verse, 'son coeur luy offrir', and so it is very much left up to the reader to puzzle out the meaning. No mention is made of the book in either verse other than the associated issue of learning. 'La plus belle science', we are told, is, 'de cognoistre Dieu'. The book therefore, must be, not a book of knowledge, but the bible, promoted by the Protestants as the only tangible truth of God. The background seascape also has its role to play. The sailing ships are guided, warned of the rocks by the smoking tower which echoes the smoking heart in the foreground. This visual symmetry permits another layer of interpretation: just as the smoke guides the ships, the Christian, the image suggests, will be guided by his heart ignited by the light of God. The secondary details in the image are therefore again of great importance, creating a detailed and complex visual puzzle that the reader must decode.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 79.

In Heidelberg in 1619, the Protestant author Julius Zincgref published his *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria* in which ‘Et nos mutamur in illis’ also features the sun. It is the twenty-four hour cyclical movement of the sun which is being used in this emblem to symbolise the passing of time. The first lines of the verse confirm this idea.



Julius Wilhelm Zincgref, ‘Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria’ (Heidelberg: Bry, 1619), z1v-z2r

Not only is the abstract idea of the passing of time as evoked by the depiction of the sundial confirmed but this is quite explicitly set within a human context:

Il n'y a rien de constant en ce Monde
Ainsi le temps se change, & nous avec le temps.

The sundial, on the side of a tower, overlooks a town, thereby visually reinforcing the link between time passing and the inconstancy of worldly things. Smoke issues from a chimney on the tower and blows away perhaps another symbol of the transience of things. This lack of constancy is counterbalanced however. The anthropomorphization of the sun hints at a deeper spiritual significance and this is made explicit in the verse, ‘Fions nous en Dieu seul, en qui tout bien abonde’. The choice of vocabulary in this single line reveals two important Protestant ideologies. Firstly, the choice of ‘Fions’ and the emphasis placed upon it through its position at the beginning of the last line reveals the importance Protestants placed on having faith. Secondly, the use of the first person plural places the author on the same level as the reader, the author

including himself in his advice to have faith in God. This we have seen previously in Montenay who, also highlighting the primacy of faith (Et a donné foy pour nous à luy conduire), also adopts the first person plural thereby creating a tone of approachability and unity between himself and his reader.

Zincgref's emblem may seem visually less complex than those examined so far but there are nevertheless certain Protestant 'hallmarks'. The imagery may seem straightforward but details reinforce one another and interact with information in the verse creating to-and-fro emphatic layering. Bringing the reader and author together with the use of the first person plural and insistence on faith, too, as we have seen, is common in these Protestant examples.

The role of the image is clearly very important in the above Protestant examples. Far from being simply decorative, the image plays a vital function in the decoding of the overall message of the emblem. Background details, similarly, aside from simply enhancing the tableau, are often, as in Rollenhagen's emblems, central in this process. Each of these emblems demands an individual response from the reader and all urge the reader to apply the lesson to him or herself. Often seemingly innocuous details, such as the lighthouse in 'Cor rectum' by Rollenhagen, add to the moral, completely independently of the text. This necessitates a process of deduction which elicits an intellectual response from the reader. As Peil puts it:

In Rollenhagen's work the proper and final revelation of the meaning which is hidden in the emblematic res takes place not within, but outside of the emblematic bias, that is, at the reader's and viewer's hands.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Dietmar Peil, 'Emblem Types in Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus Emblematum*', *Emblematica*, 6.1 (1992), 255-282 (280).

Another effect of this intellectual challenge to the reader is that this also lends a certain fluidity and flexibility to interpretation, allowing for varying interpretations depending on the cultural capital and knowledge the reader brings with him.

Catholic Examples

Moving on to examine some Catholic examples we see that the *picturae* can be just as, if not more detailed, than Protestant examples. The plates in Antoine Sucquet's *Via Vitae Aeternae* (1623) (translated into the French by R. P. Pierre Morin), for example, are particularly detailed. The form of Sucquet's emblems, however, like that of other Catholic authors such as Berthod, Baudoin and Mello whose emblems I will examine later, is quite different from that of Montenay or Rollenhagen. As indicated by the title, this work combines a series of plates depicting life as a journey. Sucquet's book, like the *Spiritual Exercises*, reads rather like a hand-book or text book. It is self-consciously didactic in intention and, while guided meditation is a characteristic of emblem books published during the Catholic Reformation, Sucquet takes this one step further, advising not only what should be read but *when* it should be read: 'Pour le Lundy; celles qui sont marqués de la lettre A, vous pourront servir; en la page 6. 99. 106. 110. 119. 139'. The plates are to be read in sequential order – there is a progression from the beginning to the end of the book echoing that of Ignatian meditation.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ The influence of the Jesuits over literature is undeniable: 'Dévotion et emblématique', Anne-Elisabeth Spica argues, 'dans la France du XVII^e siècle comme dans les autres pays de la contre-réforme, se développent conjointement sous l'impulsion éminente des jésuites': Anne Elisabeth Spica, 'L'emblématique catholique de dévotion en France au XVII^e siècle: Quelques propositions de lecture' in *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France: Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell*, ed. by David Graham (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2001), pp. 1-24 (p. 2). Lynette C. Black, however, argues that a direct comparison of Sucquet's work with the *Spiritual Exercises* is problematic. She points to the subtitles of each book, and contrasts the purgative, illuminative and unitive paths of the *Exercises* with the chronological approach of Sucquet's book: 'Le chemin de ceux

The structure of the individual emblems in Sucquet also follows the structure of Ignatian meditation. Each emblem is accompanied by a lettered key rather than by the typical verse and this is read in conjunction with the image, referring the reader back at crucial points to labelled elements in the image. This initial reading is followed by a guided meditative section which, following the structure of Ignatian meditation, is broken into three *points* and a *resolution*. This in turn, fulfilling the final element of the *Spiritual Exercises* is followed by an *oraison*, or prayer, on the theme of the emblem. Thirdly is a section entitled ‘Pratique pour dresser & ordonner nos actions’, which comprises a list of tasks or pieces of advice on how to incorporate the advice given in the emblem into the reader’s life. Finally, there is another *Oraison jaculatoire*. The visual component of emblems, the *pictura*, fulfils the role of Loyola’s *compositio loci*, or vivid imagination of a scene by means of the memory or senses. The first *point* of emblem XII (which I shall analyse later) acknowledges the similarity between the emblematic image and Loyola’s *compositio loci*, ‘La composition du lieu sera conforme à l’image’.

qui commencent’, ‘Le chemin de ceux qui profitent, and ‘Le chemin des parfaits’. While the subsections might not correspond exactly there is nevertheless a striking similarity between the two works which both express spiritual growth as a journey. Black suggests that a more useful point of correspondence between the two texts are the emotions that Sucquet aims to elicit in each section: ‘douleur’, ‘l’amour de vertu’ and ‘l’amour de Dieu’; ‘Popular Devotional Emblematics: A comparison of Sucquet’s *Le Chemin de la Vie Eternelle* and Hugo’s *Les Pieux Desirs*’, *Emblematica*, 9.1, 1-20 (3).



Antoine Sucquet, *Le chemin de la vie éternelle* (Antwerp: Aertssens, 1623), pp. 530-537.

In emblem XII the highly detailed engraving depicts God high up on a cloud holding a globe representing the world. Behind him, rays from the sun shine down on a man standing on a road which leads up to heaven. The man, whom we assume to be a Christian, is being blessed by a haloed figure and released from his shackles. In Ignatian meditation the meditant is asked to focus on the *compositio loci* and project him or herself upon the scene. The reader identifies with the Christian in the tableau which becomes the physical embodiment of this, thereby fulfilling what Black terms the ‘external embodiment of Ignatius’s instructions to make oneself present at the scene’.¹⁶⁶

The rays from the sun touching on the meditant/Christian not only light the path to heaven but again symbolise grace. This is made clear in the accompanying text: ‘Mais fiez vous en Dieu, & Jesus Christ vous delivrera de tout par sa grace’. The language here is reminiscent of that of Zincgref’s Protestant emblem which also urged the reader to have faith. Emphasising the importance of faith in salvation was of course, as we have seen, a particularly Protestant concern and so it is interesting to find it

¹⁶⁶ Black, 15.

stressed in a Catholic context. Notice, however, the different forms of address: the first person plural of Zingref's emblem is more approachable and inclusive than Sucquet's dominant imperative. Concrete examples of the power of God's grace are present in the background character in the image. These (referred to in the initial key-text) give examples of the benefits of God's grace. Jesus is portrayed on the shore in the background as a fisher of men, his arms outstretched in welcome to a man walking out of the sea. Just in front of this scene, battle David and Goliath, perhaps one of the most striking biblical examples of the strength afforded by God's grace. Two figures in the shadows (and, we assume, therefore, not blessed by God's grace) strain to reach the path but are held back by a demon. This image is reinforced in the immediate foreground: a man leans towards the scene on the path but is held back by the chain which binds his leg to a globe, representing, we presume, the prison of the world. Beside this figure lies a baby amidst snakes, an evocative reminder of the serpent in the Garden of Eden and the consequent state of sin into which man is born.

Like Montenay in '*Surge illucescit tibi Christus*', Sucquet portrays the actions of Christ upon the human heart. The heart canvas in the foreground has been painted with various scenes featuring Christ. In particular the birth of Jesus is depicted in one and on another Christ is shown to be pulling man up from the depths of sin. These scenes act as reminders of Christ's sacrifice and the redemptive powers of grace. The implication is that these should be emblazoned upon the heart of a Christian, just as they are painted on the heart in the image. This visually represents the emotional appeal of this emblem, the moral of which the reader should emblazon on his/her heart.

In this emblem, as well as the book as a whole, life is presented visually as a spiritual journey, a path that the sinner must navigate echoing the organisational premise of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Grace, here represented as the guiding light from the sun, and faith give man strength to face this path strewn with challenges and sacrifice. The extent of man's weakness is highlighted in the initial key-text prose section:

Sans ceste grace, l'homme, qui ressemble à un petit enfant, ne sçauoit lever, ny subsister, ny se defendre, ny se nourrir, ny demander ces choses à un autre.

While the focus on grace in the above lines is not so different from that of the Protestant examples we have so far examined, Sucquet continues in the *points* that follow the image, to emphasise that good works are essential for salvation but that without God's grace man can achieve nothing, 'C'est une chose tres-certaine [...] que nous ne sçaurions faire chose aucune pour nostre salut, sans une grace singuliere de Dieu', and this is where we may pinpoint a difference in theological position. The emphasis Sucquet places on man's dependence on God's grace is in essence not so different from the combination of faith and grace put forward in Montenay's emblems. What is different is the role attributed to the reader. In Montenay and some of the other Protestant examples, while the individual may have no control over procuring grace, yet he is encouraged to accept responsibility and apply the lesson(s) within the emblem to him or herself. In this emblem, Sucquet undermines man entirely, creating a much more passive image of the Christian.

There is no denying that these are highly detailed engravings, but the relationship between text and image is quite different from that of the Protestant emblems I have previously examined. While the key-text certainly directs the reader's attention to the image, it simultaneously undermines the role of the *pictura* by highlighting and

labelling figures. Furthermore, unusually in an emblematic work, the reader is first confronted by text, pushing the image into second position. We read the key, the interpretation of the figures in the image, first before examining the image. The initial text may remove some of the mystery from the image but it nevertheless requires a mental effort on the part of the reader similar to that required in the emblems by Protestant authors such as Montenay and Rollenhagen. On the one hand jumping to and fro between the text and image may require an intellectual engagement on the part of the reader in line with the Protestant style of emblem but over and above this a further emotional response is required. In line with Ignatian meditative practice, it is clear, from the inclusion of the representation of the meditant in the *pictura*, that the reader is supposed to project himself onto the scene being described.

While the structure of both books is very similar, the images in François Berthod's *Emblemes sacrez* are contrastingly much simpler than those found in Sucquet. Like Sucquet, Berthod follows the Ignatian model of meditation very closely adding, after the initial verse, a meditative section broken down into three points and a *resolution* and followed by an *Exemple* from the bible. Unlike Sucquet there is no key to the image, which is followed instead by a short verse more typical of emblem literature. Here the images are much less complex than in Sucquet's emblem, and, largely uncluttered by background or secondary details, the engraving focuses on one central figure. 'Fortitudo simplicis via domini' (The way of the Lord is the strength of the simple/innocent), for example, features simply a small cherubic character carrying a huge crucifix.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loysen, 1665), pp. 252-258.

Nevertheless, there remain similarities between this emblem and the one by Sucquet examined above. The light of the sun, which we assume in both emblems to be representative of the light of God performs a guiding role lighting the way to heaven for both the Christian in Sucquet's emblem and the cherubic character in Berthod's. While both authors highlight the role of God's grace, Berthod brings the theme of sacrifice much more to the foreground. The presence of the Catholic attitude to salvation is unmistakable here. Berthod clearly places the emphasis on the actions of man, that is to say his 'works' and, although the imagery is fairly straightforward, it is further underlined in the quatrain that we are to follow this example, 'Par la tu dois juger quil te faut efforcer / De porter icy bas la mesme Croix quil porte'.

From the above lines, we cannot help but equate life with being a trial and a burden. This idea constitutes the overall message. The third *point* builds upon this idea and presents the relationship between life, suffering and reward as a sliding scale: the more we suffer in this life, Berthod suggests, the more we will be rewarded in the next and moreover that this is the *only* way to accede to heaven, the use of the imperative once again, in contrast to the tone of many of the Protestant examples examined,

placing the author in a position of authority:

Resolvez-vous donc de souffrir fortement & genereusement puis que c'est par ce moyen que vous pouvez acquérir le Ciel. [...] C'est une chose très certaine, qu'on ne peut arriver aux grandeurs célestes que par les souffrances & les tribulations.

This, indeed, echoes to a certain extent the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church where the priest was invested with authority over the congregation.

Berthod's emblem focuses very much on the sacrificial and suffering. Access to heaven, this emblem tells us, is not something which is randomly granted, something over which we have no control. It is something that can be earned through good works and self-denial, following the example of God's sacrifice. The crucifix is one of the most emotive symbols in Christian iconography and it is on this sacrifice that the whole of Christianity is hinged. There is necessarily, therefore, a much more emotional response elicited here than in Sucquet's emblem. The image in Berthod's emblem does not fulfil the role of layering ideas as it does in Sucquet's emblems: it remains, in its simplicity, very much an initial focal point of emotional meditation upon which the text specifies and elaborates, spelling out the spiritual implications to the reader. What is required here is an emotional projection onto the image. Thus the intellectual role of the reader, required to some extent in Sucquet, is greatly diminished.

The image functions in a very similar way in Berthod's 'Illuminabuntur corda vestra' (Their hearts will be illuminated) which features a heart ablaze. The heart, we assume, is lit with God's grace. In portraying the Christian soul in such a way, Berthod echoes Montenay in 'Surge illucescat tibi Christus' where the Christian soul ignited with

grace is visually represented as a candle being lit. Unlike Montenay, however, Berthod does not portray the figure of Christ setting the heart alight; rather the rays from the sun perform this function.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loysen, 1665), pp. 382-388.

Although a commonplace, the parallel between the sun and God is underlined in the verse where we are told that Jesus, as in Montenay's emblem, is the light that has set the heart on fire, 'Jesus esclairera du feu de son amour / Le coeur de ses enfans'. The language here is once again emotive. The word 'enfans' reduces the Christian to the helpless, child-like state as emphasised in Sucquet's emblem where man's weakness is underlined.

The short prose section that precedes the meditation reinforces this link between light and grace:

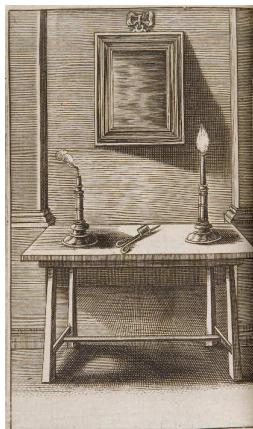
Ce coeur environné d'une Lumière qui descend du Ciel, représente la grace que Dieu fait à l'homme, d'éclairer son Coeur & son Ame, afin qu'il le connoisse & qu'il le suive.

The same message is repeated once again as a heading to the meditative section. Berthod continues by discussing the two different kinds of light God imparts to Christians, concluding that we need both 'celle de la raison' and 'celle de la foy' if we are to know and obey God. Thus, like Montenay in 'Surge illucescit tibi Christus',

Berthod also highlights the importance of faith. Montenay's emblem remains less hopeful in tone – there is no mention made of sin in Berthod's emblem, either verbally or visually – but, perhaps surprisingly, although Montenay hints at predestination, both emblems have a similar theological emphasis.

While these examples from Montenay and Berthod may be theologically quite close, however, they function in very different ways: the image in Montenay's emblem is much more complex requiring an intellectual effort on the part of her reader to piece together the various components, while the image in Berthod, as in the example above, provides an initial point of emotional focus for meditation which is developed further in the later text.

Jean Baudoin, like Rollenhagen in 'In hunc intuens pius esto', uses the concept of a flame being extinguished to represent the finite nature of worldly things in his emblem 'Que l'esclat du monde n'est que fumée' which appeared in *Recueil d'emblèmes divers* (1638-1639). In this particular emblem the message that all worldly things will one day come to an end is perhaps slightly less visually clear. The engraving pictures two candles on a table. One is lit while the other has been put out by a snuffer that lies on the table between them.



Jean Baudoin, *Recueil d'emblemes divers* (Paris: Loyson, 1665), pp. 446-453.

The candle symbolism works in two ways. On the one hand Baudoin comments, in the motto, upon the smoke emanating from the extinguished candle, likening it to the world. Expressing the transient nature of things in this way is a commonplace. But what of the other, lit, candle? It is not simply included to permit a contrast with the unlit candle and draw our attention to the recently extinguished flame. It also allows a contrast between the material and spiritual worlds. Whereas the snuffed out candle symbolises the finite things of the world, it is plausible to interpret the lit candle as representing the truth of Christ which is eternal. Indeed, this association is reinforced towards the end of the text:

Cela nous semble représenté par les deux flambeaux de cet Embleme, dont l'un est esteint, & l'autre allumé; pour montrer qu'il n'est point d'esclat dans le monde, qui ne s'efface à sa fin.

For the most part the text concentrates on highlighting the finite nature of the world. This commentary elaborates upon the *pictura* and aims to reinforce the claim made in the motto. This Baudoin achieves primarily through giving concrete examples, both modern-day and from classical history. To prove the point that ‘la durée n’en doit pas estre éternelle’, Baudoin offers the story of King Croesus, famed for his wealth:

Cela leur est ici démontré par l'exemple de Croesus, qui pour les grandes richesses qu'il possedoit, & pour l'obéissance que lui rendoient généralement

tous ceux qui relevoient de luy, s'estimoit le plus heureux homme du monde. Il ne l'estoit pas neantmoins, & le Temps ne luy apprit que trop à son dommage.¹⁶⁷

Of course, the idea of equality in death, the idea that worldly wealth cannot be carried into the next life is a common one. Interestingly, Baudoin adopts a sociological approach to give this argument even more weight, commenting, not on the damaging effects of time, but on the inevitable changes that occur as society evolves:

Les plus excellents Historiens, anciens & modernes, le remarquent ainsi, quand ils disent, que la plupart des Estats & des Royaumes du monde, n'ont pas subsisté plus de cinq cens ans, sans quelque notable changement.¹⁶⁸

The image in this emblem is fairly easily comprehensible alongside the motto. Baudoin does not, therefore, spend a great deal of time referring directly to the *pictura*, other than in the closing lines of the commentary where he summarises the moral of the emblem. Instead, he provides an accumulation of proofs, designed to convince the reader of the truth of the motto. In this way this emblem lacks much of the to-ing and fro-ing as witnessed as typical of the Protestant examples. However, the repetition of proofs, based as they are on examples from classical history, require rather a more intellectual, than emotional response, perhaps more in line with the Protestant examples we have so far examined.

Gabriel de Mello's later emblem, 'Illuminare his qui en tenebris in umbra mortis sedent' (Light up those who in darkness sit in the shadow of death) again, like Montenay, portrays the actions of Christ upon a Christian heart. The engraving features Christ lighting the inside of a heart with a lantern to reveal serpents and other

¹⁶⁷ Jean Baudoin, *Recueil d'emblemes divers* (Paris: Loysen, 1665), pp. 448-449.

¹⁶⁸ Jean Baudoin, pp. 449-450.

monsters. Two angels fly alongside and one is holding up a torch to shed extra light on the inside of the heart.



Gabriel de Mello, *Les Divines operations de Jesus dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle* (Paris: Van-Merle, 1673), pp. 10-13.

While visually very different, the two emblems by Montenay and Mello correspond in several aspects. Both emblems, for example, refer to the flame as being God's grace. While Montenay forces her readers to piece together this parallel from both the verse and the *pictura*, Mello makes this association particularly explicit in the verse, 'Avec le flambeau de la grace', and in so doing reduces the level of participation required of the reader.

In 'Surge illucescat tibi Christus' Montenay introduces the idea of sin through the positioning of agricultural tools that echo back to the Old Testament. Mello also chooses to underline the concept of sin visually with the serpents and monsters lurking inside the heart. Although both present this visually, Mello opts for a much more immediately comprehensible representation than Montenay which requires much less decoding. Despite the emphasis on sin and the reference to death in Mello's title, the overall message of Mello's emblem is quite positive. The emblem offers the reader an almost complacent comfort in the assured knowledge that God will hurry to

illuminate even the most hardened of hearts:

Diriez-vous à voir son empressement à éclairer ce coeur, & à le penetrer de ses plus vives lumieres, que c'est celuy auquel ce coeur ingrat vient de refuser l'entrée.

For Catholic Mello, salvation, being rescued from the valley of death, equates to the banishment of sin. Although Mello does not follow the guided, three-point meditations of Berthod and Sucquet, he does include a lengthy prose commentary. Although the overall message of the emblem is positive, the emblem is repeatedly punctuated with negative and disturbing vocabulary and imagery. The monsters are described, for example, as having ‘épaisse & puantes exalaisons’. These images are not developed, but, drawing on the senses, have a cumulative effect, which, combined with the liberal use of questioning or exclamatory punctuation, successfully appeals to the reader’s emotions, ‘Mais ô mon Dieu! Que decouvre-t-il dans dans ce Coeur? Que de monstres? Que d’animaux impurs? Que de reptiles veneneux?’ This, Terence Cave tells us, is typical of the meditative style of Counter Reformation devotional poetry:

The object of the devotional writer [...] is to make a concerted attack on the reader by a cumulative effect of horror, designed to awaken his conscience through his senses; or to involve him emotionally and almost physically in a situation.¹⁶⁹

Although Mello and Montenay express the same theme, therefore, they do this in very different ways. The message is much clearer and presented visually in a much more straightforward representative way in Mello than it is in Montenay. Montenay demands an effort on the part of her reader that the associations between the pick and shovel and original sin be understood and thus requires more of an intellectual response from her reader as opposed to the very definitely emotional one elicited by

¹⁶⁹ Terence Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 27.

Mello's emblem.

In every one of the Catholic examples I have examined, while the image provides the initial point of focus, it is the text which develops the thread of the moral or meditation. This is true even of Sucquet, where the image is detailed, certainly, but the symbolic value of this is undermined by the initial explanatory text. All of these examples also adapt the emblematic structure in some way, either by adding lengthy prose sections or by omitting the usual emblematic verse altogether. This allows for clarity, on the one hand, and for persuasive repetition on the other. This in turn omits the need for a sustained intellectual effort on the part of the reader. Freed from this distraction, the reader can concentrate his/her emotions fully upon the moral of the emblem. The desire to elicit an emotional response from the reader is perhaps most clearly seen in the example from Mello. In all of these emblems, the role of the reader in deciphering the image is undermined. To dismiss the role of the image in these emblems as being simply illustrative, however, would be erroneous: they do carry symbolic value. The interplay between text and image in the Protestant examples which brings this symbolic value to the fore may be missing but these Catholic examples, which strike an emotional chord with the reader through a combination of realistic iconography and sensory appeal, are by no means any the less effective or memorable.

* * *

All of the emblems examined above link light with the redeeming or guiding nature of God's grace. They all represent this with a candle or sunlight and all remind their

reader that God's grace is essential for salvation. At times there are some areas of distinction: Montenay, for example, hints at predestination, while many of the Catholic examples promote good works, but even though we do sometimes find the light motif linked with specifically Catholic or Protestant themes on the whole there remains a great deal of overlap.

Given the debate over the image we might expect to find quite distinct iconographical styles. This, however, does not in fact seem to be the case. The images in the Catholic works may perhaps tend towards the more realistic, while Protestant *picturae* may be more symbolic, but the real difference between the Protestant and Catholic emblem would appear to be the relationship between text and image. Text and image are clearly more closely interlocked in the Protestant examples examined here, such as in Montenay's emblems, than in the work of some of the Catholic authors, such as Mello.

The relationship between text and image is in part explained by the different approaches to meditation. Following the principles of Ignatian meditation set out in the *Spiritual Exercises* the Catholic exercitant was asked to focus upon an image and project himself onto the scene. While not all of the Catholic examples I have examined here follow the structure of the *Spiritual Exercises*, we can, nevertheless trace a similar approach towards the image. This image, or *pictura* in the case of emblems, provides an initial point of focus from which point the reader is guided throughout the meditative process, or reading of the emblem. Berthod, for example, guides the thoughts of his reader, reinforcing his points through constant repetition and appeals emotionally to his reader through his choice of imagery. At no point is the

reader in any doubt as to the signification of the emblem. Certainly Sucquet's emblem is 'busier' iconographically and elicits less of an emotional response than Berthod, but he too adopts a similar approach spelling out all the visual details in the *pictura* so that the reader is not required to hammer out the meaning alone. The meaning of each detail is spelled out explicitly for the reader and the background figures in his emblems reinforce the message through repetition.

This is in striking contrast to the Protestant examples we have examined. These are much more concise, and yet much denser, and there is, perhaps unexpectedly, more emphasis placed on the visual element. If the Catholic style of meditation requires emotional projection onto a scene, the Protestant style works in almost the opposite way asking the reader to apply the lessons within to him or herself. As such this required a more intellectual than emotional response from the meditant and this is reflected in the Protestant emblematic style. The iconography in the Protestant examples is more complex. If we examine Montenay, for example, we see that there is not really one central motif in Montenay's emblems but that every element is significant. Each element in the engravings in Montenay carries new information creating a multi-layered visual puzzle, specific aspects of which are not necessarily always picked up on in the verse.

The result of these differences is that the Protestant emblems examined are enigmatic, forcing the reader to puzzle out the meaning, to jump between text and image for pieces of the puzzle while the Catholic emblems opt instead for clarity, guiding the thinking of the reader and reinforcing points through repetition.

Chapter Three

‘Time waits for no man’: An Examination of the Theme of Time

Moving on from the questions of iconography and role of the image considered in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on examining the theme, or content of religious emblems. Not only will this chapter seek to highlight areas of overlap (or difference) with respect to the theme of time but it will also question the presentation of this theme.

The changes in perceptions towards time that had occurred from the medieval to early-modern period are well documented. From functioning and thinking almost exclusively in the present, late medieval and early Renaissance thinkers began to develop what would become a keen awareness of the past, and, perhaps more importantly in a religious context, linking in with questions of the afterlife, the future.¹⁷⁰ As Roger Chartier writes:

Man had previously felt familiarity with death and resignation before man’s common fate, but a new attitude joined with the old (or substituted for it), emphasizing consciousness and individual death.¹⁷¹

This focus on mortality and the possibility of afterlife, a premise central to all religions, found a new expression in the arts. The *memento mori*, for example, a genre of artistic creations, aimed to remind people of their mortality.¹⁷² In this, the prospect of death serves to emphasize the emptiness and fleetingness of earthly pleasures and achievements. One such manifestation of this was the trend in the fifteenth century of

¹⁷⁰ André Corvisier, *Les Danses macabres* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), p. 59-72.

¹⁷¹ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early-Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 33.

¹⁷² Corvisier, p. 73-74.

sculpting skeletons on the lids of tombs to serve as a vivid visual reminder of the tomb's contents. Similarly, there is the well-known *vanitas* tradition which aimed to create the same message in painted form.¹⁷³ According to this tradition it was thought appropriate to include some kind of symbol of mortality in still life pictures. Popular symbols included smoke, bubbles, timepieces and hourglasses, and, closely following the *memento mori* tradition, human skulls. A further artistic rendering of the new consciousness of time are the *dances macabres*. The first of these appeared in the church of the *Innocents* in Paris in 1424.¹⁷⁴ It has subsequently been lost but its existence is recorded in a book by Guyot Marchand published in 1485, the only surviving evidence of this.¹⁷⁵ Other examples were quick to follow and the popularity of the *dances macabres* grew massively in the second half of the fifteenth century. For the most part found painted on the walls of cloisters, boneyards, and some churches, these paintings featured a skeleton (death) leading various figures in a dance. Each of these figures depicted a representative from a different social spectrum: the ultimate power of death regardless of social standing is in this way expressed. Of particular interest in this study of emblems is the fact that these paintings were also accompanied by text. Death 'speaks' to each of the figures and they 'speak' back. Death is more often than not cynical, accusatory and sarcastic: his victims, by contrast, are remorseful and imploring.

The preoccupation with dying, evident in these *dances*, also became the focus of printed works. The *Ars Moriendi*, for example, rather than simply concentrating on

¹⁷³ Corvisier, p. 73-74. See also: Terence C. Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 147-171, where he considers the *vanitas* and *memento mori* traditions in poetry of sin, sickness and death.

¹⁷⁴ James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Company, 1950), p. 22-23.

¹⁷⁵ Clark, p. 24.

the end result, as did the *dances*, offered practical advice. Written within the historical context of the Black Death, the *Ars moriendi* survives in two related Latin volumes produced in 1415 and 1450. They offered advice on the protocols and procedures for achieving a good death according to the Christian precepts of the late middle ages and included woodcuts for clarification and memorability.¹⁷⁶ Once again we find a combination of text and image: the lessons contained within are accompanied by woodcuts.

Given the popularity of the theme and the existence of texts like the *Ars moriendi*, which set an early precedent for combining text and image in printed form, it is unsurprising, therefore, that the new concern with mortality reflected in these artistic works is equally evident in emblem books, both secular and religious, which include emblems on a wide range of themes related to time such as mortality, eternity, using time wisely and the temporality of material possessions. The theme of time is such a universal theme that it can be applied to virtually every subject matter. We see evidence of this in our earlier examination of the light motif where candles, or the sun, are used to portray the passing of time. Indeed, the light motifs of the previous chapter are often inextricably linked to the theme of time.

With respect to religious emblem books, emblems on these themes appear to be as popular among Protestant authors as Catholic ones. Time and related questions of mortality and eternal life are, of course, central ideas in Christianity regardless of denomination. While these general truths apply to all Christian denominations, denominationally specific interpretations of the theme would, nevertheless, be very

¹⁷⁶ Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print*, p. 34-44.

possible. It could, for example, in a Protestant context be linked with eternity, and predestination. On the other hand, in a Catholic work it would not be implausible to find it linked to good works, in the sense of using time wisely. What this chapter aims to uncover is the extent of this denominational specificity.

This is again best demonstrated through close examination of a broad corpus of emblems spanning both the religious spectrum and an extended period of time from their conception to their heyday. Beginning by examining the question of ‘secular’ precursors of religious emblems on the theme of time, this chapter will go on to investigate religious interpretations of this theme, looking first at Protestant examples and then Catholic.

Secular precursors

Today, the allegorical figure of Father Time is perhaps one of the best-known representations of this theme. One of its earliest appearances in a French Emblem book is Gilles Corrozet’s ‘Le Temps’, which appeared in the *Hecatongraphie*, published in Paris, in 1543.¹⁷⁷ What we have in the woodcut is a visual representation of the passing of time.



¹⁷⁷ This emblem originally appeared in the 1540 *Hecatographie* as ‘Le monde’. Unless otherwise stated, all analysis of emblems is my own.

Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatongraphie* (Paris: Janot, 1543), n2v.
The bearded man running, with wings on his back and feet, we assume to be the allegorical figure of Time dragging the sky in the woodcut from one day to the next. This, we presume, represents the movement of one day into the next, the twenty-four hour cycle of passing time. This image is reinforced in the quatrain in the lines:

Le temps s'en va & ne revient,
...Que toutes avecques luy emporte.

Time, these lines tell us, verbalising the action in the image, drags everything with him. What these lines add to the image is the idea of finality. Once gone, time is gone forever, ‘ne revient’. The second, longer verse, which follows the quatrain, sheds more light on this idea, giving more examples of passing time from everyday life. The reader realises that the voice which is speaking is that of Father Time himself:

J'ay aux deux piedz, pour plustost me haster
Aelles mouvantz: aux espaules aussi.

Interestingly, pointing to the pervasiveness of Christian thought at this time, the first line of this commentary contains a reference to God: ‘Quand Dieu me feit j'estois jeune & plaisant’. Corrozet goes on to give us a second religious reference by evoking Job 1.21, ‘And said, Naked I came out of my mother’s womb and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord’:

...nez pauvres, & nudz,
Et nudz mourront sans richesse emporter.

This, of course, elaborates on an idea already expressed in the first verse, that time drags everything with it. And so we see in Corrozet a layering of ideas, the reinforcement of key concepts through repetition, similar to that identified in some of the Catholic emblems of the previous chapter written over sixty years after Corrozet.

The rest of the longer verse continues in a similar vein, once again referring to the action in the image before spelling out the significance of the scales in the picture and ending on an image of judgment:

Pour mieulx entendre & peser ton affaire
Et prendre au chois ce que bon tu reputes:
Je tiens en mains les balances bien justes.

Despite the two earlier religious references, this is not judgment in the Christian sense of the term but rather an evaluation of when our time is up. It is Father Time and not God who has the power to decide when time has run out and so this is a secular rather than Christian evaluation. Likewise, earlier on in the verse, Corrozet seems to be suggesting that not only is Father Time responsible for termination of life, so too is he responsible for giving it. ‘Parce que tous’, the voice of Time claims, ‘sont de moi venus’. In these lines, by accrediting time with the giving and taking away of life, Corrozet successfully places time at the centre of creation.

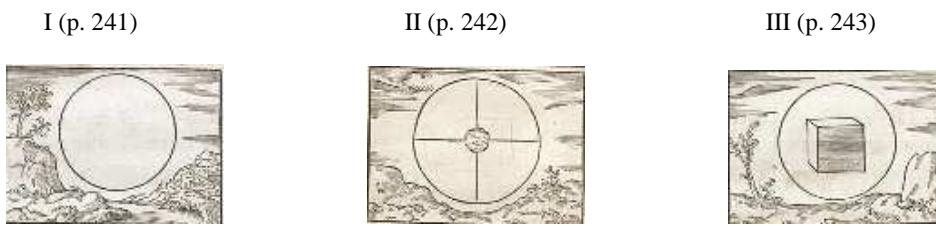
However, despite portraying time allegorically, Corrozet is careful to avoid making the suggestion that this figure of Time is invested with God-like powers over life and death by attributing the ultimate authority and power of creation of time/Time to God: ‘Quand Dieu me feit’. Time may dictate the lifespan but it in turn is the creation and instrument of God. So although it is the figure of Father Time that we see in the image, and it is the ‘voice’ of Father Time that we hear in the verse, the ultimate responsibility and authority is attributed to God. This in turn reflects the pervasiveness of Christian thought from which this allegorical emblem cannot escape.

Protestant Examples

While Corrozet's 'secular' emblem highlights the passing of time, it is the infinite nature of time upon which Bèze comments in the first emblem of *Vrais Pourtraits* (1581). There are no mottoes heading Bèze's emblems, and so the reader's eye is naturally drawn straight to the *pictura* thereby emphasising the importance of the visual element. The image centres on a large circle, set in a realistic landscape, and the signification of this is initially unclear. There are no rays of light, as we would expect to find were this circle a representation of the sun, and so the reader comes to the conclusion that this is an abstract circle, a geometrical shape. This is confirmed in the opening two lines of Goulart's French translation of Bèze's verse. Commenting upon the cyclical nature of the circle, the fact that there is no beginning or end point, the verse highlights the infinite nature of the circle, a common symbol for infinity. Having no beginning or end, the circle often becomes a symbol of infinity and God's perfect eternity. This symbolism finds authority in the bible, in Christ's words in Revelation 1. 81; 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty'. The beginning of the circle, Bèze writes, is fused with the end. So too, the final two lines confirm, is the life of the Christian: those who love God find life in death, 'A la fin de tes jours commenceras ta vie'. Just as the circle begins where it ends, so too, it is suggested, does the real life of the Christian begin in death. What is significant here in this Protestant work is that there is no mention made of faith, or grace, the two elements central to the Protestant doctrine of salvation. Instead, Bèze uses the much less loaded formula, 'toy qui sans fard aimes Christ ardamment'. What is required is honest, heartfelt love for God. While certain 'Protestant' notions may be missing from this

emblem the supplication to be ‘sans fard’ could, of course, be considered a particularly Protestant concern.

The *pictura* may not be as detailed as some of those of the Protestant examples of the previous chapter but it is, nevertheless, highly symbolic containing several layers of interpretation. It is only upon considering the verse with the image that this becomes clear. Similarly, the biblical allusion is left unlabelled requiring the reader to identify this and see the significance with respect to the message of the emblem. As such the role of the reader in this emblem is vital: it is the reader that welds the parts together.



Théodore de Bèze, *Vrais pourtraicts* (Geneva: De Laon, 1581).

The following two emblems in Bèze are very similar, both in terms of iconography and structure, and as such should really be considered together (we have already seen the importance of grouping in Bèze in the previous chapter on light). Both the second and third emblems of this collection feature a circle and form a kind of frame-work for the rest of the emblems in the collection, which, to cite Adams, ‘in pseudo-scientific fashion defines the earth, and by implication, mankind’.¹⁷⁸ The second of these depicts a circle quartered by a cross upon the centre axis of which sits a smaller, shaded circle. If, as in the previous emblem, the larger circle represents the infinity of

¹⁷⁸ Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), p. 123; For a detailed comparison of the *Icones* with the original Latin verses, see the same, pp. 119-153.

the universe/perfection of God, then it seems reasonable to assume that the smaller circle in the centre represents the earthly Christian in the centre of this. In this way, Bèze moves the focus of his previous emblem from the celestial to the human sphere. This is confirmed in the verse which once again plays on the seamless nature of the circle. Referring to those exiled for their faith, Goulart urges them not to lose faith. Just as the earth in the image is equidistant from every point of the infinite circle that surrounds it so too is the Christian, Goulart suggests, that keeps faith in God:

Puis que tu tends au ciel, quelque part que tu sois
Aussi pres ce que là tu vois qu'il t'environne.

The above lines highlight the importance of faith, and in so doing evoke one of the central aspects of Protestant doctrine. However, while Bèze suggests that it is this which protects the Christian there does not seem to be any hint of a link with salvation here in this emblem which reads instead as an encouragement to the Christian to withstand the daily trials and temptations of life.

The third of Bèze's group of emblems features yet another large circle, this time encompassing a box. Although a symbol of constancy in other emblematic works (as in Rollenhagen's ‘Quocunque ferar’¹⁷⁹ which adopts the box as a symbol of constancy for its invariable appearance no matter which way it faces), the significance of this box is otherwise initially unclear. The verse exhorts the reader to follow the ‘vray cours de ta vie’. The infinite circle/universe supports the cube, and so too, we assume, are we supported by God in his infinite perfection. This is underlined in the verse which also holds up this circle as an example, as an educator:

T'apprend à bien marquer le vray cours de ta vie
De marcher rondement ayes toujours envie.

¹⁷⁹ Gabriel Rollehanen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1613), p. 70.

Based on our interpretation of the first emblem, where the infinite, perfect circle offered the reader hope for eternal life, it seems likely that once again this is being held up as a comfort here. As such, the phrase, ‘marcher bien rondement’, likely means to conduct oneself in a manner deserving of such eternal, cyclical rewards. The constancy implied by the cube is echoed in the final line which further accredits the circle with keeping the reader’s ‘pas asseuré’. While there is a clear exhortation to live a virtuous life, however, no further details as to what this might mean are given. In this way this emblem remains fairly neutrally Christian in tone and avoids any particularly Protestant teaching.

Infinity is the central theme in all three emblems. It is introduced in the first emblem of the group and each subsequent emblem builds on this. The importance of the visual element is clear in all three emblems as Adams underlines:

The *picturae* of emblems one-three are clearly related to each other; as their complexity increases, so an argument is constructed.¹⁸⁰

An iconographic code is therefore developed and, the pictures being very dense, the text is needed to decipher this code. Not only do these emblems therefore require an intellectual effort from the reader, but a sustained intellectual effort similar to that identified in many of the Protestant examples examined in the previous chapter.

While Bèze’s emblem highlights the infinite nature of God and the universe and the potential for man, Whitney opts, like Corrozet in ‘Le Temps’, to underline man’s mortality in ‘Omnis caro foenum’.

¹⁸⁰ Adams, *Webs of Allusion*, p. 123.

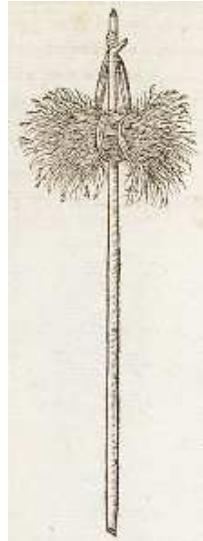
The significance of the bale of hay or grass drying at the top of a pole in the *pictura* in this emblem is far from immediately clear. The first line of the verse, which is an unidentified reference to Isaiah 40. 6, introduces the spiritual relevance and also, by evoking human mortality, translates this image into human terms, ‘All fleshe is grasse’.¹⁸¹ Both Bèze and Montenay, as we have seen, also often assume that the reader will recognise such allusions thereby increasing the active role required of the reader in the process of reading.

The first seven lines of Whitney’s emblem concentrate on giving further examples of the brevity of human life, and in particular, similarly to Corrozet, it is the inevitability of the passing of time that is stressed. There is a real sense in this emblem of the rapidity with which time passes thanks to the repetition of phrases such as ‘to morrowe’, ‘frailtie’, ‘puff’ and ‘in one daie’, reminiscent of the symbols of transience found in *vanitas* paintings. This imagery Whitney opens out to encompass the more material aspects of life with the words, ‘So worldlie pompe...’, and thus the association between transience and worldly things is made explicit thereby minimizing somewhat the amount of deciphering that the reader is often required to do in many of the other Protestant examples examined thus far.

The spiritual relevance of the *pictura*, however, is not at all clear at first and so we need to consider this alongside the text; the role of the reader is still, therefore, very much central in the piecing together of information. This verse, on the one hand,

¹⁸¹ Isaiah 40. 6.

clarifies the religious significance, and, on the other hand, embellishes upon this by introducing new images of transience.



Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques* (Lyon: De Tournes and Gazeau, 1557), p. 229.

Whitney's emblem is based on an emblem in the Plantin edition of Paradin's 'Omnis caro foenum' in *Les Devises heroïques* (1557) which also highlights the temporality of life. It featured the same image in the *pictura* and was also based on the passage from Isaiah. Although both authors tease out a similar moral message it is the way in which their emblems function which is different. While Whitney, for example, presumes a familiarity on the part of his reader with the biblical passage, and leaves this unlabelled for the reader to identify, Paradin, in the same way as do many of the Catholic authors in this study, explicitly links the motto and theme of the emblem to Christ's words:

Et principalement des corps charnelz desquels la generale et tant hative mortalité est accomparée par le Profete, au foin, de verd en sec tombant.

The role of the reader is thereby increased in Whitney's version in comparison with Paradin's. The biblical reference in Paradin sets the message of his emblem in a biblical context and thereby lends authority: in Whitney's emblem, in keeping with the Protestant practices we have thus far noticed, this reference becomes part of the puzzle, a significant cog that the reader must supply.

Given the huge number of emblems which focus on the transience of life it is unsurprising that there are also a large number advising how best this brief time should be spent. Another emblem by Whitney, 'Otiosi semper egentes' (1586) is one such example broaching the theme of idleness. Closely following Aesop's fable of the ant and the grasshopper, Whitney begins by deictically referring to the notions of Idleness and Labour portrayed in the *pictura* as an allegorical figure and ants respectively.



Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems* (Leiden: Plantin, 1586).

It would appear, at first glance, therefore, that the moral contained within is, as it is in Aesop, simply a secular one, concerned only with giving practical advice for retirement. However, Labour whips the ants on with a bunch of wheat. Given that she

also holds a cornucopia, a commonplace symbol of bountifulness, the attribute of the wheat seems somewhat superfluous. It is this, seemingly extra element, linked as it is so often in the bible with spiritual growth and regeneration, which introduces the spiritual significance. Indeed, a passage from Galatians seems to fit this emblem particularly well, ‘...but he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit keep life everlasting’.¹⁸² It is up to the reader, however, to make this connection, thereby again requiring an active role in the reading process.

The reader is encouraged in this emblem to take responsibility for his or her physical and spiritual well-being. Although there does appear to be some implication that an individual’s actions may influence to some extent the material and spiritual domains, I would argue that this is not in line with the Catholic understanding of the importance of actions, or good works. What is being presented as being of importance in this emblem is that the individual takes responsibility for his or her actions and not to believe that salvation depends on them.

Depending on the reader’s familiarity with the bible, therefore, this emblem has two possible levels of interpretation. On the one hand it echoes Aesop’s moral lesson and urges hard work in order to avoid physical hardship in old age, and, simultaneously, through the reference to Galatians, it gives a parallel message to prepare spiritually. Once again in this Protestant emblem much of the meaning hinges on the pictorial details: it is the detail of the wheat which carries the implicit allusion to the passage from Galatians, in particular, to which no explicit mention is made in the verse, that

¹⁸² Galatians 6. 8.

provides the key to this emblem. As in many of the Protestant examples above, it is the reader who must provide the mental glue to pull this together.

Whitney, Corrozet and Paradin all highlight the mortality of man's flesh, an idea inherent also in Jean-Jacques Boissard's 'A vie & a mort sont les lettres utiles' (*Emblemes*, 1595). Rather than concentrating on the inevitable demise of man, however, this emblem instead looks to how this may be counteracted and, unlike Whitney above, is not concerned with the spiritual implications of this, but, instead, surprisingly, given the emphasis placed upon the Protestant content of his emblems by scholars such as Adams, explores this notion in a secular emblem.¹⁸³



Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Emblemes* (Metz: Faber, 1595), pp. 40 -42.

In keeping with the motto, the image depicts a man and a woman surrounded by open books, clearly in conversation. The notion of study, as we have already seen, is a popular one in the Protestant examples examined. Montenay, Whitney and Rollenhagen all express this idea in their emblems. The benefits of study are further emphasised in the verse which extols the many virtues, or 'milles fructs' brought by study. In this emblem the figure of *Fama* links study with immortality through reputation. This is clarified in Joly's verse, which, amongst other virtues associated

¹⁸³ Alison Adams, *Jean-Jacques Boissard's Emblematum liber. Emblemes latins*, Metz: A. Faber, 1588: A Facsimile Edition Using Glasgow University Library SM Add 415 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

with reading, lists reading as almost an antidote to death, ‘la mort elles [lettres] maitrisent’. The way in which this is achieved is not revealed until the last lines:

En sa seule faveur la mort elles maitrisent,
Rebouchant l’esguillon de son dard odieus,
Et les noms bien cognus des hommes studieus,
Affranchis du tombeau, par elles s’eternisent.

By this we understand that it is the reputation that scholars earn that grants them immortality. This seems tenuously linked to the *pictura*, however. The significance of the figures reading is less clear. They would seem to imply that some benefit was to be gained from reading books, not from producing them. Other than a sweeping reference to the ‘milles fructs’ produced by ‘les lettres’, the verse gives no further details. This idea *is* picked up on in the prose commentary, however, which enumerates the various benefits of reading. This commentary begins by highlighting the polyvalence of books. Picking up on their ease of portability, books are to be enjoyed, we are told, ‘à la maison, en dehors ne font empeschement: couchent avec nous, en voyage nous font compagnie’. Amongst the material benefits this prose section claims a good education offers, is an acceptance in higher social circles. As is explained later, one of the benefits attached to scholarly pursuits is the acquisition of social graces, ‘le sçavoir nous polit nos moeurs’. Indeed, and perhaps key to all of these points is the argument that, ‘c’est la la difference d’entre nous & les animaus destituez de raison’. It would seem that the benefits of learning are in fact two-fold: on the one hand learning encourages virtuous behaviour in life and, on the other hand, it also affords immortality.

The reader must work to decipher this emblem by piecing together information from the *pictura*, verse and commentary. It is the figure of *Fama* which encourages a

symbolic reading of an otherwise realistic scene of figures engaged in study, while the following verse introduces the idea of mortality and the commentary clarifies other benefits of learning. Indeed it is the human intellect, required to decipher this meaning, that separates man from the beasts, which this emblem praises. The cerebral, therefore, an element important in Protestant emblems as we have seen, is once again brought to the fore in both the structure and thematic content of this emblem.

Rollenhagen too extols the virtues of study in ‘Vita mortalium vigilia’ (The life of mortals is wakefulness / watching a vigil) but, unlike Boissard, links this with the spiritual. The figure in the engraving sits reading, his hand on the pages of an open book. The sun and crescent moon shine through a cloud in the ceiling, immediately broadening the scope of this emblem beyond the physical confines of the study-room. A *memento mori*, an hourglass, sits on the desk echoing the theme of mortality evoked in the motto.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 82.

The message is very similar to that of Whitney’s ‘Otiosi semper egentes’ that our time on earth, although short, should be well spent:

Nous devons en veillant les vertus acquérir,

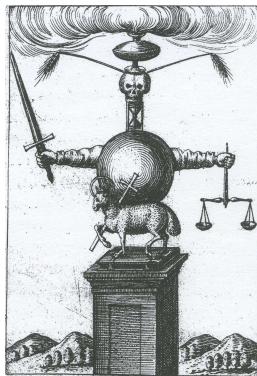
Et tousjours bien vivant apprendre à bien mourir.

Although there is no overt reference to God in the verse, the above lines, by evoking the *Ars moriendi*, introduce religious significance. Furthermore, the visual reference to the constant cycle of the rising and the setting of the sun, pictured behind the moon in the emblem, is enough to convey, on the one hand, the passing of time and, on the other hand, the idea of life after death. If we want to profit fully from the afterlife, Rollenhagen suggests, then our days on earth should be spent in the worthwhile acquisition of virtues. There is a further warning, a threat of what might otherwise happen, in the words on the pages of the book ‘disco mori’ (‘I learn to die’). In order to avoid being torn asunder in death the reader is urged in this emblem to spend his or her time on earth wisely in study. The words on the page further emphasise the importance of this visual element. There is a similar notion expressed here to that found in the *Ars moriendi*: life should be a process of preparation for death. While it might seem plausible, given the emphasis placed on the scriptures by the Protestants, to interpret the book as the bible, this is open to debate. There is no explicit mention made in the verse or the *pictura* to the bible and, while the Protestants may have promoted study of the scriptures, they equally promoted secular study. Depending on the standpoint of the reader, then, this book could represent either or both these things.

Once again, therefore, as in the other Protestant examples examined here, the reader plays a vital role, in this instance piecing together the details of the engraving. While each of the elements in the *pictura* is familiar and recognisable, it is the combination of these, which can only be achieved in the mind of the reader, that accurately reflects

the many nuances of this complex emblem. Furthermore the reader is required to consider this alongside a careful reading of the text.

While the emblems above all either implicitly or explicitly comment on the brevity of life, Andreas Friedrich by contrast, stresses the patience that is needed to endure even this short length of time in ‘Constante Patience enfin surmonte tout’ (*Emblemes nouveaux*, 1617). In this collection Friedrich has added a further commentary section to the ‘traditional’ tripartite emblem structure. This, of course, we have seen previously in the Catholic emblems of Berthod, Baudoin and Sucquet and in the 1593/95 editions of Protestant Boissard, but it is something, it would appear, less commonly found in Protestant emblems. The image is one of the most striking and memorable in this study, certainly of the examples we have so far examined, and is another excellent example of the symbolic style of imagery, particularly found in Protestant works. A globe, representing the world, reminiscent of those found in the *picturae* of Montenay, makes up the body of a caricature of the figure of a man which, complete with halo and cross, sits on the Lamb of God. This ‘man’, we interpret as being the product of all the components that make up his body: he is, therefore, a combination of the material world and spiritual (lamb) and, as such, is subject to time. A human skull sits on top of an hourglass neck, which, linking the organic and the material, reminds the reader that nothing is permanent and, that as much as human life is embroiled in the temporal materialness of the world, one day this will come to an end.



Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemes nouveaux* (Frankfurt: Jennis, 1617), pp. 64-65.

The image is certainly striking in this emblem but becomes clear when ‘read’ after the motto, and especially the verse. The religious aspect, conveyed in the image by the lamb, for example, is echoed implicitly in the first line of the verse, ‘Des dits de l’Eternel on apprend Patience’. Again, without referring to the skull of the image or the hourglass, the verse, nevertheless, expresses the notion of human mortality that lies behind these attributes, ‘ La Mort vient, & met fin à tout outrecuidance’. Rather neatly this notion of finality is also the final line of the quatrain.

It could be argued that the additional commentary, which at first seems to read like an expanded version of the quatrain, is in fact superfluous. However, despite a certain amount of repetition, this longer verse does in fact add to the quatrain. For example, the line, ‘Qu’en brief temps passera ceste croix qu’elle porte’, introduces the new idea of life as being a burden. Furthermore, this second verse makes frequent reference to the cross in the engraving, which is left unmentioned in the quatrain. This evokes Christ’s redemptive sacrifice and suggests that life is the cross that we must bear, a similar notion to that expressed in Berthod’s ‘Fortitudo simplicis via domini’.¹⁸⁴ This is not the idea of sacrifice as we find it in a Catholic context but more generally the

¹⁸⁴ See chapter 2, p. 99 of this thesis.

sense of life being a trial that must be endured. Also within this second verse we find new images introduced which evoke the *vanitas* tradition. Although they do not add dramatically to the moral of the emblem, they do benefit the emblem in terms of clarity. Pride, for example, is described in terms of steam:

Du monde la fierté qui se fait tant ouïr,
Comme vapeur bien tôt on void s'esvanouir

This emblem, therefore, requires careful unpacking by the reader. The image is complex: each detail is a necessary component in understanding the moral of the emblem. The reader must therefore piece together information from the verse, commentary and *pictura* in order to decipher the meaning of the emblem.

The globe is again the central iconographic motif in Friedrich's emblem 'Pren garde au temps present aussi bien qu'a toy mesme', which, rather than presenting life as a tortuous test of endurance, as does 'Constante patience', concentrates instead on highlighting the importance of every moment of the present. Although these same elements of the globe and hourglass were present in the previous emblem by Friedrich, here he teases out a different aspect of the theme of time through the inclusion of the allegorical figure of Occasio, depicted in the image standing with one foot on the world-globe and the other on an hourglass.



Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemes nouveaux* (Frankfurt: Jennis, 1617), pp. 64-65.

The first two lines of the quatrain emphasise the role of Occasio in the image, underlining the idea that we have no control over when we are to die:

L'occasion tousjours ne se laisse pas prendre
Quand on le voudroit bien: Repen toy aujourd'hui.

This is a very similar idea to that evoked in Corrozet's 'L'heure de la mort incertaine' (*Hecatomgraphie*, 1540). However, there, this theme is portrayed not by the allegorical figure of Occasio, but by a skull which has an arrow pointer through the forehead, representing a grotesque clock. Like Friedrich, Corrozet urges his reader to take stock of his or her actions before it is too late. He emphasises this message through his assertion that 'good' people will have a 'doulce & amoureuse' death and will receive 'joyes supernelles', while the bad will enjoy a 'terrible & douloureuse' death and have 'peines aeternelles' to look forward to.



Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie* (Paris: Janot, 1540), n3v.

Although the verses of both Friedrich and Corrozet include images of good and bad, unlike Corrozet, Protestant Friedrich does not contrast these and their consequential fates. Instead, picking up on an image associated with the *vanitas* tradition, the final two lines reinforce the image of human mortality and introduce the idea of equality in death:

Richesse, honneur, beauté, sagesse, joye, enuuy,
Au monde demeuront, & tu iras en cendre.

All the previous examples that we have examined agree that death is inevitable. Where this emblem differs is in its emphasis on the uncertainty of the hour of this death, a notion which is introduced in the *pictura*, and this is made explicit in the commentary:

Bien que nous n'en sachions ni le temps ni le lieu.
La mort baisse son dard contre nous à tout heure.

In other words, this commentary is urging the reader to be spiritually ready by following the advice given in the quatrain to ‘Repen toy aujourd’hui.’ The commentary ends on a theme from the Lord’s Prayer, urging us to ‘pardonner à ceux lesquels t’on fait outrage’ as only then can we see the ‘gracieux visage’ of God.

Once again it would appear that the Christian truths expressed in Friedrich’s explicitly religious emblem are also present in the works of one of the early fathers of emblems, Corrozet. While Friedrich’s Protestant emblem is slightly more sophisticated in that it includes the theme of material wealth, the overall message of this early ‘secular’ and later Protestant emblem remains the same.

The symbolic nature of the Protestant examples identified in the previous chapter is once more evident here. The often abstract images (such as those of Bèze and Friedrich) are not immediately accessible and require some contemplation alongside the verse which involves the reader in a particular process of reading, to-ing and fro-ing between text and image, the product of which is melded together in his or her mind. On occasion, as in Bèze, this effort is not simply required for the duration of

one individual emblem, but rather is a sustained effort over two or three emblems. This once again points to the importance of the visual detail of Protestant emblems; in the progression from one emblem to the next, the reader builds on details previously deciphered, and as such, an iconographic code is built up in the deciphering of which the reader plays a crucial role.

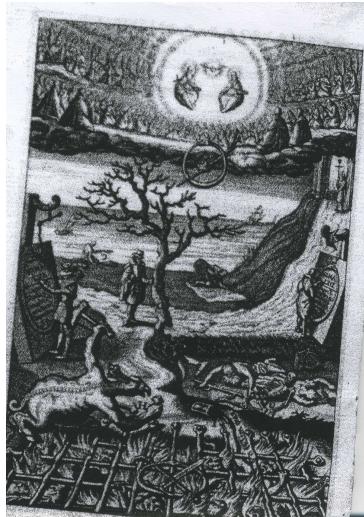
Catholic Examples

The theme of time is equally prominent in Catholic emblems. Emblem XVII from *Le chemin de la vie éternelle* (1623) by Sucquet, for example, highlights the opposition between living a prudent and a non-prudent life particularly well. The motto makes it clear that it is only upon death that the consequences of a particular way of life will be felt:

Si vous doutez du choix de la vertu, voyez si vous ne desirerez pas l'avoir choisi quand vous serez en l'Eternité?

As we saw in the chapter on light, the format of Sucquet's book is quite different from that of any of the Protestant examples included in this corpus: an initial key precedes the *pictura* and this directs the reader's attention to specific elements in the image and explains the significance of these. These are in turn followed by a prose commentary, which, following to a certain extent the general structure of the *Spiritual Exercises*, is divided into three *points* and a *resolution*.

The *picturae* are very detailed, and each of these details, although explained by the key, plays an important role as does, as we shall see, the structure of the engravings. In this instance the image is composed almost entirely of opposites.



Antoine Sucquet, *Le chemin de la vie éternelle* (Antwerp: Aertssens, 1623), pp. 570-575.

At the bottom of the engraving Sin nails the grille down over the flames of eternal hell where the devil burns amid other tortured souls. At the top of the image, an angel guides the entrance to heaven where the assembly of the elect sit. In the sky, representing the eternity of heaven, is a serpent coiled in the shape of a circle, inside of which are a crown and a feather. The yearly shedding of a snake's skin and the ensuing succession of forms that this means provided a ready symbol for infinity in ancient times. This imagery can be traced back to Horapollo who claimed it to be an Egyptian symbol for the Almighty and the universe.¹⁸⁵ This symbol is echoed at the bottom of the image where another serpent, coiled in a circle, lies on top of the grille, enveloping a sword and a whip. That this symbol of infinity is repeated at the top and the bottom leads the reader to suppose that two different kinds of eternity are being

¹⁸⁵ The first and second emblems of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* take this figure as a central motif. An explanation of the significance of this motif is given in the second emblem, 'c'est une beste pesante comme la terre coulant comme leau & qui chascun an despoille sa vielesse avec sa peau ainsi que le temps qui chascun an se renouvelle & semble rajeunir'. I am using here the 1543 translation by Jean Martin (Paris: Jacques Kerver).

contrasted. Each of these eternities is further represented in the two inscriptions being carved on the left-hand and the right-hand side of the image. While at first glance they appear to be identical, there are in fact several significant differences. The man on the left represents the eternity of Paradise. He is dressed simply, in a religious habit. Furthermore, a crown hangs from the top of the easel which is positioned at the foot of the path leading to heaven and this inscription reads, ‘Amor dei semel cogitatum dictum factum æternum est’ (‘the love of God in thoughts, words and deeds is eternal’). His counterpart, on the other hand is fashionably dressed, complete with ruff and feathers. At the top of his easel hangs a whip and his inscription reads, ‘Amor sui semel cogitatum dictum factum æternum est’ (‘the love of oneself in thoughts, words and deeds is eternal’). Reminiscent of the contrasting ‘joyes supernelles’ and ‘peines aternelles’ in Corrozet’s ‘L’heure de la mort incertaine’, these inscriptions tell us that love of God and love of oneself will lead to two very different kinds of eternity. This reinforces the visual opposition between heaven at the top and hell at the bottom and the implicit contrast between the material and the spiritual. There is a beautiful symmetry to this image: the diametrically opposite representations of the two eternities form the horizontal and vertical axes of a cross. The link between all of these elements, heaven, hell, the material and the spiritual is, of course, Christ’s sacrifice on the cross. Attributing these elements of heaven and hell the first and the last letters in the explanatory key reinforces the idea that eternity will lie in one or other of these extremes.

In the middle ground a man digs in the sand in order to lay a headstone, thus reminding us of our own mortality. We are told in the key that the tree against which

the man pushes is another symbol for eternity or the end of time as it will lie where it falls forever:

En quelque lieu que tombera l'arbre [D,] soit devers le midy, soit devers le septentrion, il y demeurera pour un jamais.

The tree in a biblical context is reminiscent of the tree of knowledge. This obviously introduces connotations of original sin and the consequent loss of immortality. By using a tree to symbolise eternity Sucquet at the same time offers consolation for the loss of eternity associated with the eating of the fruit from the tree of knowledge. This tree, is, of course, according to medieval legend, also the source of the wood for the cross upon which Christ was crucified. The tree, therefore, symbolizes, on the one hand, original sin, and, on the other hand, Christ's redemptive sacrifice.

In a pit below, Father Time lies dead, his scythe broken, further symbols of the end of time. The figure of Father Time we have met before in Corrozet's 'Le Temps' running across the sky, dragging time from one day to the next. We quite naturally, therefore assume the lifeless corpse of this figure alongside the broken scythe attribute to symbolize the end of time. The broken sundial beside this, a familiar, everyday object used to measure the passing of time, is broken, further reinforcing this message. The figures of Death and Occasio lie alongside Father Time underlining at once both the inevitability and unpredictability of this death.

The overall message becomes clear upon combining the various elements in the image. The day will come when all men and women have had their day, when the tree is ready to be felled, when death wins over time and at that one point one of the two eternities will become his or her fate. The man digging a hole for a gravestone sets the

example that we should follow. By looking ahead to death, by being prudent and living in recognition of this day, the eternity of hell can be avoided. The three *points* echo these ideas. The first, picking up on the image of the tree urges the reader to look to nature for an example, comparing the extinction of human life to the perishing of a fruit. *Point* two similarly summarizes the image and reminds the reader that there are two kinds of eternity:

Comme il est maintenant en vostre choix & liberté de suivre la vertu, & par le moyen d'icelle acquerir l'éternité bien-heureuse

The idea of choice, of having control over actions, is introduced here and echoed in the third *point*. Implicit in this is the notion of good works, a Catholic, rather than Protestant concept. The acknowledgment of the two eternities is taken one step further, is made explicit in the text, where Sucquet adopts an imperative tone, bullying his reader into submission:

Considerez qu'il faut qu'en toute action, en toute pensée & en toutes vos paroles, que vous choisissiez l'une des deux éternités.

This is an emotive subject and Sucquet's aim is, through the graphic and disturbing imagery of hell, the finality of which is reinforced through the imperative tone adopted in the verse, first and foremost to awaken in his reader an emotive response. Sucquet's emblem, however, also requires an active reader, one who will consider the *pictura* carefully. Reading this emblem necessitates patience and a willingness to jump between elements in the image, to scan forward and back until the meaning becomes clear.

Unusually for a Catholic work which, as we have seen, often adopt more realistic iconography, the symbols in this image carry more than one meaning and this is

reinforced by the structure of the *pictura*, by the arrangement of these details. In this way, Sucquet's emblem is more similar than many of its Catholic counterparts to the Protestant examples examined earlier, all of which rely to some extent on the secondary details of the *pictura*. While the image is laden with symbols, however, the extent of the intellectual effort required from the reader must not be over emphasized. An explanatory key, after all, accompanies the elements of the *pictura*. Despite requiring more of an intellectual response from his reader than the other Catholic examples included in this study do, therefore, the main focus of Sucquet's emblem, is still, nevertheless, to elicit an emotional response

This inter-denominational blurring of the distinctions that have been identified in this study is evident also in the great number of works, both Protestant and Catholic, influenced by Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*. Hugo depicted images of what Höltgen terms, 'bridal love'¹⁸⁶ between Christ and the Christian soul. These he sets in biblical scenes, chosen in particular from the Canticles and Psalms. First published in 1624 in Latin and later in French in 1627 this book became arguably one of the most influential emblematic works for Catholic and Protestant authors alike, regardless of its Jesuit roots. For example, we find the influence of Hugo's emblems in Anglican Francis Quarles's *Emblemes* (1635) and so, although Quarles was an Anglican and should be included in the previous section on Protestant examples, it is more useful to examine his version here alongside Hugo, its source.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Karl Josef Höltgen, 'Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words? The Adaptation of the Jesuit sources in Quarles's *Emblemes*', *Emblematica*, 9.2 (1995), 221-238 (222).

¹⁸⁷ For a detailed analysis of Quarles's emblems and the relationship between these and those of Hugo and other sources, see: Höltgen, 'Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words?', 9. 2, 221-238. The influence in Quarles's emblems of the *Typus Mundi*, a collaborative Jesuit work is also evident.

Neither Hugo nor Quarles gave their emblems mottoes, and so the *pictura* is what the reader first sees in both volumes thereby underlining the importance of the visual element. The image is almost identical in both versions and features a cherubic figure crying amid square flowerbeds. The fact that the figure, *Anima*, is wiping her right eye in Hugo's version and his left in Quarles's would suggest that the plates in Quarles's version are a direct copy. Once again, here, as in the previous emblems by Sucquet, a sundial is used to represent time. That the sundial is half in shade suggests that half the day is gone and, consequently, that time is running out. This hints at human mortality, a notion confirmed in the *pictura* as the angelic figure tries to lead the crying figure of *anima* away. There is one significant difference between the two images: this is the inclusion in Quarles's version of a half-full hourglass which sits in front of the sundial. This instantly recognizable *vanitas* symbol serves simply to further emphasize the fleetingness of time and as such plays a reinforcing role. That Anglican Quarles should choose to express this emphasis visually once again points to the Protestant preference for the visual and the independent interpretation required of their readers.



Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (London: Marriot, 1635), p. 172.

Both Hugo and Quarles identify the source of the emblem as a passage from Job: ‘Are not my days few? Cease, then and let me alone that I might take comfort a little’.¹⁸⁸ That both explicitly reference this is interesting and further attests to the extent of Hugo’s influence: the Protestant authors so far examined, in particular Montenay and Rollenhagen, generally involve their reader in the identification of such citations. Less input is therefore required of the reader in both Hugo’s Catholic and Quarles’s Anglican emblems.

Quarles’s emblem is not simply a translation of Hugo’s however. While both stress the brevity of human life, the tone is somewhat different in each emblem. Hugo suggests that the brevity of time we are accorded is a joke; ‘un tour plein de moquerie’ while Quarles underlines the insignificance of man by contrasting his lifespan with the eternity of the almighty:

The gaine’s not great I purchase by this stay;
What losse sustain’st thou by so small delay,
To whom ten thousand years are but a day.

Hugo, drawing on a theme basic to all branches of Christianity, introduces the idea of original sin, blaming this for the fact that we die, ‘Car aussy-tot que l’homme eut péché, l’éternité fut changé en mortalité’. As we have seen in the first chapter where I discuss the Jesuits and the *Spiritual Exercises*, the atonement of sin formed the major focus of the ‘voie purgative’, the first section of the *Spiritual Exercises* and so Hugo’s emblem is perfectly in tune with evolving Counter-Reformation thought. And yet the focus on sin is also present in Quarles’s Anglican emblem. However, the precise focus is somewhat different. Rather than presenting sin as the cause of such brief

¹⁸⁸ Job 10. 20.

mortality, here, Quarles is bemoaning that fact that we have so little time to repent and atone for our sins before we die, ‘I have a world of sinnes to be lamented’.

Nevertheless despite the slight difference in emphasis, both authors agree on the corrupt nature of man and the subsequent need for repentance. Interestingly, neither author offers suggestions as to how this may be achieved. We might expect Hugo’s Catholic emblem to emphasise the importance of actions: it does not. We might expect Quarles’s Anglican emblem to stress the importance of faith and grace in redemption: it does not. Indeed, Höltgen notes ‘the truly Christian, meditative and non-sectarian character’ of *Pia desideria*.¹⁸⁹ It is this aspect of them, we assume, that renders them suitable for adaptation for a Protestant audience.

Despite coming from opposing theological backgrounds, both Hugo and Quarles create emblems which are remarkably similar. Not only do they share the same iconography but are close in theological standpoint. What is more, both emblems function in a very similar fashion: neither Hugo nor Quarles verbalises in the text the *pictura* which is fairly easily understood due to the commonplace *vanitas* symbols and realistic iconography. Certainly a preference for text, a leaning towards the explicit can be identified in both authors which necessarily diminishes the role of the reader.

All of the examples, both Protestant and Catholic, up until now have concentrated on expressing the brevity of time. Jean Baudoin, like Rollenhagen, Boissard, Friedrich and Whitney, suggests how this short time might be well spent in his emblem ‘De la

¹⁸⁹ Höltgen, ‘Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words?’, *Emblematica* 9.2, 221-238 (223).

vigilence, & qu'il faut gaigner le Temps' in which the spiritual significance takes a backseat to more practical considerations. In a realistic scene, a young boy pours oils into a lamp, a commonplace symbol for study. The old woman behind him seems to be stretching out her hand towards him in some kind of admonishment. The books and various mathematical instruments including a setsquare, inkwell, ruler, protractor and compass that lie on the ground in front of the boy fairly clearly suggest that he is engaged in some kind of study. While in many of the Protestant examples on this theme we have assumed the books depicted to represent the bible, that this is not the case here is made clear in the detail of the geometrical shapes on the pages of one of the open books.



Jean Baudoin, *Receuil d'emblemes divers* (Paris: Villery, 1646-1647), pp. 666-679.

Due to the fact that the boy is lighting a lamp we assume the scene to be taking place at night. This exhortation to night-time vigilance is underlined in the text, which also confirms the interpretation of the woman's gesture, 'Sa vieille mere le semble tancer, & l'accuser de Paresse nous sollicite nous-mesme à la vigilance, & au travail'. This is, of course, a similar sentiment to that expressed in some of the Protestant examples examined earlier: both Rollenhagen and Boissard, for example, highlight the importance of study. Where this example differs from those is in its night-time

setting. While we gain a sense of this from the image and draw the association between working at night and working hard, Baudoin's theory behind the particular suitability of night-time for study is more complex as we discover in the text. This acknowledges the brevity of time, 'n'avons nous du temps qu'autant que nous en pouvons employer utilement', and claims that it is in the employment of time that time is gained, 'c'est par elle aussi [vigilence] que dans l'occurrence des affaires, & des actions de la vie, on gagne le Temps, qui est la chose du monde la plus precieuse'. This statement is a little puzzling: time, after all, cannot be expanded. The day can only be as long as it is. It is here that the significance of the night-time setting becomes important. Useful employment of time *at night* is what Baudoin is suggesting gains time:

Tant s'en faut donc qu'on doive blasmer celuy qui emploie à quelque honnestre exercice le temps que les autres passent à dormir; qu'au contraire, il en est extremement loüable. Car le sommeil estant fils de la Nuict, & l'image de la Mort, il est d'autant plus lus seant à l'homme de veiller, qu'il meurt le moins lorsque'il veille le plus.

The association of sleep with death is an interesting one for two reasons: on the one hand, in keeping with the tone of many Counter-Reformation Catholic emblems, it is a very emotive concept thereby increasing the impact of the emblem. Furthermore, while in a religious context we might expect the primary concern with extension of life to be with the afterlife, in this emblem the focus is on the here and now. This picks up on the ideas in Rollenhagen's 'Vita mortalium vigilia' and yet reveals a different approach, focusing on the practical aspects of night-time study rather than the moral enrichment it provides.

Baudoin's demonstration of the suitability of night-time to study does not end there. He further underlines its appropriateness by noting the improved quality of study that

can be achieved. This he attributes to a concentration of the senses: ‘En effet l’obscurité ramasse les sens, par la confusion des couleurs; au lieu que la lumiere les divertit, par la diversité des objets’. If Ignatius encouraged the involvement of the senses in spiritual meditation, Baudoin clearly finds these distracting in scholarly study. The implication here, of course, is that while one was to appeal to the heart and soul, the other secular pursuit was to appeal to the mind. Indeed, Baudoin goes as far as to give the example of Democritus in support of his theory:

L’Histoire rapporte que pour le mesme sujet le Philosophe Democrite se creva les yeux affin que par la privation de la veüe, il pût mieux entretenir ses grandes pensées.

While ostensibly on the same theme as the emblems by Rollenhagen, Boissard and Friedrich, Baudoin creates a very different effect. Despite the attention paid to the notion of human mortality, Baudoin’s emblem, unlike these others, is not particularly religious in tone. He ensures an emotional appeal through the repetition of images evoking human mortality and, relying on imagery that evokes sensory deprivation, calls the senses into play through their very exclusion. The suffocating effect that this produces envelops the reader, who, projecting himself upon the scene is all the more receptive to Baudoin’s words.

Once again, however, the *pictura* features a realistic setting which is easily decipherable and thus the interplay between text and image is reduced. Consequently, so too is the role of the reader reduced as he is guided through the various *points* of the text. This adopts an authoritative tone drawing on aspects of classical history, and, rather than assuming prior knowledge of these on the part of the reader, spells out the significance of these thereby reducing the input required of the reader.

While Baudoin concentrates his attention on the manner of living, François Berthod focuses his attention on the manner of dying in ‘*De la mort des Justes*’. The inclusion of the word ‘justes’ in the motto immediately alerts us to the existence of an appraisal. The reader is presented with the image of a man lying in bed, his hands clasped in prayer and we assume this figure to be one of the dying ‘justes’. Vapour, in which a tiny figure floats, rises from the mouth of the figure in the bed. This rises to two outstretched hands which emerge from a sunburst at the top left-hand corner of the image. This traditional symbol is fairly easily understood to be the man’s soul being received by God. Two burning candles and a crucifix sit on a chest at the foot of the bed. The crucifix introduces the idea of Christ’s sacrifice for mankind and the redemption permitted by his death. The crucifix is flanked on either side by a candle, creating the impression of a church altar. This reinforces the role of the Church, in particular that of the priest: in a wider Catholic context this of course would mean the sacrament of the last rites. There is, however, in this instance, no textual evidence in support of this, and so, rather than becoming a manifesto for this specific aspect of Catholic doctrine, the imagery remains simply suggestive.

Like Corrozet who contrasted ‘*joyes éternelles*’ with ‘*peines supernelles*’, and Sucquet who visually opposed these two notions, Berthod similarly offsets the two types of death his reader can expect and opposes two versions of infinity. ‘*La mort est au mechant un objet effroyable*’, he tells us, on the one hand, while the ‘*ame juste*’, he suggests on the other hand, can expect a much more pleasant experience: ‘*Car son ame en sortant senvole dans les cieux entre les mains de Dieu qui l'aime et le caresse*’. Here too, then, as in Baudoin’s emblem, we find the emotive vocabulary and imagery typical of Counter-Reformation works. This, of course, is reinforced in the

depiction in the *pictura* of the man's soul rising to God, all the more emotive for the inclusion of the tiny man-shaped spirit: the soul is thereby presented not as some generic miasma but as the very essence of man.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loysen, 1665), pp. 492-497.

The end result may be more pleasant for the ‘justes’ but so too, the second *point* asserts, is the process of dying. They are not spared the physical discomfort of dying but, paradoxically, pain and suffering associated with illness and dying are presented here as a comfort to the Christian who endures them:

Considerez que les justes trouvent dans les douleurs & dans les langeurs de la maladie, des satisfactions particulières par le désir qu'ils ont de souffrir pour Jesus-Christ.

Inherent in this statement is of course the notion of redemptive sacrifice particularly associated with Catholics. Amongst other aspects of personal devotion that were given new emphasis at the Council of Trent were the daily corporal works of mercy, the idea of self-sacrifice as expressed in the above lines and a notion we have met previously in emblems by both Catholic Berthod ('Fortitudo simplicis via domini') and Protestant Friedrich ('Constante patience enfin surmonte tout').

The reward for such suffering is made clear in the third *point*, which, reiterating the reception of the soul by God evoked in the image, introduces the idea of eternity:

Considerez qu'au mesme temps que l'ame du juste sort de son corps, elle est receüe entre les mains de Dieu [...] où elle joue à jamais du repos éternel.

This, of course, following on from the descriptions of suffering in the previous *point*, is very comforting. The pain endured in this life, Berthod assures his reader, will be followed by an eternity of rest at God's side. In this way, Berthod creates a sort of emotional rollercoaster one moment unsettling his reader and calming him or her the next. The reader is thereby drawn in by his or her emotions and is persuaded all the more by Berthod's words as a result as he follows the emotional dips and troughs.

Once again we see realistic iconography typical of many of the Catholic emblems studied so far in the death-bed scene designed to provoke an emotional response. The image as a result is fairly self-explanatory, requiring little analysis from the reader, and the nuances of this theme are spelled out through each step of Berthod's meditation, reducing the role of the reader all the more.

Eternity is once again the main focus of Gabriel de Mello's emblem 'Jesus faisant dans le coeur d'une Ame fidelle la peinture de la Mort, du Jugement, du Paradis, & de l'Enfer pour en faire le sujet continual des ses plus Saintes Meditations'. Following the pattern of all the images in this collection, the *pictura* features a heart and Jesus acting upon it. In this instance Christ is depicted holding a painter's palette and paintbrushes. Reminiscent of the painted heart in Sucquet's emblem XII, here the heart fulfils the role of canvas and is divided into quarters. Each of these corresponds

to each of the stages mentioned in the motto and represents one of the Four Last Things (death, judgment, heaven and hell), a key concept in Catholicism.



Gabriel de Mello, *Les Divines operations de Jesus dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle*
(Paris: Van-Merle, 1673), pp. 42-45.

It is by the depiction of these ‘saints & profonds Misteres’, as they are called in the verse, on the human heart that sin may be banished:

Peignez dans mon coeur les tableaux;
De saints & profonds Misteres,
Que le demon des voluptez,
N'y trace point d'impuretez.

The prose that follows this verse clarifies this process:

Il veut [Jesus] que les copies [peintures] qu'il en fait qu'elles fassent dans le temps, dans le coeur d'une Ame fidelle tout ce que les mêmes originaux pourraient faire dans l'éternité, c'est à dire qu'il nous dispose à bien & sainement mourir.

These lines seem to suggest that the image be linked more than just symbolically to what it represents. Mello seems to be suggesting that the image as a reflection of divine mysteries can set an example and incite appropriate behaviour. In this instance, it is of course metaphorical painting Mello describes. It is through Jesus's example, Mello suggests, that these truths may be etched onto the human heart. Interestingly

this is not described as an instantaneous event. The role of time is emphasised and this is very much presented as a process. This process of painting, interestingly, also echoes the Counter-Reformation approach to meditation to appeal emotionally to the meditant who, having imprinted the *compositio loci* on his heart, would project himself upon the scene being visualised.

Above the heart flies a bird, which we assume to represent the Holy Spirit. This is confirmed in the prose which also reveals this to be a crucial element in this ‘painting’ process:

Le Saint-Esprit que vous voiez au dessus de ce coeur, & qui l’éclaire par ses raions, perfectionne en nous ces divines peintures, & a donné tout l’éclat nécessaire pour les rendre conformes à leur original.

The knowledge of these truths is not, these lines suggest, enough in and of itself. An extra ingredient is needed to render these truths real and tangible and this is present in the depiction of the Holy Spirit. Described in now-familiar imagery of light, it is God’s grace that is presented as activating these truths in the Christian heart.

Looking to Jesus as an example is, of course, something the Jesuits particularly emphasised. It forms the base premise of all three ‘paths’ or sections of the *Spiritual Exercises*, in particular that of the illuminative and uniting paths which include meditations on the life of Jesus and aspire to a union with him. As such, this emblem, although not perhaps following the structure of the *Spiritual Exercises* as closely as, for example, Berthod (as I have elsewhere demonstrated), nevertheless is still very much in keeping with the overall shifts in Counter-Reformation thinking. On the whole, however, with the emphasis on grace, this emblem is similar in theological emphasis to many of the Protestant examples examined. Where it differs is in the

relationship between the text and image. Here the image fulfils the same function as it does in the emblems of Berthod and provides an initial point of focus for the meditation.

* * *

If we leave our examination of examples of Protestant and Catholic emblems here what has been learned? There is evidence that both Protestant and Catholic examples may be influenced by, or at least contain similar imagery and themes, to those found in ‘secular’ precursors. For example, the contrast between the two eternities of heaven and hell, so concisely contrasted in Corrozet’s ‘L’heure de la mort incertaine’, is similarly evoked in both Protestant Friedrich’s ‘Constante Patience surmonte tout’ and Catholic Sucquet’s emblem XVII. The themes, on the whole, similarly, appear to be universal: we find examples from across the spectrum commenting on the brevity of time, aspiring to eternity and advocating how time might best be spent.

This is not to say, of course, that the emphasis is always the same. We do at times find what might be interpreted as evidence of specific doctrinal persuasion. Berthod, for example, hints at the sacrament of the last rites in ‘De la mort des Justes’. That this is merely a hint of course renders the emblem flexible, adaptable to fit any context. Furthermore, and perhaps more significantly, we find evidence of a cross-over of themes. Subject matter we might tend to think of as ‘Protestant’, we find cropping up in Catholic emblems and vice versa. The responsibility the Protestants placed on the individual that is evident in the emblems of Rollenhagen, Whitney, Boissard and Friedrich (indeed almost of all the Protestant authors we have examined in this

chapter) is also echoed to a certain extent in the Catholic examples: Sucquet emphasises the choice the Christian must make and Baudoin also urges his reader to take matters into his or her own hands. We cannot help but contrast the attitude expressed towards the individual in these Catholic examples compared to the more traditionally passive role assigned to the individual in Mello's emblem. Furthermore, reflective of the post-Trent changes in thinking in the Catholic Church, we find examples of the promotion of study, in both Protestant and Catholic emblems. This cross-over, the blurring of expected doctrinal boundaries is perhaps most evident, not surprisingly, in Quarles's Anglican reworking of Hugo's Jesuit emblems where Quarles not only copies the plates (for the most part faithfully) but also follows the content of the verses very closely indeed. This is in part due to the non-sectarian tone of Hugo's initial emblems, which, as Höltgen has noted, ensured their appeal to both a Catholic and a Protestant audience. Not only, therefore, are the emblems we have examined theologically quite close but they also include themes and raise questions, and, indeed, overtly borrow material from works one might usually associate with some opposing faction.

While the examples we have examined might be similar in terms of theme and, often, theological standpoint, there is a difference in iconography and the relationship between text and image. The image plays a vital role in the Protestant emblems: it is often the interplay between the secondary details that carries much of the meaning. This, the reader is required to puzzle out by him or herself. In the Catholic examples, the role of the image and indeed, the role of the reader is diminished: *picturae* tend to be more descriptive than symbolic and often the reader is guided step by step in his or her consideration of the emblem. Similarly, biblical and classical allusions tend to be

spelled out to the reader in the Catholic emblems. These aim at once for clarity and at the same time seeks to lend authority. In the Protestant examples these often go unlabelled requiring the reader to identify these him or herself thereby becoming part of the puzzle. This mirrors the Protestant notion of the individual having direct access to God without the need of guidance from, for example, a clerical figure of authority. Only Sucquet seems to bridge this gap with the highly detailed engravings that form his emblems. In complex scenes, background figures, much as they do in Protestant examples, contribute to the overall message of the emblem and require a similar style of reading to that of Protestant examples where the eye must repeatedly scan the image piecing together information. Despite having a stronger intellectual appeal than the majority of Catholic emblems in this study, the role of the reader, is, nevertheless, still greatly diminished through the inclusion of an initial explanatory key. What the Catholic emblems are lacking in terms of intellectual appeal they compensate for with emotional appeal, however, and many of these guarantee memorability through a combination of realistic scenes and emotive language.

Afterword to Chapters Two and Three

What is immediately clear from our analysis in these two chapters is the vast scope of the religious emblem. Virtually every aspect of daily life is called into play be it in terms of theme or representations of daily objects and tasks in the *picturae*.

In the chapter on the light motif, for example, we find representations of candles, suns, sunbursts, sundials, lamps and torches in a myriad of settings, some more realistic than others. What is of note is that the same representations of light crop up in both the Protestant and Catholic examples. The setting in which these are placed may change, but while the Protestant examples may tend towards the more symbolic and the Catholic ones towards the more realistic, this is far from always the case. With respect to theme, there again appears to be a fair amount of overlap. While accompanying themes range from contemplation of one's sinful state, to hope of union with God, the light motif is commonly used as a symbol of God's grace in many of the Protestant and Catholic examples examined here. At times aspects of specifically Protestant or Catholic doctrine are expressed, as in Berthod's crucifix emblem which focuses on sacrifice, but on the whole the Protestant and Catholic emblems tend to echo each other in terms of thematic content. What is evident is that both Protestant and Catholic authors base, at times, their religious creations upon 'secular' precursors.

Again, in the chapter on time, we find similar concerns in both the Protestant and Catholic examples examined. These are, on the whole, equally concerned with the

transience of things, human mortality, spending time wisely, and, in line with the *Ars moriendi*, dying well. There are, of course, variations in emphasis: the Catholic emblems, for example, at times seem to point to aspects of Catholic doctrine such as linking good works with spiritual reward but, on the whole, these references tend to be implicit and for the most part the examples examined are relatively close in standpoint theologically.

Where examples in both chapters differ is in their approach to the relationship between text and image. The pattern that we identified in the initial analysis in chapter one of a Protestant emblem by Montenay and a Catholic emblem by Hawkins seems to apply here across the spectrum. The Protestant examples, whether focusing on a light-motif or the theme of time, all place the emphasis on the image. The reader is forced to puzzle out the meaning by jumping between text and image. Furthermore, bible quotes are unidentified in Protestant works often forcing the reader to recognise these himself. The Catholic examples, on the other hand adopt a tighter structure in terms of development of points in the text. The image, as we saw earlier in our investigation of the *Spiritual Exercises*, often fulfils a diminished role and serves as an initial point of focus rather than providing parts of the emblematic puzzle.

The conclusions drawn here are the result of the examination of a wide number of individual emblems from a broad range of Protestant, Catholic and secular authors. The following section of this thesis adopts a different approach and moves from considering such a wide range of examples to examining a small number of carefully chosen examples from three authors in order to gain an insight into these works in their entirety.

Part 2

Case Studies of Specific authors

Part Two Foreword

The previous section examined a wide corpus of emblems from a thematic and iconographic point of view and put these into context. This permitted an overview of religious emblems both in terms of theological standpoint and the relationship between text and image. This next section proposes a different approach and, rather than examining such a varied selection of emblems, will focus on case studies of specific authors. The following three chapters will in turn concentrate on the emblems of Rollenhagen, Berthod, and Wither. The authors in this section have been carefully chosen: each of these either displays characteristics typical of the patterns of Protestant and Catholic emblems noted in the first section of this thesis or refute these observations in some way.

The emblems of the first of these books, the *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* by Rollenhagen, a Lutheran author, embody particularly well the Protestant style of emblem identified in the initial analysis of an emblem by Montenay, confirmed in the analysis of chapters two and three. The verses are short and so the importance of the visual element is necessarily increased. Furthermore, this is an emblem book written very much in the spirit of emblem production. It is a collaborative project: just as the emblem is the sum of disparate parts, so too is Rollenhagen's emblem the sum of the work of various artists. Of particular interest, further suggesting that doctrinal divides were not as distinct at this time as some historians argue, is the fact that these contributors were all from different denominational backgrounds. Rollenhagen was, of course, a Lutheran, De Passe was an Anabaptist, and although the identity of the

French translator is unknown it is not too far-fetched to assume that he might have been Calvinist.

Berthod's *Emblemes sacrez*, on the other hand, provides an excellent example of the Catholic style of emblem. The emblems themselves are accompanied by lengthy prose meditations pointing to a preference for text and the diminished role played by the visual element. Once again here we see the blurring of doctrinal boundaries and the influence of the Jesuits, in particular that of the *Spiritual Exercises*, is clearly traceable in Franciscan Berthod's book.

In Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* we find almost an amalgamation of both of these things. If Rollenhagen provides us with an example of the Protestant emblem and Berthod the prototype of the Catholic emblem, then Wither offers us a hybrid form. Wither created two hundred emblems based around the plates that had initially been used in Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* and presented these in a format reminiscent of a Jesuit work.

Emblems from the collections from each of these authors will be examined in detail. Our conclusions from the previous two chapters will be applied to each of these authors to see if they fit. How, for example, are the books structured? How is the reader involved in this process of reading the book as a whole? Is there any difference in this process between the Protestant and Catholic examples? This will not only give an idea of the range of subject matter of the emblems contained within each volume and the way in which individual emblems by each author function but will also permit an understanding of how each author's emblem book functioned as a whole.

Chapter Four

Rollenhagen: A Visual Puzzle

Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* was the greatest achievement of his literary production. Embellished with the beautiful engravings of his friend, and publisher, Crispin de Passe, this work is one of the finest examples of the European emblematic tradition. The *Nucleus* contains two hundred emblems in all, (of an intended five hundred) almost half of which are based more or less on earlier emblematic sources. Furthermore, these reveal the influence of the humanist thought of the time, such as an interest in the classics and a renewed interest in learning, and thus offer a tantalising insight into the early-modern mind. In order to give some idea here of the scope of themes covered by these emblems a wide selection must be considered. Examining these in detail will not only permit a comparison of the French and Latin verses but will also allow a broad exploration of the nature of the text/image relationship.

Lutheran Rollenhagen's emblems (of which he aspired to produce five hundred) were published in two volumes, the *Centuria prima*, and the *Centuria secunda* which appeared in 1611 and 1613 respectively.¹⁹⁰ Circumstance in the shape of religious tension accounts for this delay in publication as a decree banishing Anabaptists from

¹⁹⁰ For an analysis of the Rollenhagen's stylistic approach, see: Dietmar Peil, 'Emblem Types in Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum*', *Emblematica*, 6.2 (1992), 255-282. For an overview of the *Nucleus* including biographical information on Rollenhagen and De Passe see: Ilja Veldman and Clara Klein, 'The Painter and the Poet: The *Nucleus emblematum* by De Passe and Rollenhagen', in *Mundus Emblematicus*, ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Arnoud S. Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 267-299.

Cologne was passed in 1611 forcing De Passe to flee to Utrecht.¹⁹¹ Despite the two-year gap between the first and the second volume, it is widely thought that the circumstances mentioned above account solely for this delay and that the two collections were, nevertheless, produced at the same time:

This second century was undoubtedly composed in the same period as the first, its publication being delayed by circumstance. The one hundred new emblems are very similar in form and content to the 1611 edition. It contains the same kind of familiar themes and illustrations, in a random order, and the same kind of pictorial and literary sources.¹⁹²

Comprising a hundred emblems in each volume, Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* presents striking images within distinctive circular frames (also containing the Latin motto)¹⁹³ paired with concise Latin distichs which appear below the *picturae*.¹⁹⁴ The mottoes (and consequently the distichs in which the mottoes are repeated), often have some biblical foundation, and on occasion use quotations from antiquity.¹⁹⁵ Although originally conceived by Rollenhagen in Latin, longer verses in French, by an unknown translator, were included, bound together at the beginning of the book.¹⁹⁶ Their physical separation from the *picturae* is unusual in an emblematic work, as we have seen. While this could simply reflect a decision on the part of the publisher, Rollenhagen, or the unknown translator, to distinguish between the work of the two authors, the physical separation may also impact on the way the book is read, a question I wish to address later in this chapter.

¹⁹¹ Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (p. 269).

¹⁹² Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (p. 270).

¹⁹³ Some of the mottoes are not in Latin, but in Greek or Italian.

¹⁹⁴ In fact there are a few exceptions. Some of the verses are longer, and a few are in Italian and French.

¹⁹⁵ On this matter Veldman and Klein find fault with Warncke's observation that it was often the case that Rollenhagen quoted from Antiquity, instead arguing that there are in fact very few instances of this; pp. 268-288 (p. 273).

¹⁹⁶ Rollenhagen's Latin verses were translated into French by an unknown teacher, TDLSDO (un professeur de la langue française). Veldman and Klein claim that it is likely that the 'professeur' was a friend who would have had access to the manuscripts before they were published: pp. 268-288 (p. 286).

In relation to this question, Veldman and Klein argue, despite the inclusion of the vernacular, which one might see as a concession to the less-educated reader, that Rollenhagen was writing for an erudite audience:

The emblems must have been designed for a public of well-educated viewers and readers who had sufficient knowledge of themes and symbols in the visual arts and did not mind playing an active part in digesting them.¹⁹⁷

It is the role of the vernacular in particular in this digestive process that I wish to consider.

Veldman and Klein attribute the inspiration for the concept of the *Nucleus* to the *Quaeris quid sit amor* (1601), a collection of love poems by Daniel Heinsius (whom Rollenhagen met at the University of Leiden). Not only does De Passe adopt the unusual circular frame that surrounds the images in Heinsius' collection but he too integrates the motto into this frame so that it becomes part of the *pictura*. Oval frames had appeared previously in a collection of emblems by another Dutch author, Otto Van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* (1608) but the motto in these remained distinct from the image. The influence of the iconographic style of both these collections is evident, however, and is manifest in the detailed pastoral backgrounds of De Passe's plates.¹⁹⁸ With respect also to more prominent, central motifs, the influence of Heinsius' collection is clear and we find emblems in both the *Quaeris quid sit amor* and the

¹⁹⁷ Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (p. 276).

¹⁹⁸ For further reading on Dutch emblems, and the distribution, influence and reception of these see: *Emblems of the Low Countries: A Book Historical Perspective*, ed. by Alison Adams and Marleen van der Weij (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003). See also: *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 Aug., 1996*, ed. by John Manning, Karel Porteman, Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); John Landwehr, *Emblem Books of the Low Countries 1549-1949: A Bibliography* (Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker & Gumbert, 1970).

Nucleus featuring, for example, a beehive, a fire fanned by bellows, figures digging, ploughing, or otherwise engaged in various agricultural tasks, and Cupid engaged in various activities. While both the Dutch collections are secular, Rollenhagen's collection is, for the most part, in spite of these secular sources, religious in intention. At times Rollenhagen attributes religious significance to otherwise secular iconography whilst also combining religious iconography such as crosses and depictions of churches with agricultural landscapes in order to introduce a spiritual element. The adaptation of secular sources for religious ends is not uncommon. Van Veen, for example, successfully managed to reassign spiritual interpretations to his *Amorum Emblemata* in his *Amoris Divini Emblemata* (1615). Using closely related iconography, he reinterpreted the central figure of Cupid in the secular collection as *Anima* in the religious work. There is also evidence of Rollenhagen using many works by other well-known continental emblem authors as sources for over half of the emblems in his collections, including Alciato, Corrozet, Paradin and Aneau.¹⁹⁹

Veldman and Klein suggest, underlining the collaborative aspect of the collection, that Rollenhagen and De Passe embarked jointly upon the *Nucleus* as a kind of experiment and debate the extent to which De Passe had control of the design of the engravings, concluding that, in all probability, he was given free rein:

One could suppose that De Passe designed the illustrations in close collaboration with the poet, whom he calls 'his singular friend' ('amico nostro singulari') in his preface. But probably the, in his own profession, more experienced artist was fully trusted to use his own imagination in the visualisation of the verses and mottoes.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Klein and Veldman cite Alciato, Corrozet, Paradin, Aneau, Simeoni, Junius, Camerarius, Bargagli and Typot: pp. 268-288 (p. 284).

²⁰⁰ Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (p. 272-274).

Such collaboration between artist and writer is not uncommon: indeed, Alciato's first emblem book was a collaborative project, however unwitting and unintentional. Similarly, Alison Adams highlights the collaborative aspect of Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* when she writes:

It is accepted that, even though Montenay's text often refers to the *pictura*, as if she had it before her eyes, the engravings were produced specially, presumably according to instructions from Montenay, whether in the form of a sketch or a verbal description.²⁰¹

Whether De Passe worked independently, as Veldman and Klein claim, or whether the relationship between artist and poet was a closer one as Adams suggests in the case of Montenay, is unclear. The relationship between poet and engraver can never be irrefutably established. What Veldman's and Klein's statement does presuppose, however, is that the verses and mottoes were written before the engravings were produced, and not simultaneously or as the result of discussion. It is unclear, therefore, to what extent Rollenhagen and De Passe were each responsible for the design of these engravings but De Passe clearly played a vital role.

Whatever the individual contribution of artist or author, the intercultural success and lasting influence of this work cannot be ignored. On a literary level the books enjoyed European-wide longevity. This was in part due to the popularity of the engravings. De Passe was an accomplished engraver also very well-known in contexts other than emblematics and the plates were bought in 1634 and were given a new lease of life in George Wither's English emblem book *A Collection of Emblemes* published in 1635, a volume I will consider in the final chapter of this study.²⁰² Most of De Passe's

²⁰¹ Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), p. 11.

²⁰² Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (p. 286).

imagery, Veldman and Klein tell us, was widely known at the time, and they credit this for the huge popularity of the books:

[De Passe's plates] vastly excel both earlier and later emblems in quality. They certainly enhanced the enormous success of the book and the influence it had. For it is remarkable, that it was the illustrations which were often copied, not only in other emblem books, but also in the decorative arts. Regularly, for instance, they return in the decoration of palaces in the whole of Europe.²⁰³

And so the longevity of these emblems was assured not only in literary form on the pages of a book but in their polyvalence, sewn into fabrics, woven into tapestries, and etched into stone.

Structure of the *Nucleus* (1611-1613)

As I mentioned above, some of the emblems in the first volume are based on a book of love emblems, *Quaeris quid sit amor*, by Heinsius. The remaining emblems in volume one (and indeed in both volumes) cover a wide range of themes, which, aside from the first and last emblem in each book which provide some sense of closure, are randomly arranged:

The other [...] emblems in the *Nucleus* deal with the kind of humanist themes which were fashionable in those days, with virtue taking pride of place in the exhortations to wisdom, obedience, diligence, self-renunciation, piety and so on. Several of these themes return regularly through the book in a more or less varied form, and are presented to the reader in a seemingly random order.²⁰⁴

While the emblems in Rollenhagen's volumes cover a wide range of themes reflecting the humanist thinking of the time, the inevitability of death is the central theme running through both volumes. While at times Rollenhagen chooses to emphasise a particular aspect of Protestant doctrine, for the most part these do not target a

²⁰³ Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (pp. 287-288).

²⁰⁴ Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (pp. 277-278).

specifically Protestant audience and, instead, convey general Christian truths suitable for both Protestants and Catholics. These collections were designed to be dipped into rather than be read from beginning to end but while there is no clear linear progression of thought from one emblem to another and the emblems jump from theme to theme they can be divided into three groups concerning the mortality of man, leading a Christian life, faith and hope of eternal life. Of course, many of the emblems can often be included in more than one category. I will consider a number of examples from each of these three groups which I have entitled, ‘Transience’, ‘Process’ and ‘Outcome’.

While there may be no discernible arrangement of the majority of the individual emblems, both volumes, as I have stated, begin and end upon emblems on a similar theme, marking a move away from the more disparate collections, such as those of Alciato that began to appear in the 1530s. Volume one opens with ‘Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt’ (‘He lives by intelligence, all the rest will pass away’), which, highlighting the transience of the world, champions learning as a way to cheat death. It closes upon a similar theme with ‘Virtus lorica fidelis’ (Virtue is a faithful breastplate) which stresses the power of virtue against fate.²⁰⁵



²⁰⁵ Unless otherwise stated, all analysis of emblems is my own.

Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611).

The opening and closing emblems of book two are perhaps even more closely matched. Both the first and last emblem of the *Centuria secunda* speak of eternal rewards. ‘Si recte facies’ ('If you do/act rightly') refers to a crown that will be given to the good: a wreath is centre stage in the *pictura* standing upon a pedestal. Similarly, the last emblem, ‘Perseveranti dabitur’ ('It shall be given to those who persevere') confirms this message, referring to a wreath in the Latin and a ‘couronne’ in the French. Here, a disembodied hand holds a wreath aloft while a kneeling figure in the background appears to be seeking guidance from a second, standing figure. While both emblems link virtue with honour, the last emblem also underlines the importance of perseverance. Both place a laurel wreath centre stage in the image and the circular shape of the laurel wreaths echoes the circular shape of the frames that surround the images. There is, of course, symbolic meaning in the never-ending self-renewal of the circle which has no beginning or end: this symbolic circular shape further emphasises the cyclical nature of the books (which begin and end upon a similar theme) and in a wider context, life. Furthermore this also complements the interweaving of themes in the books such as the infinite cycle of life and death. It is clear from these examples that the image fulfils a complex role. The images carry a distinct meaning of their own and yet are irrevocably linked to the text reflecting the very structure of the book both physically and metaphorically.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1613).

* * *

Perhaps our reading of Rollenhagen should begin with the frontispieces. The Latin frontispiece to book one features several scenes. These depict of classical figures (Minerva and the three Graces) sit alongside scenes expressing humanist ideals such as painting and reading and others glorifying God and the Holy Spirit, providing an initial taster of the subject matter of the emblems to come.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1613), a1r.

The French frontispiece is different, focusing on a single scene, depicting the tree of knowledge. Here, naked Adam and Eve stand either side of the tree which is laden with fruit. The identity of the tree is unquestionable: a serpent coiled around the tree

leans its head towards Eve, who, covering her modesty with one hand, suggests that she has already partaken of the fruit. Adam, as yet, is unabashed but, holding an apple in his hand, we assume is about to lose his innocence. The choice of this plate for the frontispiece perhaps suggests the tone in which the whole volume should be read. It reminds the reader that he or she too is tainted with original sin, and, in so doing, provides the framework in which the emblems should be read.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1613), a1r.

Group one: Transience

A concept neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, but occurring with equal frequency in both Protestant and Catholic works (and indeed common to all religions), as we have seen in the chapter on time, is the desire to emphasise the transience and worthlessness of temporal things in contrast to the goal of eternal life. It is unsurprising, therefore, that a large number of the emblems in Rollenhagen's collections focus upon this theme.

Indeed, volume one begins by exploring this theme in 'Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt' (He lives by intelligence, all the rest will pass away). The skeletal figure of Death in the *pictura* stands victorious, holding a sceptre over the table which is laden with various worldly trappings. Nearby a man contemplates a scientific globe-like instrument. Although there is direct reference made to learning in both the Latin and

the French verses, it is not inconceivable either that in this Protestant emblem the book the man rests his hand on is in fact the bible.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 1.

There is not much mystery surrounding the figure of Death standing beside the accoutrements of life: the image is a familiar one, but the figure with the book poses more of a problem and the key to understanding this *pictura* is in the minute detail of the image. While the branches of the tree that separates Death and the Scholar are, on Death's side, withered and bare, they flourish on the side of the scholar. The triumph of learning over Death is thus expressed and we are left to suppose that learning brings immortality of a kind. There is a neat symmetry to this engraving: the posture of the scholar mirrors that of the skeleton: both extend a leg and while the skeleton holds aloft a sceptre (a symbol of transient worldly power) the scholar holds up a scientific globe (a symbol of knowledge). These details further our understanding of this emblem: that worldly things should be shunned in favour of life-giving learning, a theme we have encountered before in the emblems of Boissard, Friedrich and Baudoin. Death's hand rests on a table laden with symbols of wealth: the scholar leans upon an open book. In this way, De Passe subtly reinforces the portrayal of knowledge as an equal match for Death.

There are striking similarities in the above emblem with the works of Holbein. The skeletal figure of death, for example, as found in the *Danses macabres*, appears in Holbein's *Simulachres de la Mort et historiées faces de la Mort* (Lyon, 1538).²⁰⁶ Unlike the earlier dances of death, he did not situate his victims being led by Death in a procession in a cemetery but instead, in a series of engravings (alongside biblical quotations and quatrains by Gilles Corrozet), provided a snapshot of various figures carrying out human activities in appropriate settings watched over by Death. A noble woman, for example, in one of the plates, walks arm in arm with a gentleman while Death, standing beside an hourglass, beats a drum. We understand in the *memento mori* of the hourglass the brevity of human life while the drum underlines the ultimate victory of death: even in life we march to its tune.

There are obvious parallels too with Holbein's painting, the Ambassadors (1533). As in De Passe's engraving, the figures in Holbein's painting are set within the context of the attributes of the world and human knowledge. It has been suggested that the pattern of the floor in this painting can be related to macrocosm diagrams going back to the early Middle Ages. Extending back to Pythagorean and Platonic thought, this notion of man as a lesser world, as a microcosm, established man's universality and his central position in creation.²⁰⁷ In the same way emblem books can be thought of as a microcosm, representative of a greater world, or macrocosm. As in Rollenhagen's emblem, human mortality is also the focus of this painting and the skeletal figure of

²⁰⁶ For more on the Dances of Death tradition, see: André Courvisier, *Les danses macabres* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998); Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early-Modern France*, trans by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 32-70; James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: Jackson, 1950).

²⁰⁷ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought 11: Papers on Humanism and the Arts* (London: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 102-110. See also: Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man and Other Essays* (London: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 1-21.

the later *Simulachres* is present in the anamorphic skull. This stretches across the foreground of the painting symbolising the obscured vision of human mortality and the ultimate triumph of death.

The first two lines of the French quatrain in Rollenhagen's emblem echo the Latin similarly summarising death's triumphant role over the material aspects of life echoing the details in the engraving, in particular focusing on symbols of power, 'les sceptres, les honneurs ployent soubs son effort'. The last two lines, however, present a surprising twist. Death, we are told *can* be conquered, but only by virtue. This, the French confirms may only be by 'la science acquise'. Rather than highlighting the *impuissance* of man in the face of death, therefore, Rollenhagen is forcing the reader to take responsibility for his own fate by arguing that an individual's knowledge can beat death. While the suggestion that an individual's actions can affect his or her destiny may seem unusual in a Protestant context, in fact this is very much in line with the Protestant method of meditation which encouraged the individual to apply the lessons learned to him or herself.

The first emblem in any collection has the potential to set the tone for the whole collection. Despite the otherwise seemingly random arrangement of the emblems in both collections, beginning the first collection on this note provides an insight into the personal views of the authors. This first emblem is one of several in which the personal views of the poet and artist are expressed. Furthermore, the reminder of mortality and the transience of worldly things is unsettling and heightens the reader's receptiveness to the rest of the, often quite didactic, emblems in both volumes.

Indeed, emblems on this theme are interspersed throughout the collection as intermittent reminders of the validity of the moral advice.²⁰⁸

The focus on learning in this emblem obviously reflects the humanist thinking of the time. While this is expressed explicitly in the verse it is really in the details of the engraving that the contrast between death and learning is expressed. The symmetry of the image in particular, which physically opposes the figures of death and the scholar, is extremely effective in expressing the tension between these two notions.

Group two: Process

The second group of emblems I have collected together under the title ‘Process’. The overall aim of the emblems in this group is the acquisition of virtue most often through encouraging the reader to engage in certain activities. This group is by far the largest with emblems advising hard work, study, abstinence, and perseverance to name but a few. I will divide this group into two sections. The first, ‘Work’, will examine the notion of concrete actions, while the second, ‘Perseverance’, will examine those emblems focusing on the emotions associated with this physical effort.

Work

A (perhaps initially) surprising number of emblems in this group seem to focus on man’s actions and advocate work. In book one alone there are nine emblems focusing

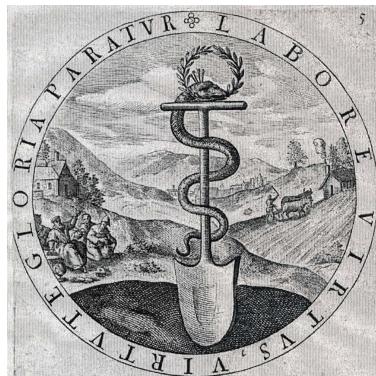
²⁰⁸ For example, emblems eight, twelve, forty-eight, forty-nine, seventy-three, seventy-five, eighty-six, ninety, all focus on human mortality or the transience of worldly things. These notions, however, are also often underlying in emblems which focus on a different main theme.

on work, actions, or physical effort of some kind.²⁰⁹ It is perhaps unexpected to find such a great number of emblems on this theme in a Protestant emblem given that the debate over good works, faith, grace and free will was one which divided not only the Catholics from the Protestants but also Protestants among themselves. While Protestants did not discourage good works these were seen as an external manifestation of an inner state of justification. Grace, they argued, could not be acquired, as the Catholic Church taught, through the execution of good works and especially not through the buying of indulgences which were a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, the guilt of which having been forgiven. Rather, there is often an underlying Spartan-like ethic promoted in many Protestant emblems, advocating hard work, not because this would earn favour, but because this would keep hearts pure and hands busy and safe from temptation.

Among the large number of emblems in Rollenhagen that advocate work, one or two, on closer inspection, do seem to link actions with some kind of spiritual reward. Emblem five (vol. 1), in particular, ‘*Labore virtus, Virtute gloria paratur*’ (‘Virtue is acquired through labour, and glory through virtue’), would appear to link works with salvation, ‘*Car par labeur s’acquiert la solide vertu/ et la gloire est à ceux qui ont bien combattu*'.²¹⁰ While the French verse appears to contradict standard Protestant teachings, the image, however, does not.

²⁰⁹ See also: emblems five, eleven, fourteen, nineteen, twenty-nine, thirty-five, forty-four, eighty and ninety-four.

²¹⁰ Emblem twenty-nine, for example, also seems to suggest the notion of reward, ‘*Recompenser les bons de leurs vertueux faicts*’. See especially: forty-four and seventy-two which appear to link actions with spiritual reward.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 5.

The laurel wreath and spade which sit in the foreground of the image, symbols of glory and work respectively, act as a visual summary of both the French and the Latin. The application of one, we might assume initially, given the emphasis in the French, results in the acquisition of the other. Once again the background details of the image play a vital role in the interpretative process permitting a different understanding of the verse. Neither the Latin nor French verses comment on what kind of work is required, referring simply to ‘labeur’. Thus it is once again the details in the *pictura* which offer some clarification. On one side of the spade, the farmer is depicted at work providing a traditional interpretation of labour but it is the scene on the other side of the spade which counterbalances this traditional understanding of labour with the personal perspective of the author: the group of figures on the left of the spade are all engaged in study. It is hard work and study, therefore, which are advocated, not works in the Catholic sense of good deeds. Despite initial appearances, therefore, this emblem is in fact very similar in theme to the first emblem of book one ‘*Vivitur ingenio*’.

While the Latin verse is content simply to emphasise the relationship between labour and virtue, the French verse adopts a more personal tone, directly addressing the

reader. This pulls the reader in, forcing a personal application of the moral of the emblem. Furthermore, this verse links virtue with ‘gloire’, something the Latin verse does not do. This functions almost as a spiritual carrot on a stick encouraging the reader to apply the truths contained within the emblem diligently to him or herself. Furthermore, the approachable tone of the French is rendered all the more effective in the final line which, adopting an almost sympathetic tone, expresses life as a struggle. Here, good Christians are referred to as ‘ceux qui ont bien combattu’.

Both verses, therefore, must be carefully read alongside the *pictura* for the full meaning of the emblem to become clear. While the Latin concisely and faithfully echoes the central premise of the emblem, the French softens this and presents it in approachable human terms. Neither of the verses, however, expresses the notion of study and so, once again, reading all the elements in the *pictura* is essential.

Several emblems in both volumes adopt a more conventional Protestant approach to this issue. For example, although largely contrasting worldly pleasures with eternal rewards, the message that good works do not buy salvation is implicitly conveyed in ‘Quo me vertam nescio’ (vol. 1, 14) (I do not know where I may turn).



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 14.

Beginning by evoking the eternal conflict between temptation and will in man's soul, this emblem continues by linking this to eternal rewards, saying, 'La vertu nous excite au travail & labeur'. Virtue, therefore, is not presented here as a *result* of actions but is presented as a causal factor. It is this, the French verse suggests, which incites man to action and not the other way round. The Latin concisely expresses the conflict of man's soul torn between virtue on the one hand, and luxury on the other. This idea is repeated in the French in the first two lines, 'Vertu & volupté retiennent en balance / Nostre esprit vacillant en contraire esperances'. And so, both the French and Latin begin in a similar way by echoing the contrast of virtue and voluptuousness as expressed in the image. The image reinforces this idea with the figure of Hercules standing between a scholar and a demon with a mask. The open book resting on the scholar's knee once again serves as a reminder of the importance of study. The skull beside the demon we interpret as a *memento mori* while the crowned flower beside the scholar we assume to be a symbol of life. Thus death and study are contrasted in the arrangement of the details in the *pictura*. The implication is that it is virtue which guarantees a place in heaven, not the human efforts themselves.

While both verses begin in a similar way, the emphasis is somewhat different in each. The Latin expresses neatly the notions contained within the image and is quite clear in its didactic aim explicitly directing the reader to spurn 'Voluptas' and flee pleasure. The French, however, is more complex. For example, it establishes a causal relationship between virtue and works thereby neatly, though not aggressively, expressing the Protestant ethic that works do not earn spiritual rewards, 'La vertu nous excite au travail & labeur'. Virtue, it is argued in these lines, manifests itself as hard work and is not the reward of hard work. This is important for in the last line

virtue is linked to spiritual gain and the reader is encouraged to strive to, ‘acquerir par vertu ta place dans les cieux’. Without establishing the relationship between virtue and labour, this line would, on the surface at least, appear to come dangerously close to the Catholic standpoint regarding good works and spiritual reward.

The French, therefore, is once again more approachable in tone than the Latin. Furthermore, the spiritual significance, which is implied in the Latin is made clearer in the French. Both verses reiterate the main notions of the *pictura* yet leave the reader to contemplate on and puzzle out many of the details of this.

Perseverance

In the emblems above, even if it is not presented as a route to salvation, the onus is clearly put on the individual to strive for perfection whether this be through study and hard work. Certain types of behaviour are praised and held up as an example to be followed while others are condemned and convey a warning. The underlying implication common to these, however, is the assumption that man is locked in a constant battle against his innate sinful nature which he must strive to better. A number of Rollenhagen’s emblems accordingly focus on this process, contrasting the weakness and the corrupt nature of the human condition with the need to continue trying.²¹¹

It is with tree felling that Rollenhagen gives us an example of the importance of perseverance in emblem ‘Non uno sternitur ictu’ (It is not felled with one blow) (vol.

²¹¹ See also: emblems two, six, nineteen, twenty-five and eighty-five which are all on this theme.

1, 29). On its own, the picture gives little away: a man chops into a tree with an axe and the religious significance is also far from immediately clear.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 29.

A realistic scene, this is a fairly common motif in religious emblems. Catholic Antoine Sucquet, for example, as we have seen in chapter three, uses the motif of a tree being felled to reinforce the concept of the passing of time, of the inevitability of death and subsequent eternity.²¹² Similarly, the tree motif appears on more than one occasion in Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes, ou devises chrestiennes*. In 'Quae non facit bonos fructus' (Which does not bring forth good fruit), for example, she builds directly on a biblical passage,²¹³ comparing the rotting fruit of a tree to the corrupt human soul.²¹⁴

While Rollenhagen's emblem is not based on any one particular biblical passage, one simply has to search for the word 'tree' in a biblical concordance to realise the symbolic importance of trees in the scriptures. The best known of these examples is the tree of knowledge, the taking of fruit from which tainted mankind forever with

²¹² Sucquet (1623), emblem XVII.

²¹³ Montenay (1567).

²¹⁴ This image is found in Matthew 3. 10; 'And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire'.

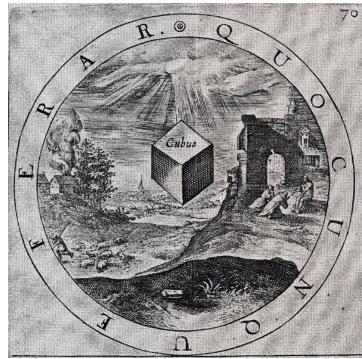
original sin. Indeed, as we have seen, the tree of knowledge is depicted in the French frontispiece to volume one. Given this link, one possible interpretation could be that the felling of the tree in this emblem symbolises conquering original sin.

There is no obvious reference to God, or Christian relevance in either the French or Latin which are actually quite similar in this emblem although the didactic element to the French, which addresses the reader directly in the first two lines, is stronger than that of the Latin which simply reiterates the motto, ‘Si ton premier effort ne parfaict ton ouvrage, Ne desiste pourtant, mais redouble courage’. The word ‘courage’ evokes the constant chipping of the tree and encourages constancy.²¹⁵ Life, it is implied, is a struggle, requiring effort and perseverance. All is not gloomy, though, for this word ‘courage’ equally carries connotations of hope. Just as more than one blow will be needed to fell the tree, so too is the reader encouraged to persevere.

The *pictura* is perhaps more realistic in this instance than in some of the other examples from Rollenhagen that I examine, yet the full, spiritual significance of this image is not immediately clear and the reader must consider the verses for this to become apparent. The felling of a tree is a good metaphor for the sustained effort that is needed from the Christian that Rollenhagen highlights and yet it also carries all sorts of allusions that the reader must identify him or herself. There is perhaps less need to jump between text and image than we have witnessed in other examples, but, nevertheless, this emblem still requires a sustained mental effort from the reader.

²¹⁵ Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London: A. Islip, 1611).

‘Quocunque ferar’ (To whatever place I am carried) (vol. 2, 70) expresses this idea of perseverance slightly differently, focusing on the constancy of the heart. The image is quite detailed featuring a cube (with the word ‘cubus’ written across it) suspended in mid-air. The shepherd with his flock, depicted in the *pictura* carries immediately recognisable biblical connotations of Jesus as a shepherd of men while the figures praying represent the faith the Christian should place in God. In all likelihood the book, which lies on the ground below the cube, signifies a bible, thereby subtly conveying the importance placed on the Word of God by Protestants. The cube, referred to in the quatrain as ‘le det quarré qui ne tombe jamais’, implies constancy and the two men praying are obviously trusting in God. The Latin evokes the homogeneity and therefore constancy of the cuboid form, always the same no matter which way it faces. The implication is that so too should the Christian soul be.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1613), p. 70.

This emblem advocates a kind of stoicism, a constant faithfulness and trust in God no matter what comes along: ‘L’homme droict, & constant, doué d’une ame pure / Ne change point de coeur par le malheureux traits’. We understand by this that if life is difficult, then ultimately man has made it so through bringing original sin upon himself, and he must accept accordingly and unquestioningly all that is thrown his way.

The imagery of life as a throw of a dice also carries the added connotations of the random aspect of fortune. Man is urged to be constant in face of trial and at the same time the utterly random nature of these trials is highlighted to the reader. The background details combine to complement the central theme of constancy and subtly evoke the central tenets of the Protestant faith. The elements of the shepherd (Jesus), the book (Scriptures) and prayer (faith) are, Rollenhagen suggests, what are essential to give man strength and constancy. Constancy, therefore, in this instance becomes synonymous with faith in the Scriptures and Jesus's sacrifice.

The details in the *pictura* must be read carefully. On their own these elements lose meaning. The flock of sheep without a shepherd becomes simply a flock of sheep. It is only when these elements are read together that they assume a new, spiritual significance: combined with the praying figures, the shepherd adopts another role, that of spiritual guide. Of course these must also be read alongside the verses. The imagery of the role of a dice, for example, is not easily expressed in the static cube and is better referred to explicitly in the text.

'Tribulatio ditat' (Tribulation enriches) (vol. 1, 96), like the emblem above, expresses life as a trial that must be endured. Here, the human condition is likened to grain, in this instance the process of winnowing. The fertility and renewal of crops symbolised eternal life in the previous emblem and is a commonplace symbol for hope. In the *pictura* a disembodied hand holds out a thresher above some grain ready to separate the grain from the stalks. Figures in the background thresh grain in a barn and carry it towards a barque on a river.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 96.

We are, the verse tells us, like the grain which is subject to ‘maint coup de fleau’, also victims of ‘beaucoup de peinnes’. The basket in the engraving sits ready to collect the seeds/souls once they are separated from their stalks/bodies. The Latin contrasts the material wealth of the farmer with the spiritual wealth of the suffering Christian soul and thus, paradoxically presents suffering as a positive thing. This contrast is missing from the French which draws instead the comparison between the resting piles of grain and souls received in Heaven. The tone of the French is coloured by images of punishment and judgment such as ‘fleau’, and again refers to ‘les justes’ and as such is more emotive than the Latin. This emblem is perhaps even more effective than those previously examined at expressing the misery of the human condition. Here, the threshing imagery, the picture built up of repeated beatings, is particularly apt at graphically reinforcing the idea of the constancy, frequency, and nature of the trials that befall mankind

Both the Latin and French verses echo the process of threshing that is depicted in the *pictura* and introduce the idea of benefit in human terms. This is, however, clearer in the French which refers more closely to the process of threshing than the Latin, concentrating not simply on the process of separating the grain from the chaff but also on what happens after when the grain is ‘mis en un monceau’ to rest. Similarly the

Latin speaks vaguely of the good that suffering brings while the French makes this more explicit and introduces the idea of heavenly rest, ‘Seront receus aux cieux, leurs demeures certainnes’. Furthermore, the inclusion of ‘certainnes’ introduces a tone of positivity, of certainty that is missing from the Latin.

The agricultural imagery seems, at first, fairly straightforward and easy to decipher but, once again, understanding the spiritual significance depends on reading the *pictura* alongside the verses. In particular, once more, it is in the more emotive French that this spiritual message is clearest.

Group three: Outcome

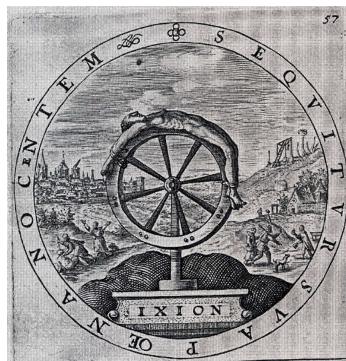
The final group considers the fate of the Christian/sinner. The mixture of threatening and hopeful tones noted in the analysis of the above groups of emblems is, not surprisingly, reflected here in this group in which emblems evoking the sinner’s fate of punishment and hell stand in contrast to those reassuring messages to the faithful Christian to have hope of redemption.²¹⁶

Punishment

In ‘Sequitur sua poena nocentem’ (His punishment follows one who does harm) (vol. 1, 57) we have an excellent example of the synthesis of the past and present. The image, of a man strapped to a wheel, is a compelling and graphic reminder of thankfully outmoded practices of punishment. The attention to detail renders the

²¹⁶ See in particular also: emblems one, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, twenty, sixty, sixty-three, sixty-nine, seventy-two and ninety which all comment on the fate of the sinner/Christian.

subject all the more sympathetic: the agony of the man on the wheel, for example, is only too well expressed in the sharp portrayal of his ribs sticking out through his chest. This attention to detail reveals an understanding of the effectiveness of the power of the image to elicit an emotional response and implies a reliance upon the attraction of the image. The inscription ‘Ixion’ on the pedestal on which the wheel sits is the link to the past.²¹⁷ Behind this foreground figure various crimes are portrayed: a man is held at gunpoint, another man is attacked while a woman holds up her hands in despair. On the hill in the far background, reinforcing the warning, a man hangs from the gallows beside another wheel completing the figurative landscape of crime and punishment.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 57.

The Latin confirms this image not only assuring the reader that just vengeance always follows a wrongdoer but also emphasising the swiftness of this retribution. There is a slightly different emphasis in the French, however, which targets the ‘impenitent’. The assumption here is that everything man does is tainted with original sin and that those who do not repent will suffer God’s wrath. Similarly, while the Latin equally has a classical tone and refers to the goddess of punishment, the French refers to the

²¹⁷ As a result of sins committed against Juno, Jupiter punished Ixion, condemning him to be strapped to a perpetually turning wheel of fire.

‘main de Dieu’. Furthermore, the French echoes the notion of punishment expressed in the *pictura..* The wrongdoer will not simply be punished: he will undergo ‘un tourment rigoureux’.

The God portrayed in the above emblem is reminiscent of the God of the Old Testament, quick to exact punishment on the subjects who incite his wrath. The realistic engraving reinforces the impact of the aspect of physical torment (reiterated in the concise Latin), while the spiritual ramifications are expressed in the slightly more expansive and emotive French. The imagery is perhaps more realistic than often the case in Rollenhagen’s emblems and yet it still requires some contemplation. While on one level much of the meaning can be understood just from the image, some of the spiritual nuances, such as the targeting of ‘impenitents’ can only really be appreciated upon consideration of the verse. In particular, it is in the French verse that these subtleties are expressed, in, once again, more emotive terms than the Latin.

Hope

While many of the above emblems may seem rather bleak in tone, a number highlight the importance of faith, and, furthermore, appropriately for a Protestant work, link this with hope. Indeed, despite the strong overtones of retribution to many of the emblems, on the whole both books remain fairly positive. A large number of the emblems in the two volumes urge the reader to have hope and for every emblem that warns of God’s wrath and punishment there is another that speaks of eternal reward.

‘Fiducia Concors’ (Harmonious trust/fidelity) (vol. 2, 86), for example, presents the combination of faith and grace promoted by the Protestants. The praying man in the image kneels in front of a stick with a hand at the top of it, which, given that an angel flies alongside, we take to represent the hand of God. The praying figure we assume to be asking for God’s mercy.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1613), p. 86.

The reader too is urged to place all of his or her hope in divine grace. The Latin verse, for example, assures the reader that God refuses his people nothing and urges him or her to trust in God. The French quatrain does not refer to God by name but, rather, describes him as, ‘celluy la qui nous a rachatbez’. The reason for doing so is an important one. Speaking in such terms underlines the debtor relationship that man has with God and once more creates a more emotive tone than the Latin. God’s grace, this emblem reminds, has already bought man back once and, it promises, will not fail to do so again.

The last lines of the French, similarly to the Latin, underline the importance of faith, ‘Car jamais les fidèles ne furent rejettés / Qui accordoient leur foy a sa grace benigne’. The choice of tense is an interesting one here. Rather than continuing with

the straightforward, didactic imperative with which the French quatrain begins, the past historic and imperfect tenses are adopted in the final two lines. The effect is one of authority, of speaking from experience of the past, rather than supposition of the future, or accepted generalities.

The imagery is striking and bizarre, and, while the angel introduces a spiritual element, the significance of this is not clear until the verses are considered. These are similar in tone, both reassuring the reader that God will provide.

‘Transeat’ (Let it pass) (vol. 1, 20) similarly offers hope in its assurance that good weather always follows bad. The semi-naked figure attempting to shelter from the rain under a sieve offers up a visual joke to the reader which creates a light, approachable tone. The good weather that is promised is, we assume, the promise of eternal life. There is no hint, however, of the good weather to come in the image and this, instead, is conveyed in the French verse, ‘car apres la pluye, tousjours vient le beau temps’. The inclusion of the word ‘tousjours’ is comforting as is ending the verse on these words which lend an air of finality and of decisiveness. While there is no explicit Christian significance in either the Latin or the French verses, it seems plausible, in light of emblems such as the winnowing emblem ‘Tribulatio ditat’, where the suffering Christian is promised future relief, that this might be one interpretation here. Once again, the French is more emotive: the weather is not simply described as bad. While the Latin refers simply to the storm as savage, the French opts for a cumulative effect, listing ‘gresle’, ‘foudre’ and ‘rage des vents’. The attribution of human emotions to meteorological conditions is effective. Not only does this create an aptly stormy atmospheric description but it also implies displeasure, and

consequently judgment, and, if we accept the validity of a Christian reading of this emblem, echoes the descriptions found in the Old Testament and Revelation.

The playful tone of this emblem colours many of the emblems in this collection. This is not conveyed in either of the verses but in the *pictura*. Both of the verses earnestly urge the reader to have hope in the good weather to come, and, once more, the tone is more emotive in the French which emphasises the stormy atmosphere.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 20.

‘Flavescent’ (May they grow yellow/ripen) (vol. 1, 44), however, adopts a different approach to the theme of hope. Rather than looking ahead to the future, this emblem concentrates on the here and now emphasising the strength God brings to the Christian.²¹⁸ The sun (or God) in the image shines down on two sheaves of wheat, which, as we have seen, is a commonplace symbol and introduces the notion of spiritual regeneration. Just as the sun causes the wheat to grow, God is also presented as a life-giving force.²¹⁹ This idea is explicitly expressed in the first line of the French quatrain, ‘Le juste doit croire que son affliction, en fin se tournera en consolation’.

²¹⁸ Veldman and Klein attribute this emblem to a saying of the Stoics, ‘Perfer et obdura’ (Endure and persevere), pp. 268-288 (p. 276).

²¹⁹ We find a similar example in Guérault, ‘Le Plongeon’, where God’s protection is likened to the warming sun of the spring which ‘d’un beau verd gay paré / chasse l’yer fascheux & Rheumatique’: *Le premier livre des emblemes* (Lyon: Balthazar Arnouillet, 1550), p. 21.

The verse continues not by referring to the role of the sun but by comparing the afflictions of life to the hard work of the depicted labourer which will eventually be rewarded, ‘Comme au bon laboureur son travail est utile, Lors qu’il va moissonnant, la campagne fertile’. Two interpretations are possible here depending on the reader’s knowledge of the bible. On the one hand, the focus on crops permits a secular interpretation of bountifulness. On the other hand, the many biblical references linking wheat to spiritual regeneration and regrowth permit a religious interpretation. Once again, the onus is placed on the individual to take responsibility for his actions and fate whilst it is simultaneously underlined in the *pictura* that we cannot achieve this without God’s help and guidance.

The Latin in this emblem is quite different from the French. Rollenhagen refers in the Latin simply to the passing of time and the significance for the individual is not apparent. The French is more specific: hinting at predestination, it targets ‘les justes’ in particular. Once again, the spiritual significance is much clearer in the French which expresses the outcome in spiritual terms, ‘En fin se tournera en consolation’ Although care must be taken in a Protestant context when talking of salvation not to express it as some kind of reward, there is some sense in this emblem that salvation not only offers relief from the trials of life but that it renders this very existence meaningful. As ever, the reader is inextricably involved in the process of deciphering. It is he or she who must piece together the sum of the parts and, indeed, is required to draw on personal banks of knowledge to do so.

* * *

For the most part the emblems in these volumes convey general Christian truths. There are, of course, a few which step over this boundary and enter more denominationally specific territory. Certainly the personal views of the authors with respect to study, for example, colour more than a few emblems in this collection.²²⁰ On the whole, however, the majority of the emblems in this collection remain denominationally non-specific, touching on themes such as the quest for virtue, or eternal life and as such would be palatable to both Protestants and Catholics.

It has been suggested that this audience was an erudite one: the many, unexplained classical references, it could be argued, would require an educated reader. I would suggest that while this may be true of the Latin, the French, although equally situated in the classical arena, does render the emblems to some extent more accessible. The religious significance, for example, tends to be made more explicit in the French. Furthermore, this is often felt more strongly in the French which tends to strike a more emotive chord, appealing not simply to the reader's intellect. The frontispieces foreshadow this to a certain extent: the allegorical and classical figures of the Latin indicate well the tone of the distichs. The more emotive French verses, often coloured with notions of sin and punishment, are equally as well-introduced by the sinners Adam and Eve eating from the tree of life.

One must also take into account the structure of the collections and the way in which they are to be read. The French verses (which retain the Latin motto) appear, not after

²²⁰ Klein and Veldman, pp. 268-288 (p. 278).

the Latin, as one might expect, but, as I said above, in most copies collectively at the beginning of the book, in a wholly textual section quite separate from the pairings of image and Latin distichs. While one could argue that having the reader encounter this section first points to a preference for text; I would disagree. I would argue that the vernacular verses are separated precisely to ensure that the opposite happens, that the French does not detract from the primary focus of the image. The reader is encouraged to contemplate each image alongside, depending upon his or her linguistic capability, the dense and enigmatic Latin, before turning back to the French for more pieces of the puzzle. This is not achieved in a simple turn of the head or flick of the eyes. The pages of the book must be physically turned, slowing down the reading process and forcing the reader to focus his or her attention on just one emblem at a time. A chronological, linear approach to reading is interrupted as the reader jumps forward and back in the book.

What does become evident during an examination of this corpus of emblems is the extent to which the details in the engravings are significant. Whether set against a realistic pastoral background, or featuring less familiar, more symbolic iconography, even the most innocuous of details can be significant and, often, full comprehension of an emblem hinges almost entirely upon these details.

With respect to the iconography and the structure of the engravings, the main theme generally occupies the foreground. These central figures are set in natural, or pastoral surroundings, which, on the one hand, add charm, and, on the other hand, provide a platform for the quite detailed secondary figures. These may be fitted to the context (such as lovers walking arm in arm in an emblem on the theme of profane love), but

may visually be unrelated to the central abstract motif (a burning candle and a fly). It is upon this disparate nature that Peil comments:

The foreground of a picture can represent different partial pictures side by side, which, while possessing an informative value of their own, are only held together by the integrative power of the frame which the landscape provides and which they all share.²²¹

On occasion these secondary or background figures perform no other role than to add some local colour but, more often than not, they play an important part in the semantic layering. This, as Peil suggests, works on more than one level. These details may complement the main theme, provide an example, or elaborate in some way:

The background can be made up of an irrelevant landscape, or can contextualize the element of meaning; but, in addition, it can also provide a second element of meaning (above all in the form of an example) or anticipate by means of suitable motifs the interpretation which is usually supplied in the first instance by the *subscriptio*.²²²

The role of the reader must not be overlooked in this process. It is up to the reader to jump between *pictura* and verse piecing together clues. An individual's background and intrinsic beliefs will necessarily influence his understanding and 'reading' of an emblem. In the case of Rollenhagen, for example, prior biblical knowledge permits the reader to fully grasp the many biblical allusions which remain unidentified. This is, of course, particularly true of the kind of relationship between reader and text identified in the earlier Protestant examples I have examined. In all of these the reader must figure out the meaning of the details of the image which all contribute in some way to the overall meaning of the emblem.

²²¹ Peil, 255-282 (267).

²²² Peil, 255-282 (275).

In Rollenhagen, therefore, we find mentally stimulating enigmas which require input from the reader. These, for example, assume a previous knowledge of the bible and classical mythology. Rollenhagen thus presents his reader with a synthesis of past and present which the reader must unpack. The process of reading is important in unravelling the meaning of the emblems: the reader is encouraged to puzzle out the meaning of the image and Latin distich before turning to the somewhat clearer and more emotive French. It is this attention to detail and the intriguing way in which this interacts with the text that renders Rollenhagen's emblems so compelling.

Chapter Five

Berthod: A Franciscan Following a Jesuit Model

A self professed Franciscan (the title page acknowledges ‘le R. P. François Berthod, Religieux de l’Observance de S. François’ as the author), Berthod was writing at the peak of Catholic emblematic production, just forty years after Hugo’s *Pia desideria* and, in many ways, his *Emblesmes Sacrez* (1665) is typical of the style of Catholic emblem being produced at this time. However, despite Berthod’s proudly announced Franciscan allegiance, the evidence of the Jesuit meditational style is clear and it is this which makes his *Emblesmes* so interesting.

The Franciscans played an important role during the Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rivalling the zeal of the Jesuits in the struggle against the Protestants, frequently suffering martyrdom in England, the Netherlands and Germany. The Franciscans in fact comprised three orders, the Friars minor, the Friars minor conventuals and the Capuchin friars, so known because of the distinctive shape of their hoods. In all cases, they followed a body of regulations known as the rule of St. Francis, in particular, similarly to the practices of other orders, shunning worldly belongings and taking a vow of chastity.²²³

²²³ For more information about the Franciscans see: Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

A parallel can be drawn between Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* and Berthod's *Emblemes sacrez* both in terms of thematic content and structure. Berthod's collection is broken into two sections, the first book, the *Première partie*, and the second book, the *Seconde partie*, and we find emblems contemplating sin, focusing on Christ (in particular the Ascension) and highlighting mysteries of the Christian faith. The first *partie* contrasts the vices and virtues of man while the second focuses primarily on spiritual gain and on the example of Christ. The first section, with the emphasis on sin, corresponds to the *voie purgative* of the *Spiritual Exercises*, while the second *partie* corresponds to the *voie illuminative* (whereupon the meditant considers the example of Christ) and the *voie unitive* (the contented soul).

The structure of the individual emblems also closely follows that of the meditations in the *Spiritual Exercises*. Berthod follows the 'standard' French verse of the emblem (which appears below the picture on the verso) with a prose summary and a one-line *Meditation*. At the top of the picture is a citation in Latin. This is usually based on a biblical passage which is explicitly acknowledged, but, on occasion, is a reference to the sayings of Saint Augustine or Hugo. These are in turn succeeded by a motto, a French version of the biblical passage or citation, and a *Premier point*, *Second point*, *Troisieme point*, *Resolution* and finally an *Exemple* (all in prose). The three *points* and the *resolution* fulfil each stage of the Ignatian four-part meditation while the Latin and French mottoes, which are both signalled by Berthod as coming from the same biblical reference, reflect the new leaning, promoted by the Jesuits, towards scriptural authority which had begun to be brought more to the foreground in Catholic ideology during the Counter-Reformation. The picture forms the *compositio loci* of Ignatian meditation, while the verse and prose correspond to the various *points* of the

meditation. The correspondence between the structures of the two texts is perhaps best demonstrated in a table:

<i>Thematic structure</i>	
SPIRITUAL EXERCISES	BERTHOD
Purgative way <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Contemplation of sin.</i> 	Première partie <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Vices of man v. virtues</i>
Illuminative way <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Jesus as an example</i> 	Seconde partie <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Jesus as example</i>
Unitative way <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Desire for Jesus</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Spiritual outcomes</i>

Structure of individual meditations / emblems	
SPIRITUAL EXERCISES	BERTHOD
Prayer	
1 st Prelude <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Composition; seeing the place</i> 	Pictura <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Visual representation</i>
2 nd Prelude <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Subject</i> 	Verse Prose Summary
	Meditation (Latin) Motto (French)
1 st Point	1 st <i>Point</i>
2 nd Point	2 nd <i>Point</i>

3 rd Point	3 rd Point
Colloquy • <i>Think of example of Christ</i>	<i>Exemple</i>

Although the *Spiritual Exercises* include a prayer (which is not present in Berthod) and Berthod's emblem contains mottoes and quotations missing from the *Spiritual Exercises* the structure is otherwise closely similar. Furthermore, the Latin motto, engraved in a scroll at the top of the *pictura* (the French motto follows the *pictura* and verse/prose and not in the usual titular position), is usually considered to be part of the *pictura*. This element can, therefore, be ignored in a comparison of the two texts, bringing the structures of the two works even closer together.

While the division of the book into two parts that echo the organisation and thematic progression of the *Spiritual Exercises* would suggest that the emblems contained within this work should also be read in sequence, this is in fact not necessarily the case. There is no clear linear progression from one emblem to the next. However, while the organisation of the emblem might not be that formalised, there is, in the grouping of the first and second *parties*, a certain amount of organisation, both within each section and between the two. Thus the second section describing the soul's joy in the redemptive love of Christ follows on from the initial section which underlines man's sinful nature. Within each section, the perhaps seemingly random arrangement of individual emblems results in a peppering of emblems on the same theme interspersed with those on often related themes. What this achieves is a cumulative effect: section one, for example, contains emblems on the theme of sin, virtue, and mortality of man. The constant repetition of these themes within this section is

effective. This increases the impact of these themes and, furthermore, ensures the reader is receptive to the emblems which come in the following section.

In order, therefore, to fully appreciate the key themes explored in Berthod's collection of emblems as wide and varied a selection as possible must be analysed. These will be drawn from each of the two sections, and will be analysed in detail. This will, on the one hand, reveal all the nuances and underlying themes associated with these main topics and, on the other hand, will permit a detailed examination of the structure of Berthod's emblems.

Première Partie

Emblems in this first section range from those highlighting the innate sinful nature of man to those praising the virtues the sinner should cultivate. As a result, this section corresponds to the first of the three stages of Ignatian meditation in the *Spiritual Exercises*. This first 'week' (understood in its metaphorical sense with the addition or omission of days being possible) is known in the *Spiritual Exercises* as the purgative path. During this initial meditation the exercitant is encouraged to focus on himself, on the ugliness of his sins before continuing in the following stages (the illuminative and unitive) to focus on the example of Christ. Emblems within this group in Berthod's collection not only focus on sin but also the temporal nature of man while some contrast this sinful nature with desirable virtues and others explore the nature of the fate that awaits the sinner, devoid of these virtues. Each of these four themes will be considered in the following analysis of Berthod's emblems.

Temporality

The collection opens by undermining man's arrogance, reminding the reader of the temporality of human existence, a theme, which as we have seen, colours many of the Protestant and Catholic examples in this study. 'De la Misere, de la Naissance, & de la fin de l'homme', the fifth emblem in Berthod's collection, is no exception and, indeed, builds upon the four previous emblems which also highlight the temporality of human life. This emblem is a particularly striking, emotional presentation of this theme. A reference to Genesis ('And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every foul of the air; and brought them to Adam to see what he would call them')²²⁴ situates the frailty of human life firmly in context: from dust we will return to dust. The verse expands upon this idea, reiterating that we must return from whence we came, but, other than attributing this fact of life to a heavenly decree, in fact adds very little to the motto:

Par un arrest du ciel, tout homme doit mourir,
Et retourner au lieu dont on lá veu sortir,
[...]
Et dedans le cerceuil en cendre se resoudre.

What the verse does do is direct the reader's attention back to the disturbingly graphic representation of a human corpse in the *pictura*, 'Nous voions que son corps doit avoir mesme sort'. The true horror of this emblem lies in this image. The process of reverting to dust is presented visually to the reader in the corpse which appears to be simultaneously in three stages of decomposition. All that remains of the torso, stripped of its flesh, is the skeleton, while worms burrow in and eat away at the remaining flesh on the bottom half of the body. The feet have disappeared (both flesh

²²⁴ Genesis 2. 19. Unless otherwise stated, all analysis of emblems is my own.

and bones are missing) leading the reader to presuppose that they indeed have turned to dust. The three parts (motto, *pictura* and verse) complement each other, thereby reinforcing the point that they are making through repetition. No new information is added at any stage but, although so far only a commonplace has been communicated, the combination of these three elements is important in preparing the reader for what comes next. The initial idea has been planted and reinforced in the mind of the reader ready to be built on in the following pages. Furthermore, the disturbing image (which the verse refers us back to) prepares the reader emotionally to be more receptive to the longer meditation that will follow.²²⁵ What is achieved through this repetition is a build up and reinforcement of ideas and this is continued in the short prose summary which initially repeats the message of the first three sections and, in the same way as the dances of death do, holds the skeletal figure of death up as an example, ‘Ce Cadavre montre quelle est la fin de l’Homme, & que comme il vient de terre & de poussiere, qu’il faut qu’il retourne dans le mesme estat’. Berthod builds on this by introducing the commonplace idea of equality in death, ‘que les Roys aussi bien que les plus simples de leurs sujets, doivent avoir une mesme fin, parce qu’ils ont eu une mesme naissance’.

²²⁵ For more on the dances of death see, André Corvisier, *Les danses macabres* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998).



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loyson, 1665), pp. 30-36.

The meditative section highlights God's ultimate role and the pitiful nature of the human condition in the opening lines, 'Considerez que vostre naissance est un neant, que Dieu a crée l'homme du limon de la terre'. The *second point* continues by reemphasising this and advising the reader that he never forget this, that he should keep this always in mind and the reader is thus made receptive to the advice carried in derisory words upon which this *point* closes, 'Vous humilier sans cesse devant Dieu'. The *troisieme point* seeks authority by pointing the reader towards a much abridged, simplified version of the teachings of Saint Augustine on this matter, and simultaneously pulls together the advice proffered in the first two *points* of the meditation and that expressed in the image and the verse:

Considerez avec saint Augustin, que le plus excellent moyen de vous empescher d'offencer Dieu & de vous éloigner du peché, c'est de penser souvent que vous devez mourir'.²²⁶

Not only must the reader keep in mind that he is nothing but dust: he must also reflect upon his mortality which, we are told again, is ‘un arret du Ciel irrevocable’. This, Berthod affirms, is the most effective method to protect against sin. This is reaffirmed in the *resolution* where the reader is urged to pray to God that he should never forget his own mortality. What Berthod achieves is a layering of ideas. Building upon an initial premise, he reinforces this through repetition and builds upon the complexity of the message by introducing a new concept at each stage thereby achieving the dual goals of memorability and persuasion.

Having firmly established the desired concept in the mind of the reader, Berthod continues by setting this in a biblical context, advising his reader that the sayings of Job on birth, life and death should be kept firmly in mind as an example when reading this emblem. The book of Job talks of suffering. It confutes the theory that suffering is divine retribution for human misdeeds and offers solace, courage and hope in the example of Job. The central premise is positive: a rich reward awaits those who endure the vicissitudes of life with patience and courage, a reward that will compensate them fully for all they have endured because of sin. Aside from this reference, Berthod gives no further detail as to the content of Job leaving us to presume that a certain familiarity with the bible on the part of the reader was assumed. This, largely descriptive, section expands upon the visual portrayal of man in the *pictura*, verbally describing man in the wider context of his life. From the moment of

²²⁶ For more on Augustine and his philosophy regarding death, see: Donald X. Burt, *Augustine's World: An Introduction to his Speculative Philosophy* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), pp. 11-36; Christopher Kirwan, *Augustine* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 60-81.

birth (qui se fait dans la plus vile condition de tous les animaux) until the last breath when ‘la puanteur de son Cadavre rebute ceux qui l’ont le plus aimé’, Berthod examines the weakness of human life. This section could not fail to elicit an emotional response from the reader filled as it is with graphic descriptions of death, poetically likened to the ebb and flow of nature, ‘Enfin un homme mort [...] c’est une vapeur qui se dissipe par un peu de vent, c’est une rosée de Soleil enlevée’. These images of dew and smoke blowing in the wind are in fact biblical and find their source in Hosea 13. 3: ‘They shall be as the morning cloud, and as the early dew that passeth away, as the chaff [that] is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney’. Such descriptions are not always subtle and Berthod is not afraid of bombarding his reader with an accumulation of negative concepts in order to create the desired effect:

Le progrez de sa vie est plein de soins, de soucis, d’inquietudes, de travaux, de dangers, de miseres , d’infortunes, d’accidens, de pauvretez, de souffrances, de douleurs, d’injuries, d’ignominies, d’affronts & de toutes sortes de tribulations, & la fin ne nous donne que des horreurs, des tristesses, des pleurs, & des lamentations.

The desired effect is of course to prime the reader, predispose him emotionally for the moral of the emblem which, reminiscent of the *Ars moriendi*, urges the reader to resist sin by meditating upon his own death. It is not only the imagery in the passage from Hosea which complements this emblem but the context within which it is set that renders it particularly appropriate. This passage follows a condemnation of sinners and idolaters and so, while on the one hand the passage provides emotive descriptions of human mortality, it also provides, by association, a concrete example of non-Christian behaviour. Memorability is ensured through the accumulation of ideas which reinforce the images presented in the initial sections of the emblem. Beginning in this way prepares the reader emotionally both for what is to come in this

section and for what is to come in the collection as a whole, whatever the order the following emblems are read in.

Sinful nature

The constant repetition of negative descriptions with respect to man's life in the emblem above is echoed in the following twelve emblems which all focus on the sinful nature of man.²²⁷ Seven of these twelve emblems, following the lead in the emblem above (*qui se fait dans la plus vile condition de tous les animaux*) present the corrupt nature of man visually as an animal, each in turn focusing on one of the seven deadly sins. Let us examine just one of these. Emblem thirteen, entitled 'De l'impureté', is on the subject of lust and is a particularly good example of these emblems focusing on sin. The goat remains a popular Christian symbol for the damned and is based on Christ's own words at the last supper when he talks of dividing the sheep (his flock) from the goats.²²⁸ Giving the example of the goat in the *pictura*, Berthod continues in the verse to draw the parallel between man and beast:

Tout ainsi quá ce bouc, le peché deshonnête
Porte le coeur de l'homme au plaisir de la beste.

²²⁷ The number twelve, of course, is an important number in the bible. It is, amongst other things, the number of disciples, is associated with rule, and is the product of three (divine perfection) multiplied by four (world and creation). In a renaissance context the number twelve also carries significance reflecting the twelve houses of astrology.

²²⁸ Matthew 25. 33.



‘De l’impureté’ François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loyson, 1665), pp. 90-96.

The significance of the image up until this point is not at all clear. The goat, although easily recognisable, stands alone in the *pictura*. A common symbol of lechery it is particularly when it is considered alongside the motto and the verse that the spiritual significance becomes clear and the goat becomes something more than just a common farmyard animal. In this way, the *pictura* adopts a role similar to that in some of the Protestant examples. However, this parallel is spelled out to the reader, ‘tout ainsi’, undermining his role in making this connection. The prose summary further makes this comparison explicit, likening man abandoned to lust to ‘cèt Animal brutal [qui] n’a presque point de bornes’.

While the verse and summary emphasise the similarity between lustful man and the goat in the *pictura*, the meditations which follow broaden the scope of the emblem to consider the consequences of such behaviour. The first *point*, for example, highlights the gravity of this crime claiming that ‘c’est celuy qui est le plus déplaisant à Jesus Christ’, and ending quite ominously on a general warning that such sinners should be ‘précipité dans les enfers’. The second *point* continues by further emphasising human

mortality, and, encouraging the reader to keep this in mind at all times, suggests constant penitence as a safeguard, ‘vous humilier sans cesse devant Dieu’. Reminding the reader in the following *point* that, ‘l’Impureté se commet non seulement par les œuvres, mais encor par les pensées’, thus implicitly underlining God’s omniscience, Berthod ends this section with an authoritative command to his reader to, ‘Examinez-vous là dessus!’, quite in contrast to the more approachable tone of many of the Protestant emblems we have examined.

Up until now there has been no real contemplation of the ramifications of such behaviour. The idea of punishment has already been introduced, the verse speaks vaguely of ‘les fleaux de la justice’, and the first *point* as we saw above more explicitly links this to hell, but much of the prior focus has been on the nature of the sin. Specific examples of this justice are expressed in the third *point*. Here, Berthod consolidates the vague threats of the earlier sections with examples of biblical disasters taken from the Old Testament. Beginning by evoking the flood sent during Noah’s time to destroy civilization, perhaps the best-known example of divine retribution today, Berthod ends on the unsettling line ‘c’est aussi pour cela qu’il y a tant d’âmes dans l’enfer’. Berthod moves, therefore, from the general ‘historical’ to the general present and thus successfully makes God’s wrath a matter for personal concern. The advice given in the *resolution* is of a practical nature advising avoidance of all ‘occasions qui portent à ce péché’, ‘la fréquentation de personnes qui peuvent donner de mauvaises pensées’ and ‘la lecture des mauvais livres sur ce sujet’.

Other than the flood, Berthod gives two further examples from the Old Testament of God’s wrath as the *Exemple*. Beginning with the story of Sichem, who, alongside his

whole family, suffered the fatal consequences of his actions, Berthod then, in the second half of this section, discusses the adultery committed by David. While David does not lose his own life, neither does he escape harsh punishment, ‘Dieu qui ne voulut point laisser ce crime impuny, chastia David severement: Il fit mourir l’enfant nay de l’adultere sept jours apres sa naissance’. This punishment would have been worse and David himself would have suffered from ‘une infinité de maux’ if ‘Dieu ne luy eut fait grace, en consideration de la penitence qu’il avoit fait de l’adultere qu’il avoit commis’. Despite the dire warnings contained in all of the emblems in this group, therefore, repentance is presented as offering man a way of tempering his fate. Along with personal prayer and other outward manifestations of personal faith, repentance was one of the new areas of emphasis for the Catholic Church post-Trent.

The spiritual significance of the image may not be at first clear but the reader is not left to puzzle this out on his own. The parallel between the image and man is drawn for him in both the verse and the later prose. These first two *points*, are not simply repetitive, however, and expand this notion somewhat to consider the nature of this sin and how it may be avoided. Thus the idea of punishment, introduced early on in the verse, is focused on in more detail in the later prose sections of this emblem. While the biblical references lend an air of authority, they also undermine the role of the reader leaving little to his or her imagination.

Virtue

Contrasting with the previous group of emblems which focus on sin are the emblems interspersed throughout this section which focus on virtue. These cover a range of

themes like types of virtue (such as diligence) or how this virtue might be achieved.

Some, such as emblem twenty-eight, ‘De la Diligence que nous devons apporter au travail de notre Salut’ (2. Par. 19. 7), offer the example of virtue as preventative against the fate of the sinner.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loyson, 1665), pp. 204-210.

Berthod begins his verse by immediately directing his reader’s attention towards the *pictura*, which depicts a crane holding a stone in one claw. Far from indicating the importance of the *pictura*, this, in fact, undermines the role of the visual and offers, in the very first line, a verbal summary of the image, ‘Par cette grue on voit qu’il faut toujours veiller’. The significance of the stone becomes clear: the crane holds this stone which drop if the crane falls asleep. The crane became a commonplace symbol of vigilance due to the myth surrounding them which believed that some cranes performed the duty of sentry, holding a stone in one foot to avoid falling asleep.²²⁹

²²⁹ A translation of a twelfth-century Latin bestiary notes the following behavioural patterns of the crane: ‘they pick up stones of a moderate weight to give themselves ballast. [...] Cranes keep a watchful guard at night. You can see sentries placed in an ordinary way, and, while the remainder of the comrade army is sleeping, these march round and round to investigate whether there are any ambushes being attempted from anywhere. [...] They keep themselves awake for their sentry go by holding stones in their claws, and share the night watches equally, taking over in turn.’ : T. H. White,

We find early ‘secular’ emblems which feature a crane as the central motif. Alciato (1549) for example praises not the vigilance, but the diligence of the crane in ‘Qui s’emende dict en ce point. Qu’ay je fait trop, ou peu, ou point?’ In this he warns against ‘trop faire’ with respect to sin and ‘point faire’ or ‘trop peu faire’ with respect to duty, giving the example of the crane who flies carrying a stone to prevent itself from making no headway and to stop adverse gusts from carrying it off course.²³⁰ Johannes Sambucus uses the same example in his similarly themed emblem, ‘In labore fructus’ (1564).²³¹

The spiritual ramifications of this diligence are expressed in Berthod’s verse which ends by reiterating the importance of both the physical and spiritual, ‘Car qui veut des vertus acquerir les tresors/ [...] Il y faut travailler et desprit et de corps’. The prose summary offers confirmation of the above analysis. Just as the crane ‘porte une Pierre dans son Pied, qu’elle tient en l’air pour s’empecher de dormir’ so too should man follow this example, ‘[elle] nous montre la diligence que l’Homme doit apporter aux choses de son salut’. To fall asleep, we see from this example, equates to laziness, a lack of alertness with respect to maintenance of the soul.

The exhortation to diligence, the emphasis placed on the individual’s responsibility in preserving the purity of his soul carried in this emblem, is more than faintly evocative of the subject matter of many of the Protestant emblems that I have examined, not least those of Rollenhagen. The constancy of the Christian heart symbolised by the determination of the crane calls to mind, in particular, those emblems by Rollenhagen

The Book of Beasts being a translation from a Latin bestiary of the twelfth Century (Bath: Alan Sutton, 1992).

²³⁰ Andreas Alciato, *Emblemes* (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1549), p. 38.

²³¹ Joannes Sambucus, *Les Emblemes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1567), p. 207.

advocating perseverance. Both authors emphasise the need for a sustained effort over time and link this to the acquisition of virtue. In Rollenhagen, however, while some stress the need for perfection, the majority undermine the possibility of achieving this and emphasise the futility of man's efforts. A great number of his emblems, as we have seen, suggest that, tainted with original sin, all that man produces will inevitably be flawed and he will never achieve the perfection he desires. Nevertheless, in spite of certain failure Rollenhagen underlines the importance of perseverance. This is in contrast to Berthod, who in the above emblem, clearly links actions with spiritual outcome.

The meditative section that follows, however, adds a new element. While the verse, image and prose summary emphasise the duality of man, his spiritual and physical nature, the three *points* concentrate on the precise nature of this physical aspect and link this fundamentally to the spiritual. Describing man as a 'serviteur' of God, the first *point* underlines his subsequent duty to obey. Berthod centres upon 'les Loix de Dieu', the Ten Commandments, simultaneously carrying forward the implicit association of vengeance should these not be adhered to. Berthod speaks of a reward, 'la recompense qui luy est promise', and confirms that, 'il n'y a que l'action dans les choses saintes qui nous puisse faire posseder le Paradis', thus, with the emphasis on actions, firmly positioning this emblem within the parameters of Catholic doctrine. The parallel is easily drawn between the reward Berthod speaks of and paradise: the key role of actions in the acquisition of this is underlined and thus a causal relationship between the physical and metaphysical is established. Berthod continues upon similar lines in the following two *points*:

Le marchand qui met tous ses soins pour s'enrichir dans son Negoce; l'Homme d'affaires qui travaille sans cesse pour acquerir du bien, l'Homme de Lettres qui n'étudie que pour devenir scavant.

All these figures are criticised as being ‘oysifs devant Dieu’. Berthod’s dismissal of these achievements is rooted in the religious commonplace of *vanitas*: earthly achievements remain just that. Berthod continues with the theme of work, this time in an agricultural context, as a positive example of what a Christian should be turning his attention, presenting cultivation of the vine of Christ as a metaphor for cultivation of the Christian soul. This imagery, Dominique Deslandres writes, was associated with the Jesuits: ‘The missionaries described themselves as field or vineyard workers, or as pastors; they were labourers fearsome to hell’.²³²

Despite the initial connotations of wrath and vengeance introduced in the first *point* with the mention of the ‘Loix’, this emblem is mostly positive in tone. It may contain a hint of a threat (we see this in the third *point*, ‘il est vray que Dieu donne sa malediction à celuy qui y travaille avec negligence’) but all three *points* and the *resolution* ultimately present the idea of eternal life as a reward that can be earned. A certain amount of progression in the development of this idea can be traced: the possibility of this reward is introduced in the three *points* and is more firmly presented in the *resolution*: ‘la recompense qu'il [Dieu] vous a promise’. Thus salvation moves from the realm of the imaginable to the more concrete realm of the attainable.

Man’s role in this process is further emphasised in the *Exemple* which Berthod takes from the New Testament. Berthod recounts the parable of the lost sheep, evoking the

²³² Dominique Deslandres, ‘*Exemplo aequo ut verbo*: The French Jesuits’ Missionary World’, in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O’Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 258-273 (p. 261).

shepherd's delight and relief upon finding it, 's'il est si heureux que de la rencontrer, que ne pas pour en témoigner sa satisfaction; Il la prend sur ses épaules, & tout triomphant de joye, il revient en sa maison'. Into this we can read God's equal joy at refinding a lost soul, an idea that Berthod, later in this emblem, expresses explicitly, 'le retour de cette seule ame à Dieu, produira dans cette Cour celeste une joye plus agreeable que celle qu'elle recevoit de tous ceux qui estoit en grace'. Berthod grants his reader what we might think of as a celestial sick-note here. While initially exhorting his reader to be as the crane, alert and unwavering in its diligence, Berthod here acknowledges the weakness of the human condition and permits his reader temporarily to falter in his diligence. Not only will the Christian be welcomed back into the fold after a slip, but, we are told, will almost be received more joyfully than those souls that never stumble. In permitting his reader to err, Berthod does not contradict the message of the first part of the emblem but, in fact, in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, creates the image of a God eager to welcome a repentant sinner.

Throughout the reader is manipulated emotionally: Berthod begins by frightening his reader into compliance then reassures him with the example taken from the New Testament. Once again, little active intellectual input is required of the reader who, instead, is pulled in through a combination of emotive language and repetition of ideas.

Punishment

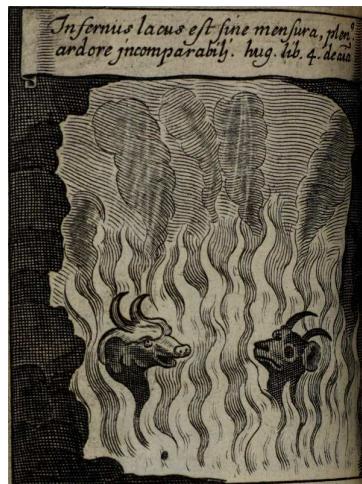
The last few emblems in this group focus on man's fate, the horrors that await him should he continue to live in a sinful manner and shun the exhortations to virtue expressed in the above group. Within this group we find emblems highlighting the unpredictability of death or painting a picture of what happens after this death. All underscore man's *impuissance* in face of death and the very unpredictability of God's retribution which is expressed in many of these embitters the sinner's fate just that little bit more.

It is, for example, the gritty realities of hell that are evoked in emblem twenty-one, 'De l'Enfer'. Man the sinner is, once again, referred to in bestial terms in this emblem which portrays two horned beasts consumed in a fiery pit. 'C'est l'enfer ou sen vont les ennemis de Dieu', the verse tells us, confirming the parallel between the horned beasts and sinners. The verse is vague as to the details of hell, referring simply to 'les tourmens Eternels', and concentrates instead on emphasising the eternal fiery nature of hell. Thus hell is 'plain de feu', 'Eternel', and those who are thrown there are 'Preparés pour jamais dans ces feux redoutables'. Berthod remains vague about the precise nature of the torments awaiting the sinner, while at the same time repeatedly emphasising the infinite nature of these, and this produces a feeling of anxiety in the reader. While the prose summary (Vous voiez ici l'image de l'Enfer destiné pour les Malheureux qui ont vécu dans le crime, & qui sont morts dans la disgrâce de Dieu.) reads almost as a word for word repetition of the verse, the first *point*, once again, is considerably more detailed. The initial state of anxiety in the reader is heightened in this section through the use of emotive language such as 'rage' and 'désespoir', and,

even more worryingly, this first *point* builds upon the idea of eternity so clearly introduced in the verse. Hell, Berthod reminds his reader, is,

l'endroit où s'execute la Justice de Dieu, où sa grace, & le merite du Sang de Jesus-Christ n'entent point, où le repentir & le pardon n'ont point de lieu.

In stressing this aspect of hell as being a place of judgement devoid of God's grace Berthod also gives his reader a sobering reminder of the irreversible and eternal nature of hell. Here, even the blood of Christ spilled in sacrifice to redeem man's sin is powerless to save a soul in hell. The previous emblem warned that life must be consistently well-lived, that last-minute regret upon the death-bed does not suffice and this idea is reinforced in this emblem. The reader is warned to repent before it is too late, for, according to Berthod, repentance and forgiveness have no place in the arena of hell once judgement has been passed.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loyson, 1665), pp. 148-155.

Having emphasised at some length that hell is eternal and inescapable, Berthod turns his attention in the second *point* to the nature of hell. An example from the scriptures is sought as an authoritative proof and hell is presented to the reader as 'une Terre de misere'. The exact nature of the torment that awaits the sinner still remains imprecise

but we do learn that this punishment will be immense and both physical and mental, ‘la grandeur des peines [...] qui affligen toutes les parties d’un corps, & toutes les puissances d’une ame miserable’. Almost as if Berthod anticipated interjections of complaint from his reader at this point, the following lines adopt an apologetic, defiant tone. In so doing Berthod creates a dialogue between himself and his reader thereby securing the interest and attention of his reader. If, Berthod argues, the goodness and justice of God are accepted as being in equal quantities, then so too must the rewards promised to his followers be equalled in degree by the punishment meted out to those who ignore him:

Que la bonté & la Justice de Dieu étant égales, & ne pouvans point en lui souffrir d’inégalité; qu’ainsi comme sa bonté donne aux Bienheureux des loüanges infiniment au dessus de leurs merites, de même sa Justice fait souffrir aux damnées, des suplices & des tourmens infiniment plus grands que leurs crimes.

While this phrase may serve as a brief justification of the very existence of hell it simultaneously reinforces the horror of this which has been built up in the culmination of the previous parts of the emblem. The idea of spiritual recompense, which Berthod carefully constructs in the first part of this sentence, is equally as carefully broken in the second half: punishment will not be equal to the crime but *greater*. And so this phrase renders the fiery punishment of hell as applicable to the slightest sinner as to the greatest. If the punishment is greater than the sin, as Berthod suggests, then, the reader is given to assume, this must be the fate of all sinners regardless of the crime. Having unsettled his reader with his emotive and fiery descriptions of hell, Berthod here directs his message to the individual and points the finger at every one of his readers and reminds them of their common fate.

Berthod develops this further in the third *point* to analyse one aspect of the mental suffering experienced. Aside from the physical torture, the greatest torment Berthod considers to be ‘celle du dam’, or the loss of beatitude which results in ‘la haine irreconciliable entre Dieu & Ame’. The supposition behind this, we assume, is a notion expressed in many of Berthod’s emblems, such as ‘Fortitudo simplicis via domini’,²³³ and indeed those of many of the Protestant authors, that the Christian soul can withstand any amount of torment if supported by God’s grace. Projected from God’s protection into a relationship of hate with God, the misery of the Christian soul knows no bounds. The word ‘irreconciliable’, which underlines the irretrievable nature of this relationship destroys the last shred of hope refuting the eternal nature of this punishment in hell.

Once again Berthod’s emblem is very effective. The images are uncomfortable, evoking, through emotive language, the eternal torment of the Christian soul in hell. Once again relying on repetition to drive home these images, Berthod also appears to contradict in this emblem the implied assurance of the emblems in the first *partie* of the power of repentance. He underlines here that once in Hell not even God’s grace can penetrate and in so doing, by urging his reader to repent before it is too late, creates a sense of urgency that carries the reader along.

The tone is once again authoritative: Berthod assumes the role of teacher or preacher and the reader, as a result, that of pupil. This passive role is key in preparing the reader to be receptive to the message of this emblem. Little new is learned here: the nature of hell was and is a universal idea: the ideas Berthod expresses would have

²³³ See chapter two, p. 99 of this thesis.

been commonplace. His insistence on these is a testament to his desire to frighten his reader, to involve him emotionally in a subject that, already present in his or her consciousness, only becomes effective as an appeal to the emotions.

Seconde Partie: Penitence

The first group of emblems that open the *Seconde partie* of Berthod's collection echo the structure of the *Spiritual Exercises* and focus on repentance, a theme that has already been introduced in the previous group of emblems. The majority of the emblems in this second part focus on themes such as penitence, sacrifice, observance of the sacraments. All of these reflect aspects and demonstrations of personal faith that the Council of Trent had placed renewed emphasis on. Beginning this section by highlighting the importance of temperance, a notion we have previously seen expressed in Protestant emblems such as Rollenhagen's skeleton/torch emblem,²³⁴ for example, Berthod continues by interlocking emblems on the theme of penitence and forgiveness ('De l'Excellence des larmes versées par le motif de Penitence', 'De la Penitence', 'Du pardon de nos ennemis') with others focusing on God, highlighting on the one hand man's duty, and on the other the mercy God shows to the repentant Christian soul ('De la Providence & des bienfaits de Dieu envers l'homme', 'Du Respect que nous devons au saint nom de Jesus').

While some of the emblems in this group adopt a similar style of image to those we have just examined, portraying the workings of God through a disembodied hand, we find two new patterns of iconography in this section. Following the tradition of the

²³⁴ See chapter two, p. 89 of this thesis.

*Schola Cordis*²³⁵ which shows the characters of *Anima* and Divine Love acting upon a heart, many of the emblems in Berthod's collection also focus on a disembodied and suspended heart. More unusually some *picturae* are more abstract than the usual realistic scenes found in Berthod, and are thus perhaps more similar to the more symbolic imagery found in the Protestant emblems, by, for example, Rollenhagen and Friedrich.

Emblem thirty-six, for example, 'De l'Excellence des larmes versées par le motif de Penitence', quite clearly builds on the theme of penitence. The *pictura* features two eyes crying, as the central motif, above which the sun shines.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris: Loyson, 1665), pp. 268-274.

While the meaning of the motto may seem obvious, the verse seems to suggest something different. 'Pour avoir de la joie il faut semer des pleurs', the first line asserts. This idea is continued in the second line, which reaffirms, 'Pour jouir des plaisirs, souffrir mille douleurs'. No mention is made to penitence in these lines which convey instead the optimistic commonplace found in both secular and religious

²³⁵ Benedict van Haeften, *Schola Cordis* (Antwerp: Bolswert, 1629).

emblems alike, often expressed, as in Rollenhagen's sieve emblem, 'Transeat', in meteorological terms that good weather always follows bad. Here, the message is not so much one of hope (though the outcome promised is a positive one) as one underlining a causal relationship between suffering and joy. In Rollenhagen's emblem the good weather is presented as an assurance of better things to come. In Berthod's Catholic emblem, the suffering is essential: in line with Counter-Reformation emphasis on personal devotion the implication here is that some form of personal suffering or sacrifice must be endured before any kind of spiritual relief may be experienced.

The precise nature of 'joie' is defined in the central two lines of the verse, which, expressing the heavenly rewards, also underline the cost of this, 'C'est par la que du Ciel nous rencontrons la voie / La tribulation doit faire nos desirs'. Although very concise, these two lines clarify significantly the meaning of this emblem. Tribulation, we are led to understand, is something we should desire, is something that is *necessary* for our salvation. The causal relationship between suffering and reward is further neatly emphasised through the structure of this verse. Explicitly based on Psalm 126.5, 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy', the first and last couplets are mirror images of each other, pivoted around the axis of the central two lines which specify the generalities and impart Christian significance,

Pour avoir de la joie, il faut semer des pleurs;
Pour jouir des plaisirs, souffrir mille douleurs,
C'est par la que du Ciel nous rencontrons la voie.
La tribulation doit faire nos desirs;
Ainsi semant des pleurs, on recueille la joie,
En souffrant des douleurs on trouve des plaisirs.

The precise nature of this suffering, however, is not clarified in the verse. Other than in the motto, no mention has yet been made to sin or penitence and the parallel between motto and verse is elucidated in the summary which follows. Once again, in the spirit of the Counter Reformation, the importance of penitence is emphasised:

Ces Yeux qui [...] versent des Larmes, nous signifient que ceux qui les répandent sur la terre pour les Pechez qu'ils ont commis, trouveront leur consolation devant Dieu.

This idea we have seen previously in the emblems by Hugo and Quarles both of which lamented the lack of time available for repentance.

The power of repentance is further underlined in the *premier point* where Berthod exhorts his reader to repent, promising that, ‘ces larmes leur ouvrent la porte du Ciel’. Berthod finds authority in the bible attributing this saying to ‘l’Evangile’. Having completed this initial, brief consideration of sin, the *second point* ushers the reader on to a contemplation of Christ’s sacrifice, underscoring in the first line that, ‘le Fils de Dieu nous a racheté dans la Croix par son Sang’. The motivation for these tears is attributed to God, ‘par son inspiration il nous les fait verser’. Tears of repentance are a result, then, of a combination of an appreciation of the example of God and the gift of His grace which inspires us to repent. In the *troisième point* Berthod elaborates on the vague reference to the Scriptures he makes in the first *point* and offers his reader three specific examples of tears of repentance in the bible. It is her tears, we are told, that rendered Mary Magdalene a friend of Jesus, the tears of St Peter that secured his pardon and those of Ezechias that led to his forgiveness. This emblem is fully in keeping with the increased Catholic emphasis on penance. This *point* finishes on a didactic note, by reiterating, once again, that, ‘c’est aussi par ce moyen là que nous en recevrons la voye lors que nous l’avons perduë par nos crimes’. This last line is

important for it qualifies somewhat our understanding of the emblem thus far. Repentance alone (as Berthod maintains in emblem twenty-eight, the crane emblem) is not sufficient to secure salvation: rather repentance, the desire to atone for one's sins, gives man the strength and the motivation to follow the path of righteousness no matter how often he may stumble and lose his way. The omniscient nature of God is implicitly underlined in the final *resolution* which warns against shedding tears other than tears of repentance as being 'en mépris devant se divine bonté'.

The *exemple*, here again, offers a concrete example of the notions expressed earlier in the emblem. Here the reader is presented with the story of St Peter, which was mentioned briefly in the third *point*, in more detail. Summarising briefly St Peter's denial of Christ, Berthod concentrates instead on describing in some detail the nature of Peter's acute grief and repentance. Above all else, it is the duration and all-consuming nature of the grief that is emphasised.

En quelque lieu qu'il aille ses pleurs l'accompagnent, il fait nager son lit dans les larmes, & les fait entrer dans toutes ses actions; S'il regarde le Ciel, il pleure d'avoir trahy celui qui lui en avoit donné les Clefs; si ils considere la Mer, il pleure d'avoir desavoüé celuy, qui d'un pauvre Pescheur, l'a fait le premier Pilote du vaisseau de son Eglise; s'il voit ses Compagnons, il pleure d'avoir esté plus foible qu'eux; s'il voit des Femmes, il pleure qu'une Servante l'a fait tomber dans le malheur où il se trouve; s'il se chauffe, il pleure de ce que devant le feu il a commis cét horrible parjur [...] Enfin toutes les actions de sa vie sont remplies de larmes.

Every aspect of Peter's life is occasion for him to repent. Each and every action is a trigger for meditation upon his sin. The implication for the reader is clear. Just as repentance must be heart-felt, and not considered as a last-minute attempt to buy salvation, so too must it be consistent and maintained every step of the way through life.

While, as in the previous examples, the reader is still guided step-by-step through the meditation, he or she is called upon more in this emblem. The spiritual significance of the crying eyes, for example, although obviously conveying sorrow, is not clear until both the verse and commentary are also considered. It is a striking, unsettling image perhaps more at home in the *picturae* of some of the Protestant examples, and requires some initial effort from the reader. However, this initial puzzlement is short-lived as the text clarifies precisely the lessons to be learned. The textual elements, as in the other examples, once again build upon each other: step-by-step a new idea is introduced in each new section, and, in the pursuit of absolute clarity, these truths are made concrete in an irrefutable biblical example.

Sacrifice

A further aspect of personal devotion that was encouraged by Trent as an outward manifestation of faith was self-sacrifice or corporal sacrifice. Emblems fifty-three and fifty-four, both discuss sacrifice, and, the iconography of these being so similar, I will consider them together. Although the idea of self-restraint is a theme, as we have seen in the analysis of Rollenhagen's Protestant emblems, by no means limited to the pages of Catholic works, certain kinds of self-denial and self-sacrifice are themes much more strongly associated with Catholic doctrine. Indeed this is a notion we have encountered before in Berthod's emblems, in particular in 'Fortitudo simplicis via domini'²³⁶ and 'De l'Excellence des larmes versées par le motif de Penitence'.

²³⁶ See chapter two, p. 99 of this thesis.

In keeping with the theme, emblem fifty-three, ‘Montrant que nos pensées doivent être en la Croix de Jesus-Christ’ and emblem fifty-four, ‘De l’amour que nous devons avoir pour la Croix de Jesus-Christ’, focus upon the crucifix as a central motif.



François Berthod, *Emblemes sacrez* (Paris:Loyson, 1665), pp. 396-408.

The cross or crucifix is an immediately emotive symbol but the inclusion of the initials ‘INRI’²³⁷ above which celestial rays shine down, really emphasise Christ’s sacrifice. The flowers and the heart nailed to each leg of the cross in emblem fifty-three, we deduce from the verse to be representative of the faithful subject’s thoughts and heart being concentrated upon the cross,

Quand mon pensée y court, je sens mouvoir mon coeur,
Inseperablement ils vont tous deux ensemble,
Sur cette Croix divine adorer mon sauveur.

The cross, in Berthod’s depiction, does not simply serve as a reminder of Christ’s sacrifice. It becomes, in both emblems, not just a focus of grateful remembrance, but a symbol of the example the reader should follow. The pinned thoughts and hearts in both emblems become a visual representation, not just of the process of meditation

²³⁷ Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum.

(what we have here, in the emblematic equivalent of the *compositio loci*, is a depiction of the process undergone during this very stage of meditation) but of the practical, physical implications this has for the Christian. If emblem fifty-three underlines in the *exemple* the reason for adoring the cross, it does so in terms of debt, ‘Nous vous adorons, ô Croix! Parce que vous avez porté celui qui a racheté tout le genre humain’. Christ, Berthod asserts, has bought man out of sin. It is the Christian *duty*, therefore, these lines suggest, to honour the cross which is presented here as the symbol of this debt.

The personal investment necessitated by meditation of the cross is further conveyed in emblem fifty-four, which, underlining the unique worth of Godly love, emphasises the personal nature of the suffering that the contemplation of Christ’s suffering imparts upon the Christian, ‘Tout autre amour est vain, et jamais notre coeur, Il ne peut rien qu’en cette Croix trouver le véritable, Puisqu’on ayme en souffrant une sainte douleur’.

The main focus of these emblems is the promise of eternal life. We can see the importance the cross and the consequent associations with sacrifice hold in Berthod’s Catholicism in the first *point* of emblem fifty-three:

Considerez que si la Croix du Fils du Dieu doit être l’objet de nos pensées, [...] parcequ’elle est le chemin de la gloire, que sans elle il n’y a point de salut pour les ames, ni d’esperance de la vie éternelle.

Emblem fifty-three is perhaps more didactic in tone, urging the reader repeatedly to turn his thoughts to the cross, the preparatory groundwork having been laid. Emblem fifty-four concentrates in more detail on the passion of Christ. If the previous emblem

makes a cerebral appeal to the reader, here Berthod adopts a more emotive form of attack. Having emphasised the importance of the cross in salvation in the first three *points*, the *exemple* targets the reader's sympathies. Focusing on Saint Andrew, the *exemple* gives an example of human, mortal sacrifice for faith.²³⁸ The idea of debt, of duty has already been introduced in the previous emblem and Berthod continues by implicitly developing this sense of guilt, of indebtedness, through the emotionally loaded language and graphic descriptions of Christ's suffering:

Je vous saluë, ô Croix. Il [Jesus-Christ] a méprisé la vie pour conserver la nôtre, & y a voulu souffrir la mort pour nous rendre capables de meriter le Ciel; il a enduré une soif excessive, pour nous desalterer par son Sang precieux; il a souffert d'une infinité d'infamies & d'humiliations, pour nous élever dans la gloire; il nous y a laver par son sang, il a été dépouillé tout nud pour nous revêtir, [...] Regardons-y les coups qu'il a reçus, son sang qui coule, ses yeux languissans, sa bouche pâle, sa tête inclinée, son corps tout percé & tout navré.

Although both discussing sacrifice, neither of these emblems explicitly recommends this to the reader, preferring instead to focus upon the meditative contemplation that Christ's sacrifice is due, effectively driving home the magnitude and nature of this sacrifice through graphic and emotive descriptions. Implicit in this is the idea that Christians should follow Christ's example and suffer for their faith.

The verse and prose of both emblems once again clarifies the spiritual significance but, again, the image is perhaps less descriptive than those commonly found in Berthod. While the cross is an immediately emotive point of focus symbolising Christ's sacrifice, it also somewhat engages the reader intellectually as he puzzles over the details of the hearts or flowers. In this way the image plays a more similar role to those of the Protestant examples examined earlier. Similarly, the two images

²³⁸ Saint Andrew was martyred on a saltire and is said to have preached for two days from it before he died.

complement each other, in the same way as do emblems one to three and forty to forty-two do in Bèze's collection. While Berthod's emblems are much less visually complex, the reading of emblem fifty-four, although not dependent on the understanding of emblem fifty-three, is nevertheless an extension or development of this. However, despite this unusually increased importance of the visual, the main emphasis is still on the text which, once again, spells out each nuance of meaning before offering biblical proof of this.

* * *

The influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* and Jesuit meditative techniques is clear in this work, both in terms of structure (overall and individual emblems) and thematic content. The reader, like the meditant of the *Exercises*, is asked first to focus upon the image (or *compositio loci*) and to project him or herself upon the scene before being guided step by step through various stages of meditation. .

Similarly, the iconography in Berthod, in keeping with the Ignatian model, is on the whole fairly straightforward. The majority of the *picturae* depict realistic scenes, easily understood by the reader and thus eliciting an emotional, rather than intellectual response from the reader. The verse immediately below the *pictura* generally summarises the moral of the emblem, often directly referring to the image, thereby further undermining the role of the visual. However, there are exceptions and on occasion the image functions in a more similar way to that of the Protestant emblem requiring more of an intellectual response.

Whether this is the case or not, the main emphasis in all emblems is very much on the text. From the initial point of focus of the *pictura*, Berthod pulls his reader along, spelling out at each stage the key issues of the emblem reducing the active participation required. Each *point* builds on the previous, repeats the earlier notions and introduces a new concept thereby ensuring clarity and effect through repetition. This reduces the active role of the reader who, unlike with Rollenhagen's emblems, for example, is not forced to puzzle out the meaning of the emblem on his own. While the intellectual effort may be reduced, there is a distinct emotional appeal created through the use of language and imagery which appeals to the senses.

And yet, despite the structural influence of the Jesuit work, this work is perhaps less overtly Catholic in tone than might have been expected. There are of course instances of what we might consider to be Catholic specificity: the emphasis on the crucifix and sacrifice in emblems fifty-three and fifty-four are two such examples. Similarly, Berthod's warning against studying blatantly contradicts some of the earlier Protestant examples that we have examined. Furthermore, in these emblems (and in others) Berthod links actions with spiritual gain, one of the major doctrinal differences between Protestant and Catholics. However, the majority of the emblems in Berthod's collection do not fall into this category. We find emblems on the transience of human life, the sinful nature of man, the pursuit of virtue, all of which are themes commonly found, as we have seen, in both Protestant and Catholic emblems. The emphasis placed on repentance is, of course, indicative of the changes in Counter-Reformation thought but this, as we have seen in the first section, is also, not surprisingly, a concept expressed in Protestant works. Indeed, the similarity at times can be quite strong. In 'De la diligence', for example, Berthod picks up on an idea repeatedly

explored in Rollenhagen of the need for perseverance. Both authors highlight the need for sustained effort in spiritual matters and link this to the acquisition of virtue. In a similar vein, if we continue with the comparison with Rollenhagen, we find emblems by both authors considering the fate of man and contrasting the suffering of hell with the joy of heaven.

The similarity in theme between Berthod's emblems and Protestant examples is, in part, due to their having a common source, the bible. This again is a result of the changes in Catholic post-reformation thinking which re-emphasised the importance of the Scriptures. This, of course, was a central tenet of Protestant doctrine. Where Berthod's use of biblical sources differs from that of some of the Protestant authors we have examined is in the labelling of these sources. Whereas Montenay makes her reader work to distinguish the biblical source, Berthod cites these as the mottoes to his emblems thereby, once again, further diminishing the active role of the reader

Despite the Jesuit structural influence, therefore, and some exceptions, the majority of these emblems express general Christian truths. Furthermore, given the emphasis placed on sin and the focus on retribution in many of the emblems accompanied often by iconography not too dissimilar to that found in Protestant emblems, it could be argued that many of the emblems in this collection would have been far from unsuitable for a Protestant audience. It is, more often than not, the relationship between text and image and in particular the diminished, more passive role of the reader in this relationship that sets these emblems apart from the Protestant examples we have examined.

Chapter Six

George Wither: A European, Fusional Approach to Emblems

George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* appeared in 1635 in England by which point he had already produced a fairly impressive number of publications.²³⁹ This extensive corpus, Michael Bath affirms, 'established him [Wither] as one of the most important seventeenth-century exponents of the biblical lyric'. Indeed, Bath highlights Wither's success as a writer pointing to the reputation his writings earned him as 'an inspired prophet of national events, and of the Puritan cause in particular'. The importance of this author may be noted with hindsight but contemporary reception of Wither's poetry, Rosemary Freeman comments, was not so warm.²⁴⁰ While Wither's *Collection* did not perhaps attain the popularity of his other works, in particular that of his later writings (it never ran to a second edition), it should not, however, simply be dismissed. Despite her initial criticism of the standard of Wither's poetry, Freeman points to the straightforward nature of his emblematic verse, commenting that this clarity 'gave them considerable success as emblems, even though their ultimate value as literature might not be very high'.²⁴¹ Bath further underlines the validity of Wither's emblems when he says:

Whatever Wither's reputation as a poet, however, we should not make the mistake of assuming that the value and interest of an emblem book are solely determined by the literary quality of its *scriptura*. Nor should we judge the success of the verses by criteria more appropriate to writing of another kind. [...] As with any emblem book, Wither's verses are part of a larger unit, and

²³⁹ For further details of Wither's writings and for general biographical information see Michael Bath's introduction to a facsimile edition of Wither's *Emblemes* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 1. See also: *A Choice of Emblemes*, ed by John Manning (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989)

²⁴⁰ Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London : Chatto & Windus, 1948), p. 141.

²⁴¹ Freeman, p. 141.

until we have registered the structure of this unit, we have not read them as emblems.²⁴²

In a wider context, Freeman also comments on the fusional nature of this collection of emblems, highlighting the debt Wither, and indeed all English emblem authors, owed to the continental tradition:

It is clear from any consideration of the development of emblem books on the Continent that their counterparts in England must be regarded as dependent on, rather than contributory to, the general European movement.²⁴³

Thus emblems are not only the sum of their parts, as Bath notes, but also the product of a fusion with continental traditions.

In Wither's case, his emblems are based around the plates created by De Passe for Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (1611 – 1613), a collection of two hundred emblems published in two volumes which I discuss in more detail in chapter four.²⁴⁴ Wither's *Collection* consists of four books of fifty emblems each which reproduce De Passe's plates in the same order as they appeared in volumes one and two of Rollenhagen's *Nucleus*. Books one and two of Wither, therefore, correspond to Rollenhagen's first volume, and Wither's books three and four correspond to Rollenhagen's second volume. To these plates, Wither added his own verses and two-line mottoes, replacing both Rollenhagen's concise distichs and the longer, anonymous French verses which appeared at the front of some editions of Rollenhagen's collection. It is uncertain whether Wither was familiar with the French

²⁴² Bath, *A Collection of Emblemes*, p. 2.

²⁴³ Freeman, p. 47. Peter Daly also underlines the debt English emblems owed to the Continent in, 'England and the Emblem: The Cultural Context of English Emblem Books', in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS, c. 1988), pp. 1-60.

²⁴⁴ This initial collection was followed by a Dutch version containing all two-hundred emblems, the *Nucleus Emblematum selectissimorum* (Arnhem: Jan Jansen, 1615-1617).

verses in Rollenhagen. Rollenhagen's original Latin mottoes which were integrated into the circular frame of the image were retained while the Latin verses were physically cut off. That Wither borrows the plates is not in itself surprising. Engravings were often reused due to a number of factors, not least cost, and, in both instances here, the set of plates was being used for Protestant ends. What is surprising is the format he chooses for the book as a whole: drawing upon another highly influential continental work, Wither embellishes upon the format of a book created by Jan David, a Jesuit author.

David's *Veridicus Christianus* appeared in Antwerp in 1601. One of the earliest Jesuit emblematic publications – Daly pinpoints it as the earliest emblem book by a Jesuit of the Flanders-Belgium province²⁴⁵ – it was also one of the most popular and influential, contributing largely, for example, to Herman Hugo's emblem books, the latter being, according to Daly, 'doubtless the most celebrated of all Jesuit emblem publications'.²⁴⁶ Hugo's *Pia desideria* in turn, alongside the *Typus Mundi*, formed the basis of Francis's Quarles's *Emblemes* (1635), the best-known and most popular of all English emblem books. The influence of David was thus not simply within Jesuit circles but can be traced across geographical and denominational divides.

If, as Daly claims, Hugo was 'read widely by Protestants and Catholics alike for over two centuries',²⁴⁷ then this may also be true of David's book which influenced Hugo.

²⁴⁵ Peter M. Daly, 'Emblematic Publications of the Jesuits of the Flanders Belgium Province to the year 1700', in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: selected papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August, 1996*, ed. by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 249-278 (p. 252).

²⁴⁶ Daly, 'England and the Emblem', p. 253. In this same article Daly supports this claim statistically: 'Herman Hugo's devotional emblems thus appeared in the seventeenth century in at least thirty-five printings in Latin, a further forty-two editions in Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish', p. 254.

²⁴⁷ Daly, 'Emblematic Publications of the Jesuits', pp. 249-278 (p. 263).

Dimler, when discussing the appeal of Hugo's emblems to a Protestant authorship for reworking, notes a 'sermon-like aspect' to the concluding prose meditations, which, he maintains:

Undoubtedly appealed to seventeenth-century Protestants for whom the sermon with its emphasis upon man's radical sinfulness and corruption of the heart as a preparation for conversion had such an attraction.²⁴⁸

This same tone is indeed apparent in David's emblems. These show up the many vices of humanity and explore the subsequent ramifications of virtuous and non-virtuous styles of living. Among the types of behaviour lauded, in line with many humanist themes of the time, are good parenting, friendship, respect for others (in particular parents), not speaking ill of people, and dying in a state of grace. By contrast, sins, such as pride, are criticised. Emblem X, for example, similarly to Sucquet's emblem, contrasts the fiery pits of hell with heaven.



Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1601), pp. 30-33.

The format of David's and Wither's books is what really sets them apart from other emblematic works. David included a lottery-spinner at the back of his book designed to incorporate an element of chance into the reading of the emblem book. In David's

²⁴⁸ Richard G. Dimler, 'Edmund Arwaker's Translation of the *Pia Desideria*: The Reception of a Continental Jesuit Emblem Book in Seventeenth-Century England', in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS Press, 1988), pp. 203-224 (p. 204).

book readers first choose one of the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John), represented traditionally with the faces of an ox, a lion, an eagle, and a man, before spinning the dial. The wheel is inscribed with numbers from one to one hundred. Upon stopping, four numbers are revealed, each behind a window upon which one of the evangelists is depicted. Readers match their chosen evangelist to the appropriate window, which, once opened, directs the reader to the appropriate emblem number. This introduces an element of arbitrariness which challenges modern preconceptions of reading. Other than coffee-table books which may be dipped into, modern reading generally adopts a sequential approach. Collections of emblems were for the most part not designed to be read sequentially but to be perused at one's will and David's system formalises this element of chance. Although some collections of emblems, such as Sucquet's *Chemin de la vie éternelle*, and Hugo's *Pia Desideria*, were grouped more or less loosely in a (sometimes progressive) thematic order, this was by no means the general rule. Following on from David and Wither, later seventeenth-century secular examples exist which include a spinner, testifying to the popularity of this format. Both *Les Graces divertissans* (1649) and *Le Palais de la Fortune* (1697) (although not emblem books), for example, adopt a very similar system requiring their reader to choose a question from a list and then spin a dial to direct him to the appropriate answer. These books, as the titles indicate were intended as light amusement offering 'advice' or answers to everyday queries. Indeed the reader is advised in *Le Palais de la Fortune* that, 'Les réponses qui s'y trouvent, ne doivent pas être crû comme des Articles de Foy'.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Bath traces the use of books for purposes of prediction and divination to the medieval *Sortes Virgilianae*. See *Speaking Pictures*, p. 7.

Wither did, Freeman points out, have some reservations about drawing on David's book, 'Of the propriety of his addition Wither had, it is true, some doubts and found it necessary to apologise for it at length'.²⁵⁰ Wither did not simply copy the format, however, but adapted and refined this system. Instead of the four evangelists he divided the two hundred plates from Rollenhagen's collection into four books and introduced a further spinner to fully optimise the random aspect of this initial choice. Wither divided De Passe's plates into four groups of fifty emblems. Each of these books he assigned to one of the four winds. Spinning the first dial points the reader to one of the four winds and, therefore, to one of the four corresponding books. The reader is then directed, upon spinning the second dial, to a number (between one and fifty-six),²⁵¹ which refers him to the appropriate 'Lotterie' (which spells out the personal significance of the emblem to the reader) and emblem within that book. With respect to the emblems themselves we thus find a two-line motto (based on Rollenhagen's short Latin verses), the image (including Rollenhagen's original Latin motto), Wither's thirty-line verse and, separate, this additional 'Lotterie'. This fourth section is an addition to the tripartite emblematic structure pioneered by Alciato and subsequently adopted by many of the early continental emblem authors. With respect to the added section Bath does note certain conformities with Ignatian meditation, both with respect to this additional section and a handful of emblems where 'the verses move beyond the two stages of *deixis* and interpretation to a final section of italicized prayer'.²⁵² This, Bath argues, echoes, to a certain extent, the three stages of Ignatian meditation, 'which moved from the *compositio loci* through the meditation proper in which the spiritual significance of the images was unfolded, to a final

²⁵⁰ Freeman, p. 143.

²⁵¹ Of course there are only fifty emblems in each book. There are additional 'lottery' verses for all numbers higher than fifty, all of which tell the reader that there is no suitable emblem, or that he must try again.

²⁵² Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 5.

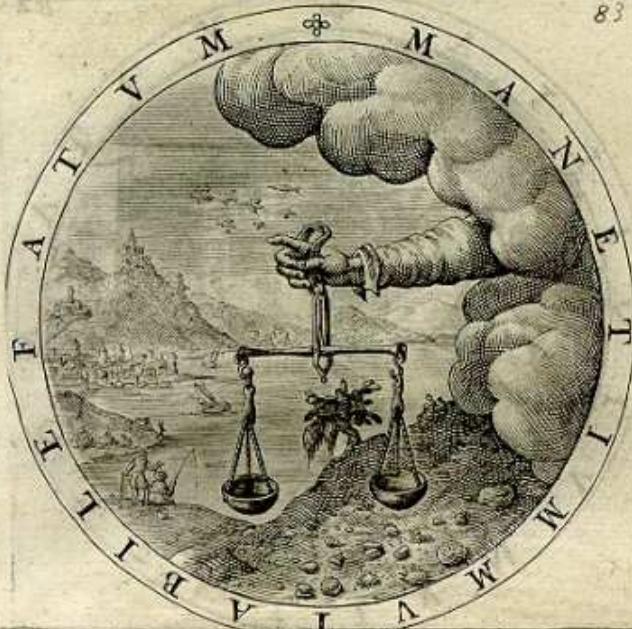
colloquy'.²⁵³ The similarities with Ignatian meditation aside, in this instance we find the additional verses included not for clarification but in order to spell out the personal significance of the emblem for the reader, a Protestant, and particularly Puritan concern.

Much has been made of Wither's Puritan status. Freeman in particular identifies an underlying Puritan ethic, claiming that 'the affinities of Wither's emblem book are, in fact, with the popular guides to godliness'.²⁵⁴ She argues that Puritan virtues, such as diligence, hard work and restraint, are praised repeatedly throughout. Other than this she gives no further details as to what she understands by Puritan. Puritans, as I explained in the first chapter, were a particularly radical branch of Protestants, heavily influenced by Calvinism, who were concerned with the 'purification' of the Anglican Church and the removal, in particular, of papal influence. While a Puritan audience may have readily adopted the themes of many of these emblems, the fact remains that they were initially conceived through the collaboration of an Anabaptist and a Lutheran. While Wither changes the emphasis somewhat in his new verses, the overall message of the emblems remains the same. Freeman's argument then, that these were specifically aimed to be Puritan in tone seems less convincing. Freeman also notes a 'frankly anti-Catholic doctrine',²⁵⁵ yet I would disagree. Other than a couple of exceptions, there are very few emblems which may be considered to be overtly Protestant and hardly any, which in my opinion could be considered to be explicitly anti-Catholic. Only one or two, for example, 'What ever God did fore-decree, Shall, without faile, fulfilled be', would appear to fit a Protestant doctrinal profile because of the possible interpretation of the notion of predestination:

²⁵³ Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 5.

²⁵⁴ Freeman, p. 142.

²⁵⁵ Freeman, p. 142.



ILLVSTR. XXXIII.

Book. 2

ME thinkes, that *Fate*, which *God* weighs forth to all,
I, by the *Figure* of this *Even-Skale*,
May partly shew; and, let my *Reader*, see
The state, of an *Immutable-decree*;
And, how it differs, from those *Destinies*,
Which carnall understandings, doe devise.

For, this implies, that ev'ry thing, *to-come*,
Was, by a steady, and, by equall *doome*,
Weigh'd out, by *Providence*; and, that, by *Grace*,
Each *thing*, each *person*, ev'ry *time*, and *place*,
Had thereunto, a *powre*, and *portion* given,
So proper to their *nature* (and, so even
To that just *measure*, which, aright became
The *Workings*, and, the *being*, of the same)
As, best might helpe the furthering of that *end*,
Which, *God's* eternall *wisedome*, doth intend.
And, though, I dare not be so bold, as they,
Who, of *God's* Closer, seeme to keep the *Key*;
(And, things, for absolute *Decrees*, declare,
Which, either *false*, or, but *Contingents* are)
Yet, in his *Will-reveal'd*, my *Reason*, sees
Thus much, of his *Immutable-decrees*:
That, him, a *Doome-eternall*, reprobateth,
Who scorneth *Mercie*; or, *Instruction* hateth,
Without *Repeming*: And, that, whensoever,
A *Sinner*, true *amendment*, shall indeavour;
Bewaile his *Wickednesse*, and, call for *grace*;
There shall be, for *Compassion*, time, and *place*.
And, this, I hold, a branch of that *Decree*,
Which, Men may say, shall never changed be.

George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 95.

Instead it is more reasonable to accept these emblems as conveying general Christian truths. For example, Wither, in ‘By many strokes that Worke is done, / Which cannot be perform’d at One’ (Wither book 1, p. 29; Rollenhagen vol. 1, p. 29) on the theme of perseverance, talks of a pathway:

[...]which doth leade
Above the highest things that Man can see;
And (though it be not known to all who tread
The common Tract) it may ascended be.

The idea of life as a journey is a universal one, finding its emblematic roots in the early secular work of Alciato. The image of life as a pathway to heaven finds its basis in the bible and is again commonly (though, of course, not exclusively) found in works by both Protestant and Catholic authors.²⁵⁶ Catholic author Antoine Sucquet, for example, as we have seen, takes this premise as a common motif running through each of the emblems in his work *Le chemin de la vie éternelle*. Georgette de Montenay also develops this imagery in her Calvinist emblems, eighty-nine and ninety-four, entitled ‘Desiderans dissolvi’,²⁵⁷ and ‘Facile Difficile’,²⁵⁸ respectively.



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 29.

²⁵⁶ See Proverbs 4. 14: ‘Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not into the way of evil men’. Unless otherwise stated, all analysis of emblems is my own.

²⁵⁷ Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567), p.89.

²⁵⁸ Montenay, p. 89.

Perhaps unusually for a Protestant work, where, as I have highlighted in earlier chapters, the visual element often plays a central role, Bath distinguishes a preference for text in Wither that, he argues, is underscored as early as the title page to the work where Wither claims to ‘quicken’, in other words to give life to the images, through his verses.²⁵⁹ This is reminiscent of Aneau’s words in his preface to *Imagination Poétique* (1552) where he too suggests that it is his words that bring the emblems to life, ‘de muettes & mortes [images] je les rendrais parlantes, & vives: leur inspirant ame, par vive Poëse’,²⁶⁰ implying that the images are the body of the emblem, and the words the soul. Freeman too highlights Wither’s disregard for the image commenting on his preference for text: ‘this interest in driving home the moral lesson far outweighs Wither’s interest in the meaning of the pictures’, and claiming that, ‘these he often treats in a highly cavalier fashion’.²⁶¹ This underestimation of the image, Bath argues, is equally apparent in the tendency of the verses to deictic comment. The verses generally begin by referring directly to the *pictura*, before drawing out the moral significance of the image and finally presenting the reader with a personal, practical application set out in the lottery. Rather than affirming the role of the image as an integral part of the emblematic unit, Bath argues the opposite in fact is true:

Paradoxically, such pointing suggests not the unity and closure of the emblematic unit, but precisely the separation of text from the picture on which it comments. Though the motive for such *deixis* was evidently to justify the consistency, validity and authority of the interpretation (or as Wither would have it, the ‘illustration’), such references are of a piece with those deictic comments in which Wither, instead of justifying the consistency of his epigram with his received *pictura*, openly admits the arbitrariness of his interpretation.

²⁵⁹ Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 4. This dismissal of the importance of the image, Bath comments, is reflective of a common prejudice against the visual arts in England at this time, p. 177.

²⁶⁰ Barthélemy Aneau, *Imagination poétique* (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1552), a3r.

²⁶¹ Freeman, p. 144.

Indeed, Bath highlights in Wither a general feeling of what he terms ‘a scepticism about the whole business of ascribing meanings to images’²⁶² and points to Wither’s preface where Wither explicitly expresses his indifference to the image:

To seeke out the Author of every particular *Emblem* were a labour without profit: and I have beeene so farre from endeavouring it, that, I have not so much cared to find out their meanings in any of these *Figures*; but, applied them, rather, to such purposes, as I could thinke of, at first sight; which upon a second view, I found might have beeene much bettered, if I could have spared time from other employments.

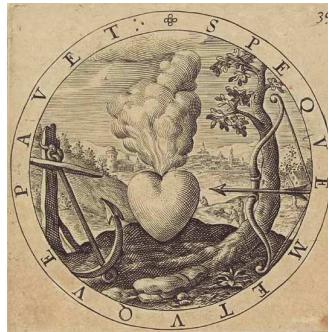
As I highlighted in chapter four this could not be more different from Rollenhagen’s approach. The French verse and especially the Latin *subscriptio* in Rollenhagen are very concise, so concise, in fact, that the full meaning cannot simply be gleaned from the text. Image and verse *must* be considered together thus uniting the emblematic unit. Indeed David’s emblems behave in a much more similar fashion to Rollenhagen’s than to Wither’s. Like Wither he comments on all the elements in the *pictura*, which like the image in Sucquet is labelled with a key, but pulls the unit together in so doing.

‘Where Strong Desires are entertain’d / The Heart’ twixt Hope, and Feare, is pain’d’ (Wither book 1, p. 39; Rollenhagen vol. 1, p. 39) is a prime example of Wither’s tendency to deictic comment. Both Wither’s longer verse and the French verse in Rollenhagen’s version, ‘Speque metuque pavet’ (‘It trembles with hope and fear’), begin in a similar way. Both comment on the torment of the heart; in Wither’s case on the ‘troubled Minde, ore-charged with Desires’, and in Rollenhagen’s version on ‘un cour bruslans d’amour’ as being caught between hope and fear. The concluding line of Rollenhagen’s distich similarly talks of love as being a mixture of hope and fear,

²⁶² Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 6.

‘Spes est sollicito plena timore venus’. This balance expressed in Rollenhagen echoes the arrangement of the central figures in the *pictura* which sees a smoking heart positioned between a poised bow and arrow and an anchor. The anchor as a symbol for hope is a commonplace rooted in the bible, in Hebrew 6. 19, ‘Which hope we have as an anchor to the soul’. Regarded since ancient times as a symbol of safety, the anchor was adopted by early Christians as a symbol of hope in future existence. Thus both versions begin by referring directly to the elements in the image. Not content with pointing to the details of the *pictura*, however, Wither focuses the attention of his reader on the picture to the extent that he describes the very mood of these elements, ascribing, for example, a sense of anticipation:

[...] a Bended Bow;
To which a Barbed-Arrow seemed fixt,
And, ready from the Strayned String to goe.



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 39.

While in Rollenhagen’s emblem it is left to the reader to make the connection between the imminent fear of ‘l’inconstance de fortune’ and the bow and arrow by noting the poised positioning of the bow and arrow, Wither spells this out for his reader, and does so in no half measures, noting, as we see in the above lines, not just that the arrow is ready to go, but really emphasising the imminence through vocabulary such as ‘bended’, and ‘strayned’. Indeed, Wither continues later

categorically to underline this relationship between fear and these elements, once again, directly referring to the *pictura*:

The bowe and Arrow, signifie that Feare,
Which doth, perpetually the Soule affright.

We interpret a similar sense of constant agitation in the first line of Rollenhagen's version which offers an image of the heart as being 'tousjours agité'.

But this is where the similarity between the two versions ends. Rollenhagen's heart burns, in both the Latin and the French, with love, not desire. While the nature of this love, is not explicitly explained, given the Lutheran context and the motif of the anchor, a Christian symbol, it seems logical to interpret this emblem as an expression of the turmoil of the Christian heart when afflicted by Christian love. The hope, then, we can assume is the hope of eternal life, and the fear, the fear of not becoming one of God's elect. The central sections of Wither's emblem, on the other hand, present us with a new, more general emphasis on the effects of desire. Yet the nature of this desire is less clear in Wither's emblem, which, rather than strictly discussing the Christian heart, seems to be discussing the effects of hope and fear on the human heart in a more general context:

That they which are with strong Desires opprest,
(Though good or bad the object of them be)

The nature of desire, which is all too often rejected out of hand in other emblematic examples as simply a cause of torment, or as a carnal distraction from religious love, is carefully weighed up in this emblem and Wither's lines lead us to believe that a certain amount of desire is in fact a necessary human requirement:

[...] when Desire is curbed,
The Soule becommeth sad, and ill-apayd.

This is the single greatest difference between this emblem and that of Rollenhagen. Both Rollenhagen and Wither's readers are convinced of the constant turmoil of the heart caught between hope and fear but Wither's emblem dips into the psychological when he concludes that both emotions are necessary in moderate doses for a well balanced heart. Underscoring the effects of hope and fear on the heart, Wither concludes that too much of the one results in despair, and, too much of the other carelessness. Thus, 'a Groundlesse-Hope', the reader learns, 'makes entrance for Despaire', while:

[...] Feare is otherwise the Sentinell
Which rouzeth us from dang'rous Carelesnesse.

The first person plural draws the reader in and it is at this point that Wither drives the moral of his emblem home to his reader, preparing him or her to be more receptive for the concluding lines, which, as in all his emblems, are indented, physically setting this moral conclusion apart from the rest of the verse:

Thus, Both are good: but, Both are Plagues to such,
Who either Fondly fear, or Hope too much.

This is confirmed in the accompanying personal verse in the first lottery which advises the reader that, with respect to fear and hope,

...thine Emblem, if thou please,
Instructs thee, how, to manage these.

While the majority of Wither's emblems follow the pattern outlined above of deictic comment, there are a few exceptions. In 'In death no difference is made, / Betweene the Sceptre, and the Spade' (Wither book 1, p. 48; Rollenhagen vol. 1, p. 48) for

example, we see a reversal in the stances adopted by Rollenhagen and Wither. Wither begins, having already introduced the concept of mortality in the lottery verse, not by referring directly to the image as is his wont, but by contemplating straight away the moral message of the emblem, in this case the equality of men in death:

Let no man be so sottish as to dreame,
Though all Men in their Death made equall are

Rollenhagen's emblem, conversely, refers, in both the Latin and the French, explicitly to the central figures in the image of the sceptre and mattock (pick) highlighting their similarity and concluding that they are 'en leur fin semblables'. This is a puzzling comparison and unconvincing conclusion whose meaning is not at all clear. It is not until the second line that the question of mortality is introduced with a reference to the 'Parques', shedding some light on these enigmatic opening words. The final lines of the French focus upon the skull that sits between the sceptre and the pick in the image. Stripped of its flesh (and we suppose that the worms in the foreground of the image have fulfilled this gruesome role), this skull serves as a chilling reminder of human mortality, of the anonymity of death, an idea echoed in the verse which, begging question over the origins of the skull, reminds the reader that regardless of social background all men resemble each other physically in death:

Car qui pourra dire, que ce crane hideux
Ait esté d'un paisan, ou d'un Roy genereux.



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 48

The sceptre, a symbol of power, and the pick, a symbol of labour, thus represent the opposing strata of humanity, the rich and poor. This idea of equality in death is reinforced in the background details of the image. The pick and sceptre form a cross in the centre of the image reminiscent of the crossed bones usually pictured beneath a human skull. In the direction the pick points a pauper's funeral is portrayed: a procession carries a body on a stretcher behind a church. Following the direction in which the sceptre points, we see an ornate tomb sitting close beside the church. This visually reinforces the link between the physical attributes of social standing and death. Although the manners of burial are still distinct these figures are all united in the central, disturbing, classless figure of the human skull which the final lines of the French verse confirm.

Although Rollenhagen comments explicitly on aspects of the image, the meaning is far from immediately obvious and has to be teased out by the reader through careful reading and contemplation. Wither, on the other, hand, immediately introduces the idea of equality in death in the opening lines of his verse, agreeing with Rollenhagen's emblem that, 'all Men in their Death made equall are' in just the second line. The moral implications of this are also made much clearer in Wither's emblem: great men are warned to be vigilant in their behaviour, to adopt, 'What thoughts and deeds, to him most proper be', for they are not exempt from the common fate of man:

Since, nor Wealth, nor Title, can procure him
Exemption from the Doomes of other Men.

The motivation for this vigilance, the reader assumes, is spiritual reward (and conversely punishment) although this is not explicitly mentioned. For the poor in Wither's version, death is held up as a reward, an equalising force that will finally put an end to their earthly suffering.

Although on the same theme, we see a clear difference in approach and emphasis here. Rollenhagen message is certainly situated in a Christian context with the inclusion of the church and the crucifix and yet he leaves this as an undercurrent. He makes no explicit mention of Christian concerns associated with death and instead refers almost to the Dance of Death tradition where the deceased from all walks of life are often depicted hand in hand. Wither, on the other hand, has deviated to some extent from his usual deictic style and yet has still produced an emblem of greater complexity which almost contradicts that of Rollenhagen, underlining, as it does, divine redemption and damnation.

Similarly, Wither's lottery for 'Time is a fading-flowre that's found / Within Eternities wide round' (Wither book 2, p. 102; Rollenhagen vol. 1, p. 90) begins by introducing the topic of the emblem by contrasting the eternal and finite. While the French verse in Rollenhagen's version begins by directly referring to the central motif of the flower, likening, with imagery reminiscent of Ronsard, the fading bloom in the evening to the ageing human body, Wither, on the other hand, deviates from his usual pattern, and, other than in the motto and the very end of the verse, makes little direct reference to the image at all. Instead, he begins by giving the five different terms that can be applied to time ('eternitie', 'beginning', 'time', 'end' and 'everlasting') and a theoretical explanation of the nature of each.



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 102.

If Rollenhagen's flower symbolically represents the body, then the coiled serpent depicts the soul with its 'aeternel cours'. Rollenhagen's text, here in Greek, also draws this comparison underlining this dual aspect to man. This, the reader supposes, is the promise of eternal life and indeed the following lines confirm this interpretation. Just as the flower withers, the body ages then dies. The body, and its decline are presented as immaterial, as being merely 'choses passageres', and this transient aspect is highlighted all the more clearly in face of the immortality, the 'aeternel cours', afforded by the soul. The final lines of the verse end on an openly didactic note, the first person plural 'devons' pulling the reader in and urging him to despise worldly things and instead to pass 'ceste vie en toute saincteté' in preparation for eternal life.

Wither agrees with Rollenhagen with respect to the interpretation of the flower, noting that it is a 'Type, of Transitory things', but while both draw on the coiled serpent, a symbol found in Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, the interpretations of this vary somewhat. Rollenhagen offers this coiled reptile to his reader as a symbol for the eternal nature of the soul while Wither, although retaining the idea of eternity symbolised by the unbroken circle, instead concentrates on the cyclical nature of time:

The Circled-snake, Eternitie declares;
Within whose Round, each fading Creature springs.

It is the oxymoronic pairing of ‘fading’ and ‘springs’ with the notion of creation that conveys the idea of regeneration. The cyclical motion of life and death gives hope ensuring that this emblem ends upon a positive note.

For the most part, as Bath notes, Wither’s mottoes are based on Rollenhagen’s Latin verses.²⁶³ The longer verses too, as I have shown in my consideration of the specific examples above, generally follow the overall sense of Rollenhagen’s emblems quite closely and yet function in a very different way allowing Wither often to introduce an added layer of complexity. There are, however, some exceptions, some instances where the emphasis is perhaps slightly different, or where Wither deviates from Rollenhagen’s moral to place his own interpretation upon an emblem. A comparison of these is worthwhile: the changes may reflect differences in approach or shed light on different theological standpoints.

Emblem sixty-one, appearing under the motto ‘In silentio et spe’ (In silence and in hope)²⁶⁴ in Rollenhagen (vol. 1, p. 61), and ‘They that in Hope, and Silence, live / The best Contentment may achieve’ in Wither (book 2, p. 73), is one such example. The *pictura* features a man holding a book in one hand and resting the other on an anchor. His mouth is padlocked shut and the French verse comments on this. The lottery verse in Wither once again introduces the main concepts developed in the longer verse. There is no overt Christian significance in this initial short verse which instead links silence with safety by contrasting this with the dangers of garrulousness and so gives no real indication of the religious significance of this emblem.

²⁶³ Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 4.

²⁶⁴ Wither book two, emblem eleven.



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 73.

Rollenhagen urges his reader, on the other hand, in the final line, to have hope and trust in God, ‘Qu’il faut sans murmurer esperer constamment’. Similarly the Latin links silence with piety and hope.²⁶⁵ Piecing together information from the verse, the significance of the anchor (hope), and the padlock (sans murmurer) soon become clear while the significance of the book is not spelled out. It is likely, especially given Rollenhagen’s Protestant authorship, that the book represents the bible, the Word of God, which, when considered alongside the praying figure in the background we can assume is an exhortation to the reader to silently contemplate the Word of God and to have faith in it.

One detail does seem incongruous however: the figure in the image is dressed in monastic garb and leads us to question why Rollenhagen, a Lutheran author, would depict a member of the Catholic clergy. This is once again evidence of the light-hearted vein that runs through many of Rollenhagen’s emblems. On the one hand it pays tribute to the monastic vows of silence, teasingly portraying the monk with lips fastened by a padlock, while on the other it convincingly conveys the Protestant belief in the supremacy of the Word without the need for human gloss, something for which,

²⁶⁵ ‘Ornant mortales tacitura Sanctos,
Spes silet exspectans, danda brabea, pii’.

as I have underlined, many Protestants criticised the Catholic Church. There is a certain parallel with Alciato's 'In silentium' (1536) which compounds this light-hearted humour of this emblem.²⁶⁶ Commenting that when an ignorant man keeps his counsel 'il est bien pareil au scavant', he concludes that silence is the best policy. Readers familiar with Alciato could not have failed to link these two emblems and cheekily see in the monk depicted in Rollenhagen's emblem with his mouth padlocked shut the embodiment of Alciato's advice to the ignorant!

Wither, too, promotes quiet contemplation. Interestingly, he interprets the book, not as a bible, but as a warning, 'to retaine/ thy thoughts within the compasse of thy head', but broadens the scope of this warning to encompass the wider social context. Rather than simply advocating quiet contemplation of religious matters, Wither adopts a more serious tone in this emblem, actively warns against speaking out against 'those wrongs, and sufferings, which attend thine age'. We can interpret here a reference to the religious turbulence and intolerance of the early-modern period. Oppression, Wither warns, for one's own safety, is not something to be fought against:

For, whensoere Opression growth rife,
Obscureness, is more safe than Eminence;
Hee, that then keepes his Tongue, may keepe his Life

While on the surface both emblems promote silence and encourage the reader to have faith and hope in God, Wither develops this theme further to give it immediate contemporary significance.

Wither adopts a quite different emphasis in approach to 'For that by which I somewhat am, / The cause of my Destruction came' which appeared in Rollenhagen

²⁶⁶ Andreas Alciato, *Livret des emblemes* (Paris: Wechel, 1536), a8v.

with the motto ‘Qui me alit, me extinguit’ (‘He who nourishes me, extinguishes me’) (Wither book 2, p. 68; Rollenhagen vol. 1, p. 56). Rollenhagen’s version concentrates solely on the theme of secular love. A cherubic head in the image blows wind on a burning torch and both emblems begin by referring to this, underlining the fact that although the wind is necessary for the spark to alight, so too can over-blowing extinguish the flame. Rollenhagen then proceeds by likening this to love, suggesting to the reader that just as the wind can extinguish that which it ignites, so too does love destroy what it creates:

Ainsi l’Amour tousjours d’inconstance le maistre
Cruel il faict mourir ce qu’il avoit faict naistre.

Indeed, the Latin distich condemns love even more strongly ending by referring to love as an enemy, ‘hostis Amor’.



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 68.

The courting couples being shot at by Cupid in the background confirm that this emblem focuses on the dangers of profane love. While there is no explicit suggestion made to the reader in the verse of the superiority of divine love, the church featured way back in the distance in the *pictura* is perhaps a subtle, visual reminder of this idea.

Wither, on the other hand, concentrates not solely on the theme of love, but on the adverse effects of excess in general, an idea which is once again initially introduced in the lottery. The embers are ‘kindly kindled by a gentle blast’ but are blown out by ‘the self same wind, becoming over strong’. So too, the reader is told are, ‘a Thousand other things / As soon as they the golden Meane exceed’. While, like Rollenhagen, Wither also comments on love, perhaps more clearly when he comments,

But when their Love is overgrown with passion,
It overthrows their happiness, agen.

He also gives the example of monetary wealth, building upon the biblical idea of ‘blessed are the poor’²⁶⁷ giving his reader to understand the spiritual dangers associated with too much money. The poor, he notes are ‘charitable’ but, ‘becoming rich, hard-hearted grow to be’. Wither concludes by summarising the moral of the emblem:

For, that which gives our Pleasures nourishment,
Is oft the poyson of our best content.’

These lines once again confirm the wider scope of this emblem that comments on excess in general.

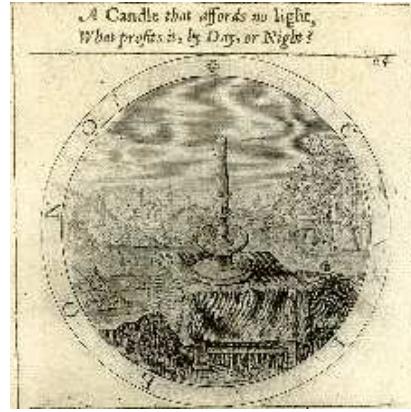
It is not, however, always through the verse that Wither succeeds in introducing changes to Rollenhagen’s emblems. By changing the image of emblem sixty-four slightly, Wither successfully manages to reinterpret Rollenhagen’s emblem which features a fly buzzing near the flame of a burning candle (a common-place symbol in emblems) (Wither book 2, p. 76; Rollenhagen vol. 1, p. 64). Rollenhagen’s emblem is on the theme of the pain of desire: The fly attracted to the flame burns itself in its

²⁶⁷ Luke 6. 20: ‘Then he looked at his disciples and said ‘Blessed are the poor for yours is the Kingdom of God.’

wish to be near the flame and this idea is visually translated into human terms in the background figures of the rider courting a woman.



Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611), p. 64



George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635), p. 76.

Wither has had the burning flame of the candle and the fly removed from the plate used in Rollenhagen, and takes the unlit candle as the focus of his verse.²⁶⁸ ‘A Candle that affords no light, what profits it by day or night?’ asks the motto, underlining the worthlessness of an unlit candle in the dark. He continues in the verse to talk of talents, concluding that those who are talented and use their talent well are like bright candles in the dark

Some, both by gifts of Nature, and of Grace,
Are so prepared, that, they might be fit
To stand as Lights, in profitable place;

The analogy with candles is continued throughout the verse, Wither expressing the idea of talent in terms of light, concluding that the light of the most talented ‘may much the brighter shine’. Similarly he likens talented people in company to the dazzling light given of candles, underlining the elevated position, in so doing, suggesting that such people illuminate and brighten those around them

²⁶⁸ The plate used in Rollenhagen is modified here.

And ev'n as Lampes, or Candles, on a Table,
(Or, fixt on golden Candlesticks, on high)
To light Assemblies, Great and Honourable,
They, oft, have (also) place of Dignitie.

These talents, Wither attributes to the glory of God. Talented people are blessed by the grace of God, and, just as the candle illuminates that which is around it, so too do these talented people. The light they bring is not simply from an artistic perspective however. Illuminated with the grace of God, they serve as an example, as a guiding light on earth to those around them of God's grace:

By means of which, their Splendor might become
His praise, who those high favours did bequeath:
They might increase the light of Christendome,
And make them see, who sit in shades of Death.

The preference for text which Bath notes in Wither is all the more apparent in this emblem. While 'butchered' is perhaps too strong a term, the image is honed to fit in with his verse, and as such serves as little more than an illustration. The extent to which authors and engravers collaborated over the relationship between text and image is often far from known, but it is generally a defining characteristic of an emblem that the image should contribute in some way to the overall message of the emblem. This is not the case here. Indeed, the background details of the courting couple, which so effectively present the human significance of Rollenhagen's emblem, are ignored here. True to form, Wither makes no explicit reference to these background details and the significance of these is far from clear in the new context of setting an example. They quite simply do not fit and Wither's disregard for these is plain. It is possible that Wither was playing on the fact that this was a well-known image. His refutation of the usual, expected interpretations would thus render his interpretation all the more striking.

* * *

What has been learned in this analysis of Wither's emblems? Although for the most part Wither follows the model Bath sets out of deictic comment, there are a few exceptions. In emblem forty-eight, on the equality of death, for example, Wither makes little reference to the image and successfully produces complex emblems in which the moral is more fully developed than in Rollenhagen's version. Wither's emblems (as do Rollenhagen's) carry a general Christian message on the whole but again, there are a few exceptions where Wither changes the emphasis to give more contemporary significance. Other than slight differences in interpretation Wither also turns his attention to altering the image of one emblem in order to be able to make the picture fit a very different interpretation suggesting a stronger emphasis being placed on text. Similarly, the initial, pictureless lottery verses introduce the key concepts which the longer verse will expand upon and act as a *mise en bouche* for what is to come. However, for all that he may dismiss, as Bath points out, the importance of the image, this does seem to point to an awareness that the relationship between text and image is not always as arbitrary as Wither might suggest in his preface. Consider once again Aneau's words in his preface where he clearly attributes more worth to text, and yet the images are not mere illustrations, they do convey symbolic meaning upon which the text elucidates (although at times some *picturae* in Aneau seem to have been misinterpreted).²⁶⁹ On the whole a decided leaning towards the text can be traced in Wither. The image for the most part exists as an illustration of the verse. Secondary details are ignored. These are needed to fully understand Rollenhagen's emblems but

²⁶⁹ Barthélemy Aneau, *Imaginations poétiques*, (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1552), aiiiv-aiiir.

there is so much detail in Wither's, somewhat repetitive, verses that these pass unnoticed. Indeed the lengthy verses in Wither's emblems mean that the enigmatic element to Rollenhagen's emblems that draws the reader in is lost. Rollenhagen's verses may be 'meane' as Wither declares, but they force the reader to consider text and image together. The wordier approach of Wither, paradoxically reminiscent of Catholic emblems, aims, instead, for clarity. What we have in Wither's *Collection* is an amalgamation of influences and styles. Wither pulls together a Lutheran visual element (and let us not forget that the plates are by De Passe, an Anabaptist) to which he adds his own interpretations and presents this in what was originally a Jesuit format by including the spinner of David's book. In this way, Wither's *Collection* becomes a microcosm of the form itself. Borrowing elements from other emblem books points not only to a denominational crossover but to the transcendence of geographical boundaries as Wither draws on continental sources. Although a certain amount of overlap between Protestant and Catholic emblematic styles has been noted in previous chapters, in this instance Wither goes one step further and deliberately adopts a Jesuit innovation. At a time when religious differences had torn the Church apart and caused, according to some historians such as Eisenstein, an irreparable rift in contemporary culture this inter-denominational fusion might seem unexpected to say the least. The fusional aspect to this collection of emblems that blends Lutheran, Jesuit and Puritan influences further means that the importance of this work should not be underestimated.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ For a general overview of the spread of the emblem genre across Europe see Freeman, pp. 44-45. For a more specific look at the beginnings of the emblem tradition in England see Freeman, pp. 51-55.

Part Two Afterword

What conclusions can be drawn regarding the three works by Rollenhagen, Berthod and Wither that I have examined in the previous three chapters? The analysis of these individual works largely supports the conclusions regarding Catholic and Protestant approaches to manipulation of text and image drawn in the first section of this study.

The enigmatic style of Rollenhagen's emblems, for example, is typical of the pattern noted in the Protestant examples examined in the previous section. The images are often complex and the verses sparse, forcing the reader to puzzle out the meaning on his/her own by flitting between text and image. While the Latin distichs are situated immediately below the *picturae*, the French translations of the Latin distichs are physically separated from the Latin and *pictura*: this interrupts the process of reading causing the reader to flick back and forwards from image to text. The many classical references, although often made somewhat clearer in the vernacular French, are for the most part unexplained, and, therefore, require some intellectual input from the reader. The reader is thus central in the emblematic process providing the mental glue that fuses all the elements together. Similarly, just as the reader must dot constantly between picture and text within an individual emblem by Rollenhagen, so too must he/she jump between emblems in this disparate and unorganised volume. There is no sequential organisation leading the reader from one notion to the next, nor is there any kind of helpful division of the volumes. These collections are designed to be dipped into and the reader must work out the significance of each emblem independently of

the previous or the next. Thus the onus is very much placed upon the individual in the process of reading both individual emblems and the collection as a whole.

As in the Catholic examples examined in the previous section, the role of the reader is diminished in Berthod's emblems. These, following the structure of the *Spiritual Exercises*, guide the reader through the process of deciphering the emblem. The role of the image is equally reduced; it fulfils the role of the *compositio loci*, and serves more as an initial point of focus than as a puzzle for the reader to figure out. That is not to say that the reader does not have a role to play. As in the Protestant emblems, it is the reader who provides the centre for the fusion of all of the parts of the emblem. It is the reader who must mentally form these into a whole. What is different is the extent to which he or she is involved in this process. The *picturae* are less symbolic and more descriptive and the step-by-step reasoning of the text aims above all for clarity so that the necessity to flit constantly between text and image noted in the Protestant examples is greatly reduced.

A similar approach can be identified in Berthod's collection as a whole. There is a helpful initial table of contents which, summarising the topic of each emblem, gives the reader a taster of what is to come. While there is no clear linear progression from one emblem to the next, these, nevertheless, are grouped loosely according to theme and the books are divided into two parts demonstrating the organisational influence of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The emblems in part one, corresponding to the 'voie purgative', focus on the sinful nature of man, contrasting this with the virtues that should be acquired. The second part, which tackles similar notions to the 'voie unitive', examines the outcome of such a sinful nature and contrasts this with the

Christian's hope of union with Christ. What this type of mass grouping achieves is a kind of accumulative effect, rather like Berthod's technique of repetition and layering of notions within individual emblems, which targets the reader emotionally. It is this difference in aim which really sets the Protestant and Catholic emblem apart. The insistence upon sin in the first part, for example, has the result of undermining the reader and preparing him/her emotionally to be receptive to the advice in the following section which concentrates on the hopes of the Christian. As such, although there is no clear sequential development from one emblem to the next within each section, there is progression from one section to the next. The reader is led emotionally, is guided from one *point* to the next and from one *partie* to the next. The role of the reader, therefore, is diminished in both the process of reading individual emblems and the book as a whole.

What Wither offers is almost a hybrid form of these two emblematic styles. His *A Collection of Emblemes* functions as an amalgamation of emblematic forms both Protestant and Catholic. Although the plates were the same as those used in Rollenhagen's collection (apart from the one Wither changed) the text and image relationship functions in a different way. It is the inclusion of the spinner which changes the way in which these emblems are read. These are no longer tight units of text and image: the initial 'lottery' verse to which the reader is first guided prepares the reader for what is to come thereby reducing the interplay between the verse 'proper' and the *pictura*.. The spinner element, furthermore, formalises the element of chance: it is no longer the reader who guides his choices in reading and this further acts to undermine the role of the reader. The preference for text which is suggested in the inclusion of the 'lottery' verses is further demonstrated in the longer verses which,

with their tendency to deictic comment, paradoxically further undermine the role of the visual. Despite using the same plates as Rollenhagen, therefore, Wither, through the adoption of a Jesuit format, has created a very different type of emblem.

That there is a clear difference in emblematic style between the books of Rollenhagen and Berthod is undeniable, both in terms of structure of the individual emblems, and the organisation of the books as a whole. There is, however, clearly also a great deal of overlap with respect to thematic content and so it would appear that the greatest difference is really one of presentation. This is confirmed in our analysis of Wither who adapts and combines these two styles, seriously undermining in the process the claims of historians, such as Eisenstein, that Protestant and Catholic literary styles at this time were quite distinct.

Conclusion

This study was undertaken with an awareness of the context in which emblems were written, a context in which the face of Christianity was, unarguably, irrevocably changed. Although the extent to which the Reformation marked all aspects of early-modern culture is an area of continuing study, contemporary popular thought inevitably focuses on the rift between the established Church and the rise of Protestantism, on areas of distinction rather than similarity, and assumes the emergence of two very distinct literary styles among Protestants and Catholics.

Given that emblems expressed popular contemporary thought, and the often bloody political climate in which they were produced, this is certainly what I expected to find. Protestant emblems, I assumed, would be in direct opposition to Catholic emblems, would have a separate and clear doctrinal agenda and would both express and represent this visually in a distinct way. This, I have discovered, significantly overthrowing popular misconceptions, is far from being the case. Not only were Protestant and Catholic emblems theologically often very close in standpoint, but, in spite of the Protestant distrust of images, the iconography used to express these ideas was also very similar.

This is not to say, of course, that there are never obvious, or expected areas of specificity. Some emblems, and indeed collections, purposefully focus on topics or areas of doctrine that set them apart; Le Jay's *Triomphe de la religion*, is a case in point. Other authors set the tone of a volume by expressing their religious convictions

or criticisms explicitly in a foreword or preface. Such is the case with Mello who takes the opportunity at the beginning of his collection to condemn iconoclasts. But this expression of doctrinal preference remains, for the most part, understated, often an unconscious rather than deliberate focus. The crucifix featured in Berthod's 'De la mort des justes', for example, as we have seen, appears not a provocative symbol intended to fly the flag for Catholicism but rather the result of an un-thinking natural reflex. To include a different type of cross would betray a more conscious deliberation. While the inclusion of this element alongside the other elements, such as the candles, does evoke the Catholic mass, this is secondary to the moral of the emblem, which, in line with Christian teaching across the spectrum, offers comfort to those who die in a state of righteousness.

Similarly, the focus that is placed on books in many of the Protestant examples is not indicative of a militant attempt to promote personal study of the Scriptures (something obviously not immediately associated with Catholicism) but rather of an unconscious appreciation of the power of the Word. In Montenay's 'Et usque ad nubes veritas tua', for example, there is no explicit mention made of the book in the *pictura*, or the Christian's duty to read this; she concentrates, instead, on expressing the power of God's Word to fight evil.

Often what is omitted from emblems can be just as significant in shaping the message of an emblem as what is included. In the first emblem of his collection, for example, as we have seen, Bèze broaches the theme of eternal life, but does so in a neutral fashion by not including references to faith and grace which would have otherwise situated this emblem firmly upon Protestant ground.

Similarly, Berthod, in *Fortitudo simplicis via domini*, suggests the notion of sacrifice, a concept more readily associated with Catholicism than with Protestantism, but at no point expresses this explicitly. The result is that this idea is awakened in the mind of a reader already predisposed to this interpretation rather than creating a manifesto for this aspect of Catholic doctrine.

These are not isolated examples; indeed, the vast majority of such expressions of doctrinally specific notions are a natural manifestation of personal faith rather than a deliberate effort to promote or defend beliefs. Rather than deliberately making provocative messages explicit, many authors instead, as in the examples above, leave the drawing of doctrinally specific interpretations up to their reader.

Furthermore, the similarities between Protestant and Catholic emblems far outnumber these incidental instances of difference. Religious emblems from both camps cover a wide range of themes and, as we have seen, particularly in chapters two and three, there is an enormous amount of overlap in the choice of topic they opt to cover. Both Bèze (emblem one) and Sucquet (emblem XVII), for example, explore the notion of infinity and the afterlife, while the emblems of Baudoin ('De la vigilence'), Boissard ('A vie & a mort sont les lettres utiles'), Rollenhagen ('Vita mortalium') and Friedrich ('Constante patience surmonte tout') are all concerned with the here and now and how to pass the time on earth. Virtually no area remains untouched and we find emblems by both denominations focusing on the transience of life, the hope of eternal life, the pursuit of virtue, good versus evil, penitence and obedience to God, among others.

The acute awareness of individual mortality that began to colour individual consciousness during this time, for example, is echoed in the large number of emblems, both Protestant and Catholic, which focus on the theme of time. Virtually every aspect of time is explored in these emblems, which, ultimately, are all concerned with human mortality. Both Protestant Rollenhagen and Catholic Sucquet, for example, explore the two different fates that await man in ‘*Via mortalium vigilia*’ and emblem XVII respectively. The methods suggested are different (study for Rollenhagen and piety for Sucquet) yet these emblems remain close in standpoint; both highlight the choice man has in determining this fate.

Furthermore we even find versions of the same emblem by Protestant and Catholic authors. Such is the case with Hugo and Quarles’s versions of *Anima crying*. The image is almost identical in both and both adopt the same passage from Job. The addition of the hourglass in Quarles’s emblem may shift the focus more towards the visual in his emblem, and the tone may be somewhat different, yet overall the two emblems in fact do not deviate much in terms of the message they express.

While conscious reworkings of the same emblem might be less common, there are several examples, not only upon the same theme, but which also betray similarities in theological thinking. Protestant Montenay and Catholic Berthod, for example, produce emblems in which such parallels can be seen. In ‘*Illuminabuntur corda vestra*’, Berthod, like Montenay in ‘*Surge illucescit tibi Christus*’, highlights the importance of faith. The overall tone of his emblem may be more hopeful than that of Montenay but the theological emphasis is roughly the same. Not only do Protestant

and Catholic emblem authors often explore the same themes, therefore, but, significantly, they often adopt approaches which are theologically very close in standpoint.

Furthermore, the myth that Protestant and Catholic emblems should be opposed in theme or content is further shattered with the discovery that many of the notions expressed in religious emblems are by no means exclusive to one particular branch of Christianity. Not only, therefore, do Protestants and Catholics cover many common, what we might term ‘doctrinally-neutral’, themes but there are also many examples of authors exploring ideas we might more strongly associate with an author of different doctrinal leanings.

Rollenhagen, for example, appears at times to stray into what we might consider Catholic theological territory. The great number of emblems in both volumes of the *Nucleus* which promote works, or actions of some kind in the pursuit of virtue (such as ‘Vivitur ingenio’) would seem to suggest some affiliation with the Catholic emphasis on actions in the quest for grace. It is unlikely, however, that this is Rollenhagen’s aim for he is careful to highlight the importance of faith in the process of salvation in several other emblems in the collection. What the focus on physical effort does indicate is that outwith the sphere of grace and salvation, the notion of personal action is equally as suited to a Protestant as a Catholic context.

What is also evident is the extent to which religious emblems build on concepts previously expressed in ‘secular’, or non-specifically religious emblems. Given that these ‘secular’ emblems were very often based on classical, non-biblical, and at times

profane sources, it is initially surprising to find that consciously religious emblems adopt both these themes and motifs as a point of departure. Boissard and Junius, for example, both adopt the motif of a fly at a candle to very different ends in ‘Temerité dangereuse’ and ‘Tourment de franc amour’ respectively. This is significant for two reasons; firstly it reveals that Protestants and Catholics were often drawing inspiration from the same sources and, secondly, it also points to the pervasiveness of Christian thought at this time, suggesting that in fact ‘secular’ is not an appropriate term. The underlying religious thinking of Corrozet’s emblem on time, ‘Le Temps’, for example, is clear. Although not appearing in what we would consider to be a collection of specifically, or deliberately, religious emblems, Corrozet’s emblem is, nevertheless, imbued with Christian thinking. The allusion to Job and the ultimate power attributed to God prevent this emblem being read in an entirely secular context.

Given the debate over the image that raged throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is it particularly surprising to find, as in the examples of Junius and Boissard above, that the motifs used in Protestant and Catholic emblems are also often very similar. Symbols of *vanitas*, for example the hourglass, scythe, or sundial, appear in the *picturae* of both Protestant and Catholic emblems serving as a reminder of human mortality. Similarly the motifs used to express God’s grace, a central tenet in all branches of Christianity, are on the whole the same in Protestant and Catholic emblems and feature most prominently candles and suns. The sunburst in Rollenhagen’s emblem ‘Cor rectum inquirit scientiam’ is found again, for example, in the twelfth emblem in Sucquet’s collection while Montenay and Mello both feature Christ illuminating the Christian, albeit with a candle in Montenay’s emblem and a lantern in Mello’s.

While the areas of overlap are, often surprisingly, many, Protestant and Catholic emblems, despite the thematic and visual similarities, remain distinct. It is through the manipulation of the emblem form and the varying degrees of importance attached to the textual and visual elements that this is achieved. Greater emphasis, for example, is placed on the visual aspect of Protestant emblems. The composition of Protestant iconography tends, on the whole, to be more symbolic, or abstract while many of the Catholic emblems, by contrast, situate the central motif in a realistic, descriptive, and importantly, more accessible, background. Secondary details in such examples serve no other purpose than to provide a context or set the scene. The ‘background’ details, on the other hand, of Protestant emblems, as I have demonstrated, play an active role and often contribute to the overall message of the emblem either by reinforcing this or adding to it in some way. The background figures of the guided ships in ‘Cor rectum inquirit scientiam’, by Rollenhagen, and the pick and shovel of Montenay’s ‘Surge illucescit tibi Christus’, do not simply add character, for example, but actively encourage a second level of interpretation.

The biggest difference, however, is the different style of reading that these approaches demand of the reader. The reader is key in deciphering the Protestant emblem: he or she must piece together visual clues from the, often complex, *pictura* and these must be carefully considered alongside the often concise and elliptical text. The Protestant emblem is a puzzle to which the reader brings his or her existing cultural knowledge. Often, for example, as we have seen, biblical allusions in Montenay’s emblems are left un-signposted and the reader must draw on his or her bank of experience in identifying these. Similarly, as in Rollenhagen’s emblem above, the significance of

details such as the boats is not always spelled out to the reader. The reader must move constantly between text and image, and actively tease out the meaning from the combination of textual and visual clues, a quite different style of reading to the linear approach to which we are, traditionally at least, used today.

The interplay between text and image works differently in the Catholic emblem which often demonstrates a preference for text. The reader here adopts a more passive role. Rather than requiring a close reading, the image serves instead as initial point of focus that engages the reader emotionally, preparing him or her for the subsequent message expressed in the text, which, guiding the reader, tends to aim for clarity rather than enigma. Sucquet, for example, leaves little to the independent interpretation of the reader and provides an explanatory key. Berthod, too, as we have seen, prefers to guide his reader's interpretation and adopts a step-by-step approach, building on each 'point' and relying heavily on repetition to drive the message home. The role of the image is thus reduced, as is the role of the reader whose input is required primarily on an emotional rather than an intellectual level.

In general terms, then, it is the form of the emblem, therefore, that allows Protestant and Catholic authors some individuality of expression. Both are largely concerned with the same issues; it is the different ways by which they engage their readers that distances them.

However, these conclusions are by no means universal and the styles of reading noted above are far from always being standard or, indeed, distinct patterns. While the Protestant emblem may generally demand more of its reader, the Catholic emblem

nevertheless also requires some input. The extent to which the individual emblem may be puzzling or enigmatic is perhaps reduced, but the Catholic emblem nevertheless still requires the reader to provide the mental glue and fuse the parts into a cohesive whole. The Catholic Sucquet, for example, engages his reader more actively than perhaps some of his Catholic counterparts do. Similarly, although a tendency towards engaging the reader on an emotional level has been particularly noted in the Catholic examples, this does not mean, of course, that Protestant emblems were devoid of emotion. Indeed, many of the themes covered by both denominations, such as human mortality, are necessarily emotive subjects. Quarles's adaptation of Hugo's emblem in which a crying figure stands beside a sundial, for example, is clear evidence of this. The crying figure instantly awakens sympathy and so elicits an emotional response from the reader.

While it is by no means always the case, the structure of whole volumes, too, echoes to some extent the pattern identified in individual Protestant and Catholic emblems. The active, fluid, process of reading identified in the Protestant emblem is often an equally valid approach to reading the Protestant emblem book. The reader is free to devise his or her own reading plan unaided by thematic organisation on the part of the author. The step by step guidance of the Catholic emblem, evocative of the guidance demonstrated in Catholic meditational practice, is perhaps not as formalised in the Catholic emblem book, yet, some thematic arrangement is often evident, aiding the reader in his or her interpretation by providing context. Often, as in the case of Berthod, for example, these themes echo the organisation of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The effects of this are two-fold: on the one hand this provides a context for the reader

to build on and, consequently, allows for a more persuasive argument to be developed.

While these differences would appear to be motivated by the differences in meditational practices, we should beware of being over-zealous in drawing such distinctions. Many of the examples here reflect the Protestant meditational aim of application to the self by involving the reader actively in the process of deciphering the emblem. Similarly, self-projection (encouraged by Catholic meditation) is encouraged in the majority of the Catholic emblems which target the individual on an emotional level. And yet not all the examples examined here conform to these patterns. Wither, for example, adheres to neither of these patterns and in fact combines these two approaches. He presents Protestant images (by De Passe) in a Jesuit format (borrowed from David) and in so doing alters the way in which the emblems are read. Despite the complexity of De Passe's plates, Wither's tendency to deictic comment undermines the impact of these as does the inclusion of the initial lottery verses. These introduce the topic of the emblem and whet the reader's appetite, as it were. Not only does this point to a preference for text, similar to that identified in the Catholic emblem, but it also consequently changes the role of the reader and reduces this to be more in line with that required by Catholic emblems. In other words, Wither's book can be considered to be Protestant in content and yet Catholic in format, requiring a different style of reading.

Despite certain inevitable caveats, the Protestant and Catholic emblem are more similar than one might expect. On the whole, they remain theologically quite close in standpoint; many of the same themes are expressed in both and, often, similar

iconography is used to express these. Differences in content and iconography are more often than not differences of degree. It is the relationship between text and image that changes and, in particular, the resulting relationship between reader and emblem. What makes these early-modern creations unique, therefore, is their form, their dependence on the interplay between text and image. It is this that separates the Protestant and Catholic emblem and thus the greatest difference between these is not one of content but of presentation.

Bibliography²⁷¹

1) Primary Texts

Alciato, Andreas, *Emblemes* (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1549)

Livret des emblemes (Paris: Wechel, 1536)

Emblematum libellus (Paris: Wechel, 1534)

Emblematum liber (Augsburg: Steyner, 1531)

Aneau, Barthélemy, *Imagination poétique* (Lyon: Bonhomme, 1552)

Baudoin, Jean, *Receuil d'emblemes divers* (Paris: Villery, 1646 – 1647)

Berthod, François, *Emblesmes sacrez* (Paris: Loysen, 1665)

Boissard, Jean-Jacques, *Emblematum Liber* (Metz: Aubry and Faber, 1588)

Emblemes (Metz: A. Faber, 1595)

Callot, Jacques, *Lux claustris. La lumière du cloistre* (Paris: Langlois, 1646)

Corrozet, Gilles, *Hecatongraphie* (Paris: Janot, 1543)

Hecatomgraphie (Paris: Janot, 1540)

David, Jan, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601)

Farley, Robert, *Lights Morall Emblems* (London: Cotes, 1638)

Friedrich, Andreas, *Emblemes nouveaux* (Frankfurt: Jennis, 1617)

Guérout, Guillaume, *Le premier livre des emblemes* (Lyon: Arnoulet, 1550)

Haeften, Benedictus van, *Schola Cordis* (Antwerp: Bolswert, 1929)

Hawkins, Henry, *The Devout Hart* (Rouen: Cousturier, 1634)

Heinsius, Daniel, *Quaeris quid sit Amor* (Amsterdam: Buck for Matthijs)

Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica. De la signification des notes hieroglyphiques* (Paris: Prevost for Kerver, 1553)

Hugo, Hermann, *Pieux desirs* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1627)

²⁷¹ Where I have consulted more than one work per author I have listed these chronologically and where there is more than one listing for any given year I have arranged works alphabetically.

- Junius, Hadrian, *Les Emblemes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1567)
- Le Jay, Gabriel, *Le triomphe de la sainte religion sous Louis le Grand* (Paris: Martin, 1687)
- Mello, Gabriel de, *Les Divines operations de Jesus, dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle* (Paris: Van-Merle, 1673)
- Menestrier, Claude François, *Art des Emblemes* (Lyon: Coral, 1662)
- Montenay, Georgette, *Emblemes, ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567)
- Paradin, Claude, *Devises heroiques* (Lyon: Tournes, 1557)
- Quarles, Francis, *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (London: Marriot, 1638)
- Emblemes* (London: Miller, 1635)
- Rollenhagen, Gabriel, *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne: De Passe, 1611)
- Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum centuria secunda* (Utrecht: De Passe, 1613)
- Sambucus, Johannes, *Les Emblemes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1567)
- Sucquet, Antoine, *Via vitae aeternae* (Antwerp: Aertssens, 1623)
- Van Veen, Otto, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp: Verdussen, 1608)
- Whitney, Geffrey, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: Plantin, 1586)
- Wither, George, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: Allot, 1635)
- Zincgref, *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria* (Heidelberg: Bry, 1619)

2) Modern Editions of Primary Texts

- Bèze, Théodore de, *Icônes*, ed. by R. M. Cummings (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971)
- Bèze, Théodore de, *Les vrais pourtraits des hommes illustres*, ed. by Alain Dufour (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986)
- Boissard, Jean-Jacques, *Jean-Jacques Boissard's Emblematum liber: Emblemes latins: Metz: A. Faber, 1588: A Facsimile Edition Using Glasgow University Library SM Add 415*, ed. by Alison Adams (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005)

- Bouquet, Simon, *Imitations et traductions de cent dix-huit emblemes d'Alciat*, ed. by Catharine Randall and Daniel Russell (New York: AMS Press, 1996)
- Corrozet, Gilles, *L'Hecatomgraphie (1544) & Les Emblemes du Tableau de Cebes (1543)*, ed. by Alison Adams (Geneva: Droz, 1997)
- Corrozet, Gilles, *Hecatomgraphie*, ed. by Alison Saunders (Ilkley: Scolar Press, 1974)
- Cramer, Daniel, *Emblemata Sacra*, ed. by Sabine Mödersheim (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1994)
- Horapollo, *The hieroglyphics*, trans. by George Boas (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950)
- Junius, Hadrianus, *Emblemata*, ed. by Hester M. Black (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972)
- Junius, Hadrianus, *Emblemata, ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium; Aenigmata, ad D. Arnoldum Rosenbergum*, ed. by Dimitrij Tschizewskij and Ernst Benz (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1987)
- Montenay, Georgette de, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, ed. by Christopher N. Smith (Menston: Scolar Press, 1973)
- Paradin, Claude, *Devises heroïques* ed. by C. N. Smith (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971)
- Paradin, Claude, *Devises heroïques*, ed. by Alison Saunders (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989)
- Rollenhagen, Gabriel, *Nucleus emblemata selectissimorum (1611)*, ed. by Dmitrij Tschizewskij end Ernst Benz (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1985)
- Wither, George, *A Collection of Emblemes*, ed. by Michael Bath (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989)
- Whitney, Jeffrey, *A Choice of Emblemes* ed. by John Manning (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989)

3) Works of Criticism and Reference

- Abraham, Lyndy, *Dictionary of Alchemical Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c. 1998)
- Adams, Alison, “La conception et l'édition des livres d'emblèmes dans la France du XVIe siècle. Une problématique collaboration entre un auteur et un éditeur”, *Littérature* 145 (2007), pp. 10-22

'The Dutch Versions of Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes* in the 1619 Edition', in *De Steen van Alciato/The Stone of Alciato [Festschrift for] Karel Porteman*, ed. Marc van Vaeck, Hugo Brems and Geert H. M. Claassens (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), pp. 751-766

'The Emblemata of Théodore de Bèze (1580), in *Mundus emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Arnoud S. Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 71-96

Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Books of the Sixteenth Century (Geneva: Droz, 2003)

'Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, 1567: New Dating, New Context', *BHR*, 63 (2001), 567-574

'*Les emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* de Georgette de Montenay: édition de 1567', *BHR*, 62 (2000), 637-639

Jacques Grévin and his translation of Sambucus' Emblemata (Antwerp: Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1997)

'Jacques Grévin et sa traduction française des *Emblemata d'Hadrianus Junius*', *De Gulden Passer*, 73 (1995), 37-66

'Textual Development in Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie*', *Emblematica*, 8.1 (1994), 43-59

'The Role of the Translator in Sixteenth-Century Alciato Translations', *BHR*, 52.2 (1990), 369-383

Adams, Alison, and Stanton J. Linden, eds, *Emblems and Alchemy* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1998)

Adams, Alison, Stephen Rawles, and Alison Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1999-2002)

Adams, Alison and Marleen van der Weij eds, *Emblems of the Low Countries: A Book Historical Perspective* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2003)

Alter, Robert and Frank Kermode, eds, *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Anderson, Jennifer and Elizabeth Sauer, eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c. 2002)

Armstrong, Brian G., *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969)

Bailey, Gauvin Alexander, ‘Le Style jésuite n’existe pas’: Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts’, in *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O’Malley et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c. 1999), pp. 38-89

Barber, W. H., ‘Martha versus Mary: Two Ways of Holy Living in Seventeenth-Century French Catholicism’ *Seventeenth Century French Studies*, 14 (1992), 211-217

Barthes, Roland, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. by Eric Marty, 3 vols (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1993-1995), I

Bartlett, Kenneth R., et al, eds, *Humanism and the Northern Renaissance* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2000)

Bath, Michael, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994)

Belin, Christian, *La Conversation intérieure: La méditation en France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002)

Benedict, Barbara M., *Making the Modern Reader* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Benedict, Philip, *The Faith and Fortunes of France’s Huguenots, 1600-85* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)

Berthoud, G., et al, eds, *Aspects de la propagande religieuse* (Geneva: Droz, 1957)

Black, Lynette C., ‘Popular Devotional Emblematics: A comparison of Sucquet’s *Le Chemin de la Vie Eterne* and Hugo’s *Les Pieux Desirs*’, *Emblematica*, 9.1 (1995), 1-20

Borris, Kenneth and M. Morgan Holmes, ‘Whitney’s *Choice of Emblemes*: Anglo-Dutch Politics and the Order of Ideal Repatriation’, *Emblematica*, 8.1 (1994), 81-132

Brecht, Martin, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483-1521*, trans by James L. Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985)

Briggs, Robin, ‘The Church and the Family in Seventeenth-Century France’, *Seventeenth Century French Studies*, 4 (1982), 5-13

Burt, Donald X., *Augustine’s World: An Introduction to His Spiritual Philosophy* (Lanham, M.D: University Press of America, 1996)

Carr-Gomm, Sarah, *Dictionary of Symbols in Western Art* (New York: Facts on File, c. 1995)

Cave, Terence C., *Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)

Cartier, Alfred, *Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes imprimeurs lyonnais* (Paris: Éditions des Bibliothèques nationales de France, 1937-38)

Chartier, Roger, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early-Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987)

Culture écrite et société: L'ordre des livres (XIVe-XVIIIe siècle) (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996)

Chartier, Roger and Henri-Jean Martin, eds, *L'Histoire de l'édition française Tome 1: Le livre conquérant* (Paris: Promodis, 1983-)

Chatelain, J, *Livres d'emblèmes et de devises: une anthologie: (1531-1735)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993)

Choné, Paulette, *Emblèmes et pensée symbolique en Lorraine (1521-1633): "comme un jardin au coeur de la chrétienté"* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991)

Chrisman, Miriam Usher, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social change in Strasbourg, 1480 – 1599* (New Haven: Yale, c. 1982)

Clark, James G., 'The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. by James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 3-34

Clark, James M., *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: Jackson, 1950)

Coates, Catherine Randall, *(Em)bodying the Word: Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Fox, Crespin, de Bèze and d'Aubigné* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992)

Conerman, Klaus, 'Luther's Rose: Observations on a Device in the Context of Reformation Art and Theology', *Emblematica*, 2.1 (1987), 1-49

Conner, Phillip, 'A Provincial Perspective: Protestant Print Culture in Southern France', in *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Phillip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 286-382

'Peace in the Provinces. Peace-Making in the Protestant South during the Later Wars of Religion', in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), pp.177-189

Cotgrave, Randle, *A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London: A. Islip, 1611)

- Cottret, Bernard, *Calvin: A Biography*, trans by M. Wallace McDonald (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2000)
- Coupe, W. A. and A. J. Krailsheimer, eds, *The Continental Renaissance, 1500-1600* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971)
- Courcelles, Dominique de, *Le Pouvoir des livres à la Renaissance* (Paris: Éd. de l'École nationale des chartes, 1998)
- Courvoisier, André, *Les danses macabres* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998)
- Daly, Peter M., 'England and the Emblem: The Cultural Context of English Emblem Books', in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS, 1988), pp. 1-60.
- 'Emblematic Publications of the Jesuits of the Flanders Belgium Province to the year 1700', in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: selected papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August, 1996*, ed. by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 249-278
- Daly, Peter M. and G. Richard Dimler, S. J., eds, *The Jesuit Series* (Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997)
- Daly and Young, 'George Wither's *Emblemes*: The role of picture, background and reader/viewer', *Emblematica*, 14, 2005, pp. 223-250.
- Deleuze, Gilles, *Cinéma 1, L'image-mouvement* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1983)
- Delon, Michel, Robert Mauzi and Sylain Menant, eds, *De l'Encyclopédie aux Méditations* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998)
- Deslandres, Dominique, 'Exemplo aequa ut verbo: The French Jesuits' Missionary World', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c. 1999), pp. 258-273
- Derrida, Jaques, *La Carte postale: De Socrate à Freud et au-delà* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980)
- Dimler, G. Richard, 'Edmund Arwaker's Tranlsation of the *Pia Desideria*: The Reception of a Continental Jesuit Emblem Book in Seventeenth-Century England', in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS Press, c.1988), pp. 203-224
- Dyrness, William, A., *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

- Dupeux, Cécile et al, eds, *La Gravure d'illustration en Alsace au XVIe siècle* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1992)
- Ellrodt, Robert and Bernard Brugière eds., *Âge d'or et Apocalypse* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1986)
- Eisenstein, Elisabeth, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
- The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Elton, G. B., *Reform and Reformation England 1509-1558* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977)
- Evans, Joan, *Monastic Iconography in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970)
- Farnsworth, Jane, 'Robert Farley's *Kalendrium Humanae Vitae*: A Study in Emblematic Strategies', *Emblematica*, 7.1 (1993), 79-95
- Finney, Paul Corby, ed., *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts And The Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999)
- Fleming, David L., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: A Literal Translation and a Contemporary Reading* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1978)
- Fontaine, Laurence, *Histoire du Colportage en Europe XVe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993)
- Freeman, Rosemary, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948)
- Fumaroli, Marc, 'The Fertility and the Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 90-106
- Fylie, John, 'George Wither', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 62 (1890), 39-47
- Gardy, Frédéric, *Bibliographie des œuvres théologiques, littéraires et juridiques de Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva: Droz, 1960)
- Garrison, Janine, *A History of Sixteenth Century France 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*, trans. by Richard Rex (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995)
- Gilman, Ernest B., 'Word and Image in Quarles's *Emblemes*', *Critical Inquiry*, 6.3 (1980), 385-411

Gilmont, J. F., *La Réforme et le livre: L'Europe de l'imprimé 1517-1570* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990)

Gisel, Paul et al eds, *Encyclopédie du protestantisme* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995)

Goff, Jacques le and René Rémond, eds, *Histoire de la France religieuse* (Paris: Seuil, 1988)

Göttler, Christine, *Die Kunst des Fegefeuers nach der Reformation / Kirkliche Schenkungen, Ablaß und Almosen in Antwerpen und Bologna um 1600* (Mainz: Phillip Von Zabern, 1996)

Graham, David, “‘Voiez icy en ceste histoire...’: Cross-Reference, Self-Reference and Frame-Breaking in Some French Emblems”, *Emblematica*, 7.1 (1993), 1-24

Grove, Laurence, *Emblematics and Seventeenth Century French Literature: Descartes, Tristan, La Fontaine and Perrault* (Charlottesville: Rockwood Press, c. 2000)

‘Tristan l’Hermite, Emblematics in Early Modern Reading Practices in the Light of Glasgow University Library SmAdd.392’, in *Emblems and the Manuscript Tradition*, ed. by Laurence Grove (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1997), pp. 159-175

‘A Note on Use and Re-Use of Jesuit Devices in the Seventeenth Century’, *Emblematica*, 10.1 (1996), 185-193

Grove, Laurence and Daniel Russell, *The French Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Geneva: Droz, 2000)

Guibert, Joseph de, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice: A historical Study* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986)

Guideroni, Agnès Bruslé, *De la figure scripturaire à la figure emblématique : embématicque et spiritualité 1540-1740* (2002) (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Paris IV Sorbonne / Catholic University of Leiden)

Harms, Wolfgang, ‘The Authority of the Emblem’, *Emblematica*, 5.1 (1991), 3-29

‘Eine Kombinatorik unterschiedlicher Grade des Faktischen. Erweiterungen des emblematischen Bedeutungspotentials bei dem Archäologen Jean Jacques Boissard’, in *Mimesis und Simulation*, ed. A. Kablitz and G. Neumann, Rombach Litterae, 53 (Freiburg: Rombach, 1998), pp. 279-307

‘Mundus imago Dei est. Zum Entstehungsprozeß zweier Emblem-Bücher Jean Jacques Boissards’, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 47 (1973), 223-244

Henkel, Arthur and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1967)

Herbermann, Charles G. et al eds, *The Catholic Encyclopedia : An International Work Of Reference On The Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, And History Of The Catholic Church* (London, Caxton, 1907)

Hill, Christopher, *Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England, Collected Essays* (Brighton: Harvester, 1985)

Holt, Mack P., *The French Wars of Religion 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Höltgen, Karl Josef, 'Henry Hawkins: A Jesuit Author in Stuart England', in *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c. 1999), pp. 600-626

'Catholic Pictures versus Protestant Words? The Adaptation of the Jesuit Sources in Quarles's *Emblems*', *Emblematica*, 9.2 (1995), 221-238
Word and visual Imagination: studies in the interaction of English literature and the visual arts (Erlangen: Erlangen- Nürnberg Library, 1988)

Francis Quarles 1592-1644: Meditativer Dichter, Emblematiker, Royalist: Eine biographische und kritische Studie (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978)

Horden, John, 'The Christian Pilgrim, 1652, and Francis Quarles's *Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes*, 1643', *Emblematica*, 4.1 (1989), 63-87

Francis Quarles: A Bibliography of his Works to the Year 1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953)

Janelle, Pierre, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971)

Jeanneret, Michel, *Perpetuum mobile: métamorphoses des corps et des œuvres, de Vinci à Montaigne* (Paris: Macula, 1997?)

Johnson, Lawrence, *An Interview with Father Joseph Tetlow* (1997)
www.sjweb.info/spirituality/introspe.cfm [06/07/05]

Jones, Leonard C., *Simon Goulart* (Paris: Champion, 1917)

Kirwan, Christopher, *Augustine* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Knecht, Robert, *Modern Wars in Perspective: The French Civil Wars 1562-1598* (Harlow: Longman, 2000)

Knipping, John, B., *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1974)

Koerner, Joseph Leo, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004)

Kristeller, Paul Oskar, *Renaissance Concepts of Man and Other Essays* (London: Harper and Row, 1972)

Kristeller, Paul Oskar, *Renaissance Thought 11: Papers on Humanism and the Arts* (London: Harper and Row, 1965)

Labrousse, Elisabeth, ‘*Une foi, une loi, un roi?*’: *La Révocation de l’Edit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, c1985)

Labrousse, Elisabeth and Robert Sauzet, ‘Au temps du Roi-Soleil (1661-1720)’, in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. by Jacques le Goff and René Raymond, 4 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1988), vol 2, pp. 477-549

‘La lente mise en place de la Réforme tridentine’, in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. by Jacques le Goff and René Rémond, 4 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1988), 2, pp. 321-474

Labrousse, Elisabeth & Jean-Philippe, ‘Georgette de Montenay et Guyon du Gout son époux’, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique, littéraire et scientifique du Gers* (1990), 369-402

Landwehr, John, *Emblem Books in the Low Countries: A Bibliography* (Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker & Gumbert, 1970)

Lawton, H., W., ‘Notes sur Jean Baudoin et sur ses traductions de l’anglais’, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 6 (1926), 673-682.

Lemaitre, Henri, Van der Elst, and Roger Pagoisse, eds, *La Littérature française: Du Moyen Age à l’âge baroque*, 4 vols (Paris: Bordas Laffont, 1970-72)

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c. 1979)

Ligou, Daniel, *Le Protestantisme en France de 1598 à 1715* (Paris: Sedes, 1968)

Lindberg, Carter, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996)

Loach, Judi, ‘Body and Soul: a Transfer of Theological Terminology into the Aesthetic Realm’, *Emblematica*, 12 (2002), pp. 31-60

‘Why Menestrier Wrote about Emblems, and What Audience(s) Had in Mind’, *Emblematica*, 12 (2002), 223-283

‘The Teaching of Emblematics and Other Symbolic Imagery By Jesuits Within Town Colleges in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France’, in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, ed. by Marc van Vaeck and John Manning (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 161-86

- ‘Architecture and Emblems: Issues in Interpretation’, in *Emblems and Art History*, ed. by Alison Adams (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1996)
- ‘Jesuit Emblematics and the Opening of the School Year at the Collège Louis-le-Grand’, *Emblematica*, 9.1 (1995), 133-176.
- ‘Menestrier’s Emblem Theory’, *Emblematica*, 2 (1988), 317-336
- Luebke, David M., ed., *The Counter Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999)
- Mâle, Émile, *L’Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995)
- Mandrou, Robert, *De la Culture populaire aux 17e et 18e siècles: La bibliothèque bleue de Troyes* (Paris, Editions Imago, 1998)
- Manetsch, Scott A., *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572-1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2000)
- Manguel, Alberto, *A History of Reading* (London: Flamingo, 1997)
- Manning, John, *The Emblem Book* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003)
- ‘Geffrey Whitney’s Unpublished Emblems: Further Evidence of Indebtedness to Continental Traditions’, in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS, 1998), pp. 83-107
- Manning, John, Karel Porteman and Marc van Vaeck eds., *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 Aug., 1996* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999)
- Martin, Lynn, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988)
- Martin, Henri-Jean, *Print, Power and People in 17th Century France*, trans. by David Gerard (London: Scarecrow Press, 1993)
- McLuhan, Marshall, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962)
- Michalski, Sergiusz, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (London: Routledge, 1993)
- Mertens, Dieter, ‘Zu Heidelberger Dichtern von schede bis Zincgref’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche literatur*, 10.3 (1974), 200-241
- Mondzain, Marie-José, *Image, icône, économie: Les sources byzantines de l’imaginaire contemporain* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1996)

- Moore, W. G., *La réforme allemande et la littérature française. Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France* (Paris: Ophrys, 1930)
- Moorman, John R. H., *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
- Morrall, John B., 'The Council of Trent: Its Background and Its Significance', *History Today*, 7.2 (1962), 476-486
- Moss, Ann, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- Muchembled, Robert, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (Xve-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978)
- Mullett, Michael M., *Martin Luther* (London: Routledge, 2004)
- The Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (London: Methuen, 1984)
- Neveu, Bruno, 'Quelques orientations de la théologie catholique au XVIIe siècle', *Seventeenth Century French Studies*, 16 (1994), 35-47
- Newcombe, D. G., *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1995)
- Newman, William R. and Anthony Grafton eds, *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe* (London: MIT Press, 2001)
- Norden, Eric, 'The Playboy Interview: Marshall McLuhan', *Playboy*, March 1969, pp. 53-70.
- Old, Hughes Oliphant, *The Shaping of the Reformed Baptismal Rite* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1992)
- O'Malley, John. W., 'The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does it Stand Today?', in *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c. 1999), pp. 3-37
- The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)
- O'Sullivan, Orlaith and Ellen N. Herron, eds, *The Bible as Book: The Reformation* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000)
- Panofsky, Erwin, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1972)

- Parker, David, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy: Conflict and Order in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: London Royal Historical Society, 1980)
- Pasquier, Pierre, ed., *Le Temps au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001)
- Patrides, C. A., *Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982)
- Peil, Dietmar, ‘Emblem Types in Gabriel Rollenhagen’s *Nucleus Emblematum*’, *Emblematica*, 6.2 (1992), 255-282
- Phillips, Henry, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Plan, P., *Jacques Callot, maître graveur (1593-1635) suivi d'un catalogue chronologique* (Brussels: G. van Oest, 1914)
- Praz, Mario, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964)
- Pritchard, Allan, “‘Abuses Script and Whipt’ and Wither’s imprisonment”, *Review of English Studies*, 14.56 (1963), 337-346
- Racaut, Luc, ‘The Cultural Obstacles to Religious Pluralism in the Polemic of the French Wars of Religion’, in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, ed. Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Bern: Lang, c. 2000), pp. 115-127
- Randell, Keith, *The Catholic and Counter Reformation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990)
- Luther and the German Reformation, 1517-55* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989)
- Rawles, Stephen, ‘Layout, Typography and Chronology in Chrétien Wechel’s Editions of Alciato’, in *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France: Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell*, ed. by David Graham (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2001), 49-71
- ‘Corrozet’s *Hecatomographie*: Where did the woodcuts come from and where did they go?’, *Emblematica*, 3.1 (1988), 31-64
- Ray, Gordon N., *The Art of the French Illustrated Book 1700 to 1914* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library assoc. with Dover Publications, 1986)
- Regine Reynolds-Cornell, *Witnessing an Era: Georgette de Montenay and the Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1987)

Reinberg, Virginia, 'Books of hours', in *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Phillip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 68-82

Richard, Michel-Edmond, *La Vie des protestants français: De l'édit de Nantes à la révolution (1598-1789)* (Paris: Les Éditions de Paris, 1994)

Ries, Julien, ed., *Érasme et la montée de l'humanisme: la naissance d'une communauté européenne de la culture* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'histoire des religions, 2001)

Roest, Bert, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004)

Russell, Daniel, *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995)

'Looking at the Emblem in a European Context', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 64.4 (1990), 625-645

'Emblème et mentalité symbolique', *Littérature*, 78 (1990), 11-21

Russell, Daniel, *The Emblem and Device in France* (Kentucky: French Forum Publishers, 1985)

Sadoul, Georges, *Jacques Callot: miroir de son temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969)

Saenger, Paul and Kimberly van Kampen, eds., *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1999)

Salmon, J. H. M. ed., *The French Wars of Religion: How Important were Religious Factors?* (Boston: Heath, 1967)

Saunders, Alison, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity* (Geneva: Droz, 2000)

'The sixteenth-century French emblem book as a form of religious literature', in *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Phillip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 38-67

'Make the Pupils do it Themselves: Emblems, Plays and Public Performances in French Jesuit Colleges in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, ed. by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 187-206

'The Long and the Short of it: Structure and form in the Early French Emblem Book', in *The European Emblem: Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11-14 August 1987*, ed. by Bernhard F. Scholz, Michael Bath and David Weston (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 55-83

- ‘*Theatre des bons engins* through English eyes (La Perrière, Combe and Whitney)’, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 64.4 (1990), 635-674
- ‘Sixteenth-Century French Translations of Alciati’s *Emblemata*’, *French Studies*, 44 (1990), 271-288
- The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book: A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Geneva: Droz, 1988)
- ‘Picta-Poiesis: The Relationship between Figure and Text in the Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book’, *BHR*, 48.3 (1986): 621-52
- ‘Emblem Books for a Popular Audience? Gilles Corrozet’s Hecatomographie and Emblemes’, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 17 (1980), 5-29
- Sawyer, Jeffrey K., *Printed Poison: Pamphlet propaganda, Faction Politics and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990)
- Scribner, R. W., *The German Reformation* (London: Macmillan, 1986)
- Shagan, Ethan H., *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Scholz, Bernard et al, eds, *The European Emblem: Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference 11-14 August* (Leiden: Brill, 1990)
- Sharratt, Peter, *Bernard Salomon illustrateur lyonnais* (Geneva: Droz, 2005)
- Spica, Anne Elisabeth, ‘L’emblématique catholique de dévotion en France au XVIIe siècle: Quelques propositions de lecture’, in *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France: Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell*, ed. by David Graham (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2001), pp. 205-226
- Symbolique humaniste et emblématique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996)
- Spicer, Andrew, ‘Huguenots, Jesuits and French Religious Architecture in Early Seventeenth Century France’, in *The Adventures of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Bern: Lang AG, European Academic Publishers, 2000), pp. 245-260
- Stafford, Thomas Albert, *Christian Symbolism in the Evangelical Churches: With Definitions of Church Terms and Usages* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1942)
- Stauffer, Richard, *The Quest for Church Unity: From John Calvin to Isaac d’Huisseau* (Allison Park, Pa: Pickwick Publications, 1986)
- Tallon, Alain, ‘Gallicanism and Religious Pluralism in France in the Sixteenth Century’, in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*,

ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Bern: Lang, 2000), pp. 15-30.

Thompson, Bard, *Humanists and Reformers* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1996)

Tung, Mason, ‘Whitney’s Marginal References: Corrections and Addenda to the *Index Emblematicus*’, *Emblematica*, 5.2 (1990), 379-387

Tüskés, Gábor, ‘Imitation and Adaptation in Late Humanist Emblematic Poetry: Zsámboky (Sambucus) and Whitney’, *Emblematica*, 10 (1996), 261-289

Tyson, Gerald P and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds, *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996)

Vaeck, Marc, van, ‘The *Openhertighe Herten* in Europe: Remarkable Specimens of Heart Emblematics’, *Emblematica*, 8.2 (1994), 261-291

Veldman, Ilja, and Clara Klein, ‘The Painter and the Poet: The *Nucleus emblematum* by De Passe and Rollenhagen’, in *Mundus Emblematicus* ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Arnoud S. Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 267-299

Vernus, Michel, *Histoire du livre et de la lecture : de l'invention de l'imprimerie à nos jours* (Dijon: Bibliest, 1995)

Villier, Marcel, et al, eds, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique* (Paris: Beauchesne 1932- 1994)

Visser, Arnoud, *Joannes Sambucus And The Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem In Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005)

Voet, Leon, *The Plantin Press, 1555-1589: a Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983), vol. 4

Wall, John N. Jr, ‘Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution: “By this printing... the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations”’, in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, ed. by Gerald P. Tyson, Sylvia S. Wagonheim (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), pp. 208-221

Wallace, Ronald S., *Calvin’s Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1995)

Waterschoot, Werner, ‘Lucas d’Heere und Johannes Sambucus’, in *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety, Selected Papers of the Glasgow International Emblem Conference 13-17 August 1990*, ed. by Alison Adams and A. J. Harper (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 45-52

Watson, Timothy ‘When is a Huguenot not a Huguenot? Lyon, 1525-1575’, in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Bern: Peter Lang, c. 2000), pp. 161-176

Weimann, Robert, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, ed. by David Hillman (London: Hopkins University Press, c. 1996)

Westerweel, Bart, ‘The European dimension of Dutch Emblem Production’, in *Emblems of the Low Countries: A Book Historical Perspective*, ed. by Alison Adams and Marleen van der Weij (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies: 2003)

Wilkinson, Richard, *France and the Cardinals 1610-1661* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995)

Wischermann, Heinfried, ‘Ein Emblembuch-manuskript von Jean-Jacques Boissard’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 14 (1974), 433-464

Yates, Frances A., *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972)

Young, Alan, R., ‘Wither’s Second Emblem Book: *Divine Poems*’, *Emblematica*, 7.1 (1993), 189-199

Young, Miriam, The Influence of Early Modern Emblem Books and Related Forms Upon Eighteenth-Century French Literature (2003) (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow)

4) Bibliography of websites

French emblems at Glasgow; www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/index.php

Open Emblem Portal; <http://medialibrary.wiuc.edu/projects/oebp>.

Appendix 1

Emblem Authors

‘Secular’ Authors

The earliest of these authors is Italian **Andreas Alciato** (1492-1550), who is considered to be the accidental ‘father’ of emblems. A lawyer by profession, Alciato travelled and worked in many countries across Europe, including France. Although the extent of collaboration remains unclear, he created the initial roughly one hundred epigrams to which, it is believed, his friend Conrad Peutigner, to whom Alciato sent the verses c. 1522, later added the pictures. The resulting book printed by Heinrich Steyner in Augsburg in 1531 is today recognised as the first printed emblem book and the most frequently printed (over one hundred editions in all, published in Germany, France, the Spanish Netherlands and Italy before the 1620s). The first of a series of editions printed in Paris by Chrétien Wechel appeared in 1534 and 1536 saw the publication of Jean Lefevre’s French translation, the first of three French translations. This first collection of emblems was followed by a second in Venice in 1546. 1548 onwards saw a new series of editions appear in Lyon in which the two collections were combined under the direction of Macé Bonhomme in association with Guillaume Rouille. New translations appeared in Italian and Spanish including a further French translation by Barthélemy Aneau. The influence of Alciato’s emblems was immense and, since they first appeared in Latin, extended over the whole of Europe and continued throughout the sixteenth century. Indeed, so far-reaching was the appeal and influence of Alciato’s emblems that they set the tripartite model of a

motto or *inscriptio*, a picture (*pictura*) and a verse text or epigram (the *subscriptio*) that is often, though not always, followed by subsequent emblem authors.²⁷²

The second of our ‘secular’ authors, **Gilles Corrozet** (1515-1568), produced his emblem book not long after Lefevre’s 1536 French translation of Alciato. Corrozet produced two emblematic works, the *Hecatomgraphie* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1540) and the 1543 *Emblemes*, in his *Cebes, Le Tableau* also printed in Paris by Denis Janot. The *Hecatomgaphie*, the second vernacular French emblem book after Guillaume de la Perrière’s *Theatre des bons engins*, proved to be popular quickly running to further editions. Where Corrozet’s emblems differ from those of Alciato is in the inclusion of a secondary verse which is not an additional commentary but an integral part of the emblem. If Corrozet only produced two emblematic works he was a prolific writer in other areas producing many works reflecting his historical, linguistic and philosophical interests including being associated with illustrated versions of the Old Testament (with woodcuts by Holbein) and of the New Testament. A true figure of the Renaissance Corrozet also contributed to other areas of the book-trade working as a publisher as well as an author.²⁷³

²⁷² Alison Saunders, ‘Sixteenth-Century French Translations of Alciati’s Emblemata’, *French Studies*, 44 (1990), 271-288; Alison Adams, ‘The Role of the Translator in Sixteenth-Century Alciato Translations’, *BHR*, 52.2 (1990), 369-383; Stephen Rawles, ‘Layout, Typography and Chronology in Chrétien Wechel’s Editions of Alciato’, in *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France: Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell*, ed. by David Graham (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2001), pp. 49-71.

²⁷³ See: *French Emblems at Glasgow* website for detailed bibliography. See also: Gilles Corrozet, *L’Hecatomgraphie* (1544) & *Les Emblemes du Tableau de Cebes* (1543), ed. by Alison Adams (Geneva: Droz, 1997); Alison Adams, ‘Textual Development in Corrozet’s *Hecatomgraphie*’, *Emblematica*, 8.1 (1994), 43-59; Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie*, 1540, ed. by Alison Saunders (Ilkley: Scholar Press, 1974); Alison Saunders, ‘Emblem Books for a Popular Audience? Gilles Corrozet’s *Hecatomgraphie* and *Emblemes*’, *Australian French Studies*, 17 (1980), 5-29; Stephen Rawles, ‘Corrozet’s *Hecatomgraphie*: Where Did the Woodcuts Come From and Where Did They Go?’, *Emblematica*, 3.1 (1988), 31-64.

The third author I will include in this ‘secular’ bracket is **Claude Paradin** (post 1510-1573). Paradin’s *Devises heroïques* first appeared in Lyons in 1551, printed by Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau. Paradin himself worked as a canon of the *église collégiale* in Beaujeu near Lyons and if the sum of his literary production was small (other than the *Devises* he produced only two other works), this was more than compensated for by the immense influence of this emblematic work. It was the first printed work of its kind documenting the kinds of devices commonly found as decoration on both furniture and fabrics of the aristocracy and used as marks of ownership. This became a highly influential work and was published frequently in different languages in countries across Europe. Authors such as Whitney, who clearly adopts Paradin’s devices as a source, testify to the far-reaching influence of this work. A second, larger edition of the *Devises* was printed in 1557, again by Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, this time with accompanying explanatory text, and this was followed from 1561 by various editions under the lead of Christopher Plantin. A number of translations, including Dutch (1563) and English (1591) signal the widespread popularity and influence of the work. Paradin, like Corrozet, also brought out an illustrated biblical work, *Les Quadrins historiques de la Bible*, also printed by de Tournes.²⁷⁴

Joannes Sambucus (1531-1584) was a Hungarian doctor and historian. Often perceived as a representative of religious tolerance, he was born in Agyszombat and

²⁷⁴ For more information both biographical and bibliographical see: Adams, Rawles and Saunders; Alfred Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes imprimeurs lyonnais* (Paris: Éditions des Bibliothèques nationales de France, (1937-38), vol.1, p.15; Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1555-1589: A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983), vol. 4, pp. 1812-19; Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques*, ed. by C.N. Smith (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971); Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques*, ed. by Alison Saunders (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989); Peter Sharratt, *Bernard Salomon illustrateur lyonnais* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).

received a broad education both in Germany, under Melanchthon and Jan Sturm, and in France before graduating from medicine in Italy. He spent much time in the Netherlands where he began a lasting relationship with Plantin. From 1564 he worked as court historiographer to Maximilian II and later Rudolf. A passionate scholar, his library became one of the most notable of the age. Sambucus's *Emblemata et aliquot Nummi antique operis* was first printed in Latin by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in 1564 and was one of the most influential of its kind. This first edition was expanded and this was reprinted four times in 1566, 1569, 1576 and 1584. Further Dutch and French versions also appeared in 1566 and 1567 respectively. The French volume, which this study considers, was translated by Jacques Grévin, a French playwright.²⁷⁵

Like Sambucus, **Hadrian Junius** (1511-1575) is often considered to be religiously tolerant. There is some debate regarding his personal faith, and there is argument for and against his Catholic or Protestant leanings. Dirk Van Miert examines this question carefully before concluding that this lack of clear preference one way or the other was down to the fact that 'Junius belonged to the kind of enlightened people who [...] were in favour of religious tolerance.'²⁷⁶ What is clear is that his emblem book, although containing many Christian ideas, was not specifically intended to be an explicitly religious emblem book. Originally printed in Latin in 1565 by Plantin, Junius's *Les Emblemes*, was later translated into French by Jacques Grévin and

²⁷⁵ Adams, Rawles and Saunders; Voet, pp. 2-47; Arnoud Visser, *Joannes Sambucus And The Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem In Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Werner Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere und Johannes Sambucus', in *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety, Selected Papers of the Glasgow International Emblem Conference 13-17 August 1990*, ed. by Alison Adams and A. J. Harper (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 45-52; Praz; Alison Adams, *Jacques Grévin and His Translation of Sambucus' Emblemata* (Antwerp: Antwerpsche Biblioфиelen, 1997), pp. 139-182.

²⁷⁶ Dirk Van Miert, 'The Religious Beliefs of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)', in *Acta conventus neo-latin Cantabrigensis: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Gouden Eeuw: Tempe, 2003), pp. 583-594 (p. 593).

printed in 1567 in Antwerp, also by Plantin. Junius (1511-1575), a Dutch humanist and physician, studied and worked across Europe in Louvain, Bologna, Paris and London before returning to the Low Countries earning the noble reputation of being the most learned man of the Netherlands after Erasmus. It was in Bologna that he met Alciato even acting as an intermediary between him and the publisher Chrétien Wechel for a new edition of Alciato's emblem book. Vernacular editions quickly followed the initial 1565 Latin edition; Grévin's French version as I said above appeared in 1567 as did a Dutch translation of Junius's emblems by Marcus Antonius Gillis van Diest. While the Latin version enjoyed considerable success and was reprinted six further times, the French was modified in 1570 and reprinted in 1575, while only one further edition of the Dutch appeared, also in 1575.²⁷⁷

Protestant Authors

This brings us to the second of our authorial groups – the Protestant authors. Standing at the head of this group, and indeed, as I have explained earlier, at the head of the religious emblem tradition is **Georgette de Montenay** and her *Devises ou emblemes chrestiennes*. First printed in 1567 by Jean Marcorelle (although most copies are dated 1571), this work is of particular importance for not only is the author Calvinist but

²⁷⁷ For more information on both Junius and his translator, Grévin, see; Voet, p. 148; Hadrianus Junius, *Emblemata*, ed. by Hester M. Black; Hadrianus Junius, *Emblemata, ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium; Aenigmata, ad D. Arnoldum Rosenbergum* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1987); Alison Adams, ‘An Expensive Compositorial Misreading: The Reset Gathering in Hadrianus Junius’ *Emblemata*’, *The Library*, sixth series, 17 (1995), 345-348; Alison Adams, ‘Jacques Grévin et sa traduction française des *Emblemata* d’Hadrianus Junius’, *De Gulden Passer*, 75 (1995), 37-66; Praz, pp. 37-38.

also a woman. While Montenay (1540-1607) herself underlines the novelty of this collection, ‘...je croy estre premier chrestiens’,²⁷⁸ this is not to say that prior to Montenay collections of emblems had been entirely secular. This is far from being the case. Many emblems contained more or less explicit Christian truths. Indeed, as I have argued earlier, I think that due to the pervasiveness of Christian thought at this time it would have been difficult to create an emblem in which no evidence of Christian teaching could be detected. Montenay’s collection is different in that it is the first to be *consciously* presented as a collection of explicitly religious emblems. One must also consider the intention behind these. Montenay’s emblems are not just for entertainment and some light spiritual edification: they, for the first time, exploit the emblem form for religious propaganda. Montenay’s work also scores another first: it is the first emblem book to use incised engravings as opposed to the earlier woodcuts. Although Montenay dedicated the emblems to the Protestant Queen Jeanne d’Albret and therefore some link with the court of Navarre seems probable, the precise nature of this link remains unclear. First published in 1567 by Jean Marcorelle of Lyon, a Protestant, and subsequently reissued in 1620, this work unusually was initially printed in the vernacular French. A Latin edition appeared in 1584 which was reissued in 1602 in Heidelberg and this was followed by a polyglot edition in 1619 in Frankfurt which contained a second Latin translation alongside the first, and, pointing to the global appeal of this work, verses in Spanish, Italian, German, English and Dutch.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon: Marcorelle, 1567), a4vo

²⁷⁹ For more information about Montenay see; Adams, Rawles and Saunders, entries F.437-439 cover editions of Montenay; Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (1571), ed. by Christopher N. Smith (Menston: Scolar Press, 1973), Alison Adams, ‘Les Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes de Georgette de Montenay: édition de 1567’, *BHR*, 62 (2000), 637-639; Alison Adams, ‘Georgette de Montenay’s *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, 1567: New Dating, New Context’, 567-574; Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion*, pp. 9-118, and for further bibliographical information: Regine Reynolds-Cornell, *Witnessing an Era: Georgette de Montenay and the Emblemes ou Devises*

Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605) is an important historical figure of the Reformation. French Calvinist Bèze is best known for being a religious leader. Although he trained as a lawyer in Orleans this held little attraction for him and his real interest was in reading the ancient classics. He practised law in Paris before an illness in 1548 revealed his spiritual needs to him and he went to Geneva where he met Calvin. His role representing Calvin at the Colloque de Poissy in 1561, where he defended the principals of the evangelical faith, is well documented and in 1564, upon Calvin's death, Bèze took over his position of pastor of Geneva, a role he assumed successfully. A prolific writer of humanist poetry, Bèze is also well-known for his work on the Psalms in both Latin and French. Much also is owed to Bèze in the part he played in deciding upon the texts that would constitute the New Testament of the Geneva Bible.²⁸⁰ The *Emblemata* (Geneva: Jean de Lyon, 1580), Bèze's only emblematic work, constituted a group of emblems that appeared at the back of the *Icones* that records the religious leaders and figures across Europe who played an important part in the Reformation. This was translated into French by Simon Goulart, and printed in 1581 as *Les vrais pourtraicts des hommes illustres [...] plus, quarante quatre emblemes chrestiens* again in Geneva by Jean de Laon.²⁸¹

Chrestiennes (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1987); Choné, pp. 543-660; Elisabeth & Jean-Philippe Labrousse, 'Georgette de Montenay et Guyon du Gout son époux', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique, littéraire et scientifique du Gers* (1990), 369-402.

²⁸⁰ Henri Meylan, *D'Erasme à Théodore de Bèze: Problèmes de l'église et de l'école chez les réformés* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), p. 145.

²⁸¹ See also: Frédéric Gardy, *Bibliographie des œuvres théologiques, littéraires et juridiques de Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva: Droz, 1960); Théodore de Bèze, *Icones*, ed. by R. M. Cummings (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971); Théodore de Bèze, *Les vrais pourtraits des hommes illustres, avec les 30 portraits supplémentaires de l'édition de 1673*, ed. by Alain Dufour (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986); Catharine Randall Coats, *(Em)bodying the Word: Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Crespin, de Bèze and d'Aubigné* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); Adams, *Webs of Allusion*, pp. 119-153; Alison Adams, 'The Emblemata of Théodore de Bèze (1580), in *Mundus emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, ed. by Karl A.E. Enenkel and Arnoud S.Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2003), pp. 71-96; Leonard C. Jones, *Simon Goulart* (Paris: E. Champion, 1917).

A little later than Bèze is the work of **Jean Jacques Boissard**, a French antiquarian and Latin poet (1528-1602). Born in Besançon and educated at Leuven amongst several other places, Boissard proved to be an extensive traveller, studying also in Germany, visiting Greece and spending many years in Rome and other Italian cities. Based in Metz from 1560 he continued to travel in part due to his position as tutor to the sons of the Calvinist leader the Baron de Clervant. His interests were wide and varied and this is reflected in the subject matter of his two emblem books. The first, *Emblemata cum tetrastichis latinis* (Metz: Aubry, 1584), containing both Latin and French was printed again four years later in Metz as *Emblemes latins [...] avec l'interpretation Françoise*, this time by Jean Aubry and Abraham Faber. The second, was the *Emblematum liber* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1593) which was later translated as *Emblemes [...] nouvellement mis de latin en françois par Pierre Joly* (Metz: A. Faber, 1595). Both these books ran to several editions. I have elsewhere stressed the difficulty of precisely establishing levels of collaboration between writer, artist and publisher. What is special about Boissard's texts is that being both a poet and an artist, he is known to be largely responsible for both the text and the engravings of his books.²⁸²

Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (Leiden: Plantin, 1586) is an interesting work from the point of view of its sources. Whitney relies heavily on continental

²⁸² For full analysis of Boissard's emblems, see: Alison Adams, ed, *Jean Jacques Boissard's Emblematum liber: Emblèmes latins: Metz: A. Faber, 1588: A Facsimile Edition Using Glasgow University Library SM Add 415, With A Critical Introduction and Notes by Alison Adams* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005). See also: Adams, *Webs of Allusion*; Wolfgang Harms, 'Mundus imago Dei est. Zum Entstehungsprozeß zweier Emblem-Bücher Jean Jacques Boissards', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 47 (1973), 223-244; Wolfgang Harms, 'Eine Kombinatorik unterschiedlicher Grade des Faktischen. Erweiterungen des emblematischen Bedeutungspotentials bei dem Archäologen Jean Jacques Boissard', in *Mimesis und Simulation*, ed. by A. Kablitz and G. Neumann, Rombach Litterae, 53 (Freiburg: Rombach, 1998), pp. 279-307; Paulette Choné, pp. 662-682.

sources and many of the woodcut figures of this volume were taken from Plantin's stock initially used for works by Alciato, Paradin, Montenay, Sambucus and Junius, all authors included in this study. Whitney also looked to La Perrière's *Theatre des bons engins* as a source for at least seven of his emblems. A great number of these moralisings, written in praise of the English campaign in the Low Countries are in fact dedicated to specific people, including Queen Elizabeth I. While Whitney may be criticised, Freeman, indeed deems the work to be, 'characterised by a complete absence of originality',²⁸³ it is this very aspect that Bath praises when he writes of the book 'it thus affords us a state of the art model of the emblem as it had developed over the previous fifty years'.²⁸⁴

Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583-1619), born in Magdeburg, was the son of the well-known sixteenth-century playwright, Georg Rollenhagen. Gabriel went on himself to become a successful German and Latin poet. A Lutheran, Rollenhagen received an education firstly in Leipzig between 1602 and 1604 where he pursued legal studies and from 1605 at the University of Leiden. It was there that he met Daniel Heinsius and was introduced to other humanist scholars such as Hugo Grotius and Joseph Scaliger. His *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* was published in two volumes in 1611 and 1613. These contained two hundred emblems on various humanist themes which combined Latin distichs by Rollenhagen with fine engravings by Crispin de Passe, an Anabaptist (1564-1637). Some of the volumes of this first edition also contained French verses, not by Rollenhagen, and it is these, in particular, that will be examined here. Although it is incorrect, therefore, to assign sole authorship to

²⁸³ Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), p. 56.

²⁸⁴ Bath, p. 69 and pp. 69-89. For more on Whitney and his sources see also: Alison Saunders, 'Theatre des bons engins Through English Eyes (La Perrière, Combe and Whitney)', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 64.4 (1990), 635-674.

Rollenhagen, I will, for the sake of practicality, refer to these emblems, to the work as a whole, as Rollenhagen's. In many ways, Rollenhagen's emblematic style can be considered to be typical of the Protestant style of emblems as scholars such as Ilja Veldman, Clara Klein and Dietmar Peil have demonstrated. The close links between Rollenhagen's emblems and those of George Wither, as I explain in chapter six, further makes close analysis of Rollenhagen's emblems interesting.²⁸⁵

Julius Wilhelm Zincgref (1591-1635) was a successful German Calvinist poet and publisher. He became a student at the University of Heidelberg in 1607, studying poetry, philology and law. Between 1611-1616 he travelled extensively across Switzerland, France, England and the Netherlands before settling once again in Heidelberg in 1619 where he obtained a doctorate. This is also the year in which Theodor de Bry printed his emblematic work, the *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria* in Heidelberg. A later edition appeared in 1664. While studying there he became a member of the Heidelberg circle. This group of poets had for an aim the promotion of German national literature. They created new rules for writing poetry in the hope of achieving a purely German poetry which would unify the nation in face of the threat of advancing Catholicism led by Spain. We find, therefore, in Zincgref's *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria*, written with this specific aim in mind, the counterpart to Whitney's *Choice* written thirty-three years earlier. That Zincgref was writing in French is interesting given that his work was published in Germany. This was a result of the book emanating from the court at Heidelberg, for, as Anthony

²⁸⁵ For more on Rollenhagen and De Passe, including biographical information see: Ilja Veldman and Clara Klein, 'The Painter and the Poet: The *Nucleus emblematum* by De Passe and Rollenhagen', in *Mundus Emblematicus*, ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Arnoud S. Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 267-299; Dietmar Peil, 'Emblem Types in Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum*', *Emblematica*, 6.2 (1992), 255-82; Daniel Russell, 'Looking at the Emblem in a European Context', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 64.4 (1990), 625-645.

Harper writes, ‘the language of the court at Heidelberg was French’.²⁸⁶ Zincgref himself was eventually forced to flee Heidelberg for Strasbourg in 1622 when Imperial troops conquered Heidelberg.²⁸⁷

Anglican author **Francis Quarles** (1592-1644) is among the most successful emblem authors included in this study. He initially studied law before becoming appointed chronologer of the city of London in 1639. A prolific writer, he turned his hand upon the outbreak of civil war to writing books and pamphlets for the royalist cause. He was accused in 1644 of subversive writings and his manuscripts were seized and burned. His early literary works were paraphrases of books of the bible. *A Feast for Worms* (1621), the first of these, for example, drew its inspiration from the book of Jonah. By far the most popular of his works were his emblematic productions: *Emblemes* (1635) was an instant hit and the *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* which followed shortly after in 1637 was scarcely less popular.²⁸⁸ Literary production post 1637 for the most part consisted of political pamphlets or works published posthumously. Rosemary Freeman points to overwhelming success of *Emblemes* and *Hieroglyphikes* when she writes,

Over two thousand copies of his *Emblemes* and *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* were printed for the first combined edition in 1639 and another three thousand at least were issued in the subsequent year.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Anthony Harper, ‘Zincgref’s Emblem Book of 1619: Local and European Significance’, in *The German-Language Emblem in its European Context: Exchange and Transmission*, ed. by Anthony J. Harper and Ingrid Höpel (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2000), pp. 79-95 (p. 81).

²⁸⁷ For more background on Zincgref see: Dieter Mertens, ‘Zu Heidelberger Dichtern von Schede bis Zincgref’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 10.3 (1974), 200-241.

²⁸⁸ For more on Quarles, see also: Karl Josef Höltgen, *Francis Quarles, 1592-1644: Meditativer Dichter, Emblematiker, Royalist: eine biographische und kritische Studie* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978); Ernest B. Gilman, ‘Word and Image in Quarles’s *Emblemes*’, *Critical Inquiry*, 6.3 (1980), 385-411; Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 199-232; Freeman, pp. 114-132. For detailed bibliographical details of Quarles’s publications see: J. Horden, *Francis Quarles: A Bibliography of his Works to the Year 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953).

²⁸⁹ Freeman, p. 114.

George Wither (1588-1667), is another prolific (if sometimes derided) English poet. Born in Hampshire, Wither was sent, upon his sixteenth birthday to study at Magdalen College, Oxford for a short spell before moving to London and embarking upon a literary career. His first noteworthy literary creation, a satirical work, *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613) landed him for a while in Marshalsea prison and it is between 1613 and 1623 that it is considered that he produced his best work, including, *Fidelia*, *The Shepherd's Hunting* and *The Motto*. His emblematic work, *A Collection of Emblems* was printed in London in 1635 included plates created by Crispin de Passe for Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* sent over from Holland. Considering Rollenhagen's distichs too 'meane', Wither added his own, lengthy verses to the pictures. Furthermore, although a staunch Protestant, Wither created a sort of parlour game with his book by adding a lottery-spinner, an element first seen in Jan David's Jesuit emblem book, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Moretus, 1601). Once again it is this fusion of doctrinally opposed continental sources that renders this work of interest.²⁹⁰

Catholic Authors

This brings us to the Catholic authors who have been included in this study. The first of these is **Jan David** (1545-1613), a Jesuit. His *Veridicus Christianus* which

²⁹⁰ For more biographical information see; John Fyvie, 'George Wither', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 62 (1890), 39-47; Allan Pritchard, 'Abuses Stript and Whipt' and Wither's imprisonment', *Review of English Studies*, 14.56 (1963), pp. 337-346. For more background information on Wither including some analysis of his emblems, see Freeman, p. 114; Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 111-129.

appeared in 1601 in Antwerp was indeed one of the earliest Jesuit emblem books. David, a Jesuit Father, was born in Courtrai and became a member of the Jesuit order in 1581. He became a prominent figure of the Counter Reformation becoming rector of the Jesuit colleges at Courtrai and Ghent and an outspoken critic of Protestants. The lottery at the back of the book randomly chooses which emblem the reader should read and as such is evocative of the belief of society at that time that fate governed the fortunes of men.²⁹¹ Playing on this passive reliance on chance, and echoing contemporary parlour games, David's book required his reader to submit to whatever advice the dial randomly directed him or her to.

Antoine Sucquet (1574-1627), a Jesuit father, taught at the Jesuit novitiate at Malines. His emblem book, *Via vitae aeternae*, in which Sucquet aimed to transform sensual experiences into spiritual insights, was first printed in Antwerp in 1620 by Martini Nutij and demonstrates the influence of Ignatian meditation. The fine engravings are the work of Boethius Bolswert. This proved to be an immensely popular work running to several editions and was subsequently translated into Dutch, published by Aertssens in Antwerp in 1620, and into French by Pierre Morin, also published by Aertssens in 1623.²⁹²

Of all of our Catholic authors, **Herman Hugo** (1588-1629) is perhaps the most successful. Indeed, G. Richard Dimler, S. J. maintains that it was Hugo's work that

²⁹¹ For more information see Praz, p. 313.

²⁹² For detailed bibliographical information and discussion of Hugo's emblems generally see: Praz, pp. 143-146.

had ‘the greatest impact on the Continent and in Protestant England’.²⁹³ Born in Brussels Hugo went on to become the almoner of General Ambrogio Spinola, following him to the battlefield. Hugo died when plague broke out among soldiers at Rheinberg in 1629. His is the best known of all Jesuit emblem books and ran to several editions translations and adaptations into other European languages until the end of the eighteenth century. It first appeared in 1624 published in Antwerp by Aertssens and later in Lyon (1625), Antwerp (1628, 1629, 1632), Milan (1634), Munich and Cologne (1635), Antwerp (1636, 1645, 1647), and Paris (1647), running to over forty editions in all. It follows the teaching and meditational models promoted by Ignatius of Loyola and echoes many of the same themes found in the *Spiritual Exercises*, such as rejection of sin, repentance and union of the soul with God.²⁹⁴

Henry Hawkins (c. 1571-1646), writing in England, produced two emblematic works, *Partheneia Sacra* (Rouen: Cousturier, 1633) and *The Devout Heart* (Rouen: Cousturier, 1634), a translation of Fr Luzvic’s *Le Coeur devot* (1627). His other works consist mainly of translations of the lives of the saints from French and Italian. His literary career was fairly brief; he did not start producing works until he was fifty and all of his literary production occurred between 1630-36. Relatively little is known about his life. He was born in Kent, the son of Sir Thomas Hawkins of Nash Court, and was one of thirteen children. He studied at the English College at Rome and married before becoming a priest. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1615 and lived in

²⁹³ G. Richard Dimler, ‘Edmund Arwaker’s Translation of the *Pia Desideria*: The Reception of a Continental Jesuit Emblem Book in Seventeenth-Century England’, in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS Press, c. 1988), pp. 203-224 (p. 203).

²⁹⁴ See also: Gilman, 385-411; Praz, p. 156; Lynette C. Black, ‘Popular Devotional Emblematics: A Comparison of Sucquet’s *Le Chemin de la Vie Eterne* and Hugo’s *Les Pieux Desirs*’, *Emblematica*, 9.1 (1995), 1-20.

Belgium for a while before returning to England where, the situation having worsened for Catholics, he was captured and imprisoned.²⁹⁵

Jacques Callot (c. 1592-1635) is among the best known of all of the emblematicists included in this study. A baroque printmaker and draughtsman he was born and died in Nancy in the Duchy of Lorraine. Callot became a hugely important figure in the development of printing accomplishing over 1 400 etchings chronicling contemporary life. These featured soldiers, clowns, drunkards as well as figures from court life although he is perhaps best known for his religious and military depictions. The *Lux Claustri*, which I will consider here, was printed in Paris by Langlois in 1646. Callot lived in Florence between 1612 and 1621 where he probably studied etching and produced work for the Medici court. Upon his return to Nancy he was commissioned by the courts of Lorraine, France and Spain and by publishers, mainly in Paris, and these works were distributed throughout Europe.²⁹⁶

There is no recorded birth-date of the next Catholic author included in this study. What we do know is that **Jean Baudoin** was born in Pradelles and went on to become a prolific translator. He initially worked in the court of queen Marguerite, and, later, was in the service of the unlucky Maréchal de Maurillac. His contribution to the literary world saw him become one of the first members of the *Académie* and he became well-known for his translating work. He translated works from English into

²⁹⁵ See: Freeman, pp. 173-198 and pp. 243-248, and Karl Josef Höltgen, 'Henry Hawkins: A Jesuit Author in Stuart England', in *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley et al. (London: University of Toronto Press, c. 1999), pp. 600-626.

²⁹⁶ For more background on Callot, his life and his work see: P. Plan, *Jacques Callot, maître graveur (1593-1635) suivi d'un catalogue chronologique* (Brussels: G. van Oest, 1914); Georges Sadoul, *Jacques Callot: miroir de son temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969). See also: Choné, *Emblèmes et pensée symbolique en Lorraine (1521-1633)*, pp. 725-769.

French by authors such as Bacon before going on to translate various works from Latin, Italian and Spanish, even living abroad to accomplish this. In 1624, on orders of the Queen mother, he went to England, where, for two years he worked on *L'Arcadie de la comtesse de Pembroke*, a translation of Philip Sidney's work. This indeed became the source of some professional dispute as rival authors, including Mlle Chappelain, working on their own translations of this work and rushing to be published first, accused him of, amongst other things, plagiarism. While there is no evidence of plagiarism, and indeed Baudoin's version is said to be of a much higher standard than that of Mlle Chappelain, it does seem that Baudoin was nevertheless required to pay a substantial sum in damages. Baudoin produced two emblematic works, the *Iconologie*, based on the figures of Cesar Ripa, printed in 1636 and the two-volumed *Receuil d'emblemes divers*, printed in Paris by Jacques Villery, 1638-39. This second work proved popular running to several editions: a second edition by Villery was issued 1646-7, a third by Loysen in Paris 1659-60, a fourth in Paris by Cochart in 1658 and a further edition in 1698.²⁹⁷

Of the remaining four authors, Protestant authors **Andreas Friedrich**, **Robert Farley** and Catholic **François Berthod** and **Gabriel de Mello**, sadly little is known. Friedrich's *Emblemata Nova* appeared in Frankfurt in 1617, published by Jacob de Zetter and in the same year appeared in translation in French, also in Frankfurt, published by Luca Jennis. Robert Farley, a Scottish author, a 'minor Scots poet' according to Bath, produced two emblematic works in the same year, the *Kalendrium humanae vitae* (1638) and the *Lychonocausia* both of which focus on human mortality

²⁹⁷ For more discussion of Baudoin and his work as a translator see; H. W. Lawton, 'Notes sur Jean Baudoin et sur ses traductions de l'anglais', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 6 (1926), 673-682.

and the passing of time.²⁹⁸ Franciscan Berthod's two-volumed *Emblemes Sacrez* first appeared in Paris in 1665 under Estienne Loyson (two further editions in 1699 and 1685 are recorded) while Mello's *Les Divines operations de Jesus dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle* was printed in Paris in 1673 by Jacques Van-Merle.

²⁹⁸ Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 224.

