Learned Love

Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems and the Internet (November 2006)

Edited by Els Stronks and Peter Boot

DANS Symposium Publications 1

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Illustration cover: Emblem no. 20 from Daniel Heinsius, 'Ambacht van Cupido',
in: *Nederduytsche poemata*. Amsterdam 1616 (EPU site).

Contents

The Dutch love emblem on the Internet: an introduction

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This volume contains the selected papers of the conference on the Dutch love emblem and emblem digitisation held in Utrecht, on November 6th and 7th, 2006. On those two days, scholars from multiple disciplines and countries gathered to discuss Dutch love emblems books, their digitisation in the Emblem Project Utrecht, and its connection with other emblem digitisation efforts. The conference's title, *Learned Love*, referred to the motto of emblem 23 in one of those emblem books, first published in 1613: Daniel Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* (Trade of Cupid). As it turned out, not only this motto but also the beginning of the subscriptio of this emblem 23 proved to be applicable to the conference: 'He who possesses knowledge, flies over all countries' (Fig. 1).[1]

Studying the Dutch love emblem in the context of emblem digitisation requires knowledge from disciplines such as art history, editorial science, information science, literary studies, theology and history. This volume mirrors the diversity of disciplines. Part I is dedicated to the study of the (digitised) Dutch love emblem; Part II to the study of emblem digitisation. This introduction first discusses the goals of the Emblem Project Utrecht and its results, and then summarizes the specific contributions to the study of the Dutch love emblem and emblem digitisation in this volume.

The two goals of the Emblem Project Utrecht

In recent years, scholars from all over the world have recognized the value of information technology for the study of the emblematic tradition. Due to the typical constraint of the emblematic genre (best described as a web of citations, imitations and adaptations from pictorial as well as textual sources) emblem studies are partly comparative in nature. Before the digital era, emblem studies were undertaken with scholarly reprints, and indexes – such as the iconographical index of Arthur Henkel en Albrecht Schöne's *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* and Peter Daly's *Index emblematicus.* However useful, the reprints and indexes were not as flexible as one might wish. To find answers to questions of origin and influence in the literary and pictorial (and sometimes musical) motifs and elements of emblems, we need some of the benefits of recent IT-techniques.

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1 'Die wetenschap besit, vliecht over alle landen'

Fig. 1: D. Heinsius, 'Amor eruditus' [Learned love], emblem 23 of Ambacht van Cupido: in *Nederduytsche poemata* 1616 (EPU site).

In line with these efforts, the Emblem Project Utrecht (EPU) was created in 2002. The Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO) funded it from 2003 to 2006. The project aimed to publish an Internet site with scholarly and searchable editions of Dutch emblem books. Through these editions, the project hoped to stimulate research in the field of the Dutch love emblem as well as to investigate and test the application of recent IT-developments in emblem digitisation.

In general, how successful has EPU been in producing an Internet site with advanced digital resources? In November 2006, the EPU launched a site with 26 digital editions of Dutch love emblem books at http://emblems.let.uu.nl. The site includes a bibliography referring to literature relevant to the Dutch love emblem, editorial introductions as well as search indexes, concordances and references to parallels and sources. The editions may be searched through a variety of means. The global search page allows selection by pictorial motifs/elements and other indexes. The tables of contents allow selection by motto, concordances allow selection by individual words, and the bibliography cross-references all places in the EPU editions that refer to a given bibliographical item. From the first, unofficial launch of the EPU site in 2003, the number of visitors has been growing regularly, adding up to a total of approximately 145,000 hits in the year 2006. A third of these visitors log in from the Netherlands, a tenth from the United States and Belgium. But it is not only numbers that tell us how widely the EPU site is known. Based on

the emails with requests and questions we get on a daily basis, it is clear scholars as well as visitors with other interests and backgrounds are using the EPU site in a fruitful manner. Publications that specifically record their use of the EPU site include Peil 2004 and Peil 2005. As a further indication of the impact of the EPU site, we include in this volume a paper on wall paintings in a French castle, the owner of which contacted us shortly after the conference was over. Searching on the Internet, she had found out for herself that Heinsius's *Emblemata amatoria* must have been the source for these wall paintings. Needless to say she would probably never have managed to do so if the EPU corpus was not digitised.

To facilitate visitors of the EPU site that do not have a scholarly background, we have developed an educational site, explaining to them the main characteristics of the profane Dutch love emblem and providing a questionnaire to test their growing knowledge. This site was visited around 3000 times in between 2004 and 2006.[2]

More specifically, what is the EPU research output in the fields of the Dutch love emblem and emblem digitisation? We will briefly discuss the results of the project in these two areas, starting with the study of the Dutch love emblem.

The EPU corpus was selected because of its uniquely Dutch character and because of the many unresolved questions about its history, background and wider importance. The selection was limited to love emblem books written in Dutch, published between 1600 and 1725, and printed in the Low Countries.[3] On the basis of existing research, conducted by for instance Karel Porteman and Marc Van Vaeck (see Porteman 1977, Van Vaeck 1993), the corpus was selected at the beginning of the EPU, based on the following assumptions: the most important contribution to what was to become the tradition of the Dutch love emblem came around 1601 from Daniel Heinsius, professor in Leiden. Heinsius combined the efforts of several of his friends (among them the engraver Jacques de Gheyn and lawyer/historian/statesman Hugo Grotius) in the volume *Quaeris quid sit amor* (Do you seek/ask what love is). *Quaeris quid sit amor* proved a resounding success. Reprints appeared in rapid succession, and the new title given to the volume with the third printing – *Emblemata amatoria* – would grow into the label for a subgenre in international emblematics. The title of this first Dutch love emblem book indicates that the new subgenre had a very European side to it. Mottoes and epigrams in languages other than Dutch accompanied the *picturae*, and traces from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and other important classical and contemporary sources can be found everywhere in the book.

The poet and artist Otto Vaenius whose *Amorum emblemata* was published in 1608, thereafter played an important role in the development of the Dutch love

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2 See: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/emblems/educational/home.html
3 We have made some exceptions, as in the case of Vaenius's *Emblemata Horatiana*, which is not a love emblem book, but seemed sufficiently related to the other books to be included in the corpus.

emblem. Vaenius's emblems were made for the European market. Vaenius and be-friended artists collaborated in the production of *epigrammata* in Latin, English, Italian, French, Spanish and Dutch to accompany one set of *picturae*. Four editions with different sets of epigrams were published at the same time. Vaenius's example may have inspired Heinsius to republish his *Quaeris*, now named *Emblemata amatoria*. A couple of years later, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft published his *Emblemata amatoria* (1611).

All of these emblem books have their roots in the Petrarchist tradition, with as leading motif a lamenting lover whose mistress turns out to be an icy-hearted god-dess. In 1618, by publishing his *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, Jacob Cats created a new tradition in the love emblem. In his works, Cats introduces realism and everyday life, in a serious attempt to change the Dutch outlook on love and marriage. The amatory emblems in the first part of this book were used again with a moral and religious explanation in the second and third part. The love emblem had obtained a religious dimension when Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* was published in 1615. On this occasion, Vaenius adapted his formula for secular emblems in a reli-gious sense. Numerous poets followed in Vaenius's and Cats's footsteps; their ideas gained currency in Catholic as well as protestant circles. The Counter-Reforma-tion anthology *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* (1626/8/9) initiated and pub-lished by Michiel Snijders, for example, contains many borrowings from Cats. His *Sinne- and minnebeelden* served as the point of departure for many engravings in *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*, and a good many of the Latin texts were taken over as well. Here, as in Vaenius, divine love (Amor divinus) in most cases takes the place of Cupid. The *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* in addition shows in-fluences of Heinsius and of the *Pia desideria* by Hermannus Hugo. This volume therefore serves as a prime example of love emblematics as a melting-pot genre. In the northern part of the Netherlands this tradition was followed by for instance Jan Luyken, Jan van Hoogstraten and Jan Suderman.

A number of articles dedicated to the study of the Dutch love emblem have been published during the course of the project, discussing the assumptions thus far made about the corpus. Topics were the specific nature of Vaenius's *Amoris di-vini emblemata*, the contribution of Jan Luyken to the religious love emblem, the success of Cats's *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, the relationship between theatre and em-blems, and the role of Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* in the transition from the Petrarchist tradition to the Dutch love emblem as developed by Cats (Bloemen-dal 2002; Boot 2007a, 2007b; Stronks 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2005). In the next few years, a group of researchers in both Leuven and Utrecht will focus in more detail on the specifics of the relationship between religious emblems in the northern and southern parts of the Netherlands, as well as on the relationship between pro-fane and religious emblems and emblems and other art forms in a research proj-ect titled 'The religious emblem tradition in the Low Countries in light of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*' (FWO/NWO), started in January 2007.

What were the results of the EPU in the second area of attention, the study of emblem digitisation? The EPU was founded in the firm belief that the project should embrace international standards for encoding textual and pictorial data. The EPU adopted the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), the Iconclass system, XML and XSLT as the most relevant standards. A number of articles on the issue of these choices and their consequences have been published over the course of the project. The development of digital tools for the editor was also included in the project's scope of interest (Boot 2002a, 2002b, 2002c and Boot 2005; resulting in a PhD dissertation on emblem digitisation in 2008). Another result in this area is the co-operation of the EPU and others in the OpenEmblem Portal, a resource for emblem book researchers from around the world, helping them share resources and discuss with others in the emblem book community.[4]

Since the EPU is based on the principle that the sharing of knowledge is extremely important when it comes to making progress, all of our files and documentation on the techniques we used are available on the EPU site.[5] The site offers TIF and JPG files (600 dpi) of all images. Everything on the site is licensed under a Creative Commons License.[6]

Part 1: The Dutch love emblem

After this brief look at the history and results of the Emblem Project Utrecht, we will now turn to the contents of this volume. Part 1 is opened by Alison Saunders's paper on the origins of the love emblem. A newly discovered French emblem book, Guillaume La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour*, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, may well have been a model for the Dutch love emblem books published after 1601. This paper thus questions the very fundamental assumption made so far that the love emblem was a Dutch invention.

The second contribution, by Arnoud Visser, compares Otto Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* from 1615 and Michel Hoyer's *Flammulae amoris* (*Sparkles of Augustine's love*) from 1629, explaining the profound difference between the two emblem books. On the basis of this comparison, should Vaenius's religious emblems really be located in a tradition of devotional mysticism, as has often been assumed?

Marc Van Vaeck's contribution discusses the Jesuit appropriation of the love emblem (and other emblem traditions) in the *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* (1640), the work celebrating the centenary of the Jesuit order. He devotes special attention to the adaptation of the Latin volume for a vernacular audience, a subject closely related to the *Pia desideria* project mentioned above.

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4 See: http://media.library.uiuc.edu/projects/oebp/
5 See: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/project_procedures.html
6 The Attribution-Non Commercial/ShareAlike license.
See: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/1.0/

The issue of classification, already a topic in Visser's contribution, is further discussed in Els Stronks's paper on the development of the religious love emblem. Thus far, Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*, printed in 1615, has always been considered as the first religious love emblem book. There are good reasons to doubt this, one of which is the changing nature of Heinsius's profane love emblem books between 1601 and 1613. If the development of the religious subgenre was a gradual process, should we not start to question the strict division between profane and religious emblem books?

Sagrario López Poza discusses the Spanish epigrams in Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*, written by the Spanish poet Alonso de Ledesma, and positions them in the wider tradition of Spanish poetry. He applied the same wit and humor in his other poetry.

Jan Bloemendal raises a similar issue in his contribution, in which he reflects on the possibilities of reconstructing a seventeenth-century reading experience using an Internet site like the one made for the EPU. From the examples he discusses, it becomes very clear that emblems derived from various literary sources, contemporary as well as ancient. One can detect traces from other emblematic sources within and outside the EPU corpus, but also from Roman philosophers and playwrights. Just as the emblems, on their turn, left their marks in contemporary poetry and paintings. The emblems thus were intertextual and even intermedial webs of allusions and quotations. How can an Internet site reflect their complexity?

Stefan Kiedron and Joanna Skubisz discuss the European context of the seventeenth-century reading experience in their contribution. The Library of the University of Wroclaw has a copy of the 1615 edition of Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* that has a very interesting provenance. How did a Dutch emblem book land in Poland, and what can be said about the apparently European popularity of an emblem book in Europe that seemed to be especially made for the Dutch market?

This Dutch market as the source of inspiration for Dutch love emblem writers is discussed in detail in the contribution by Arie Jan Gelderblom. In the same period the love emblems became very popular in the Netherlands, the Dutch Republic was flourishing economically. Was there a connection between these trends? Is the kind of advice given to Dutch citizens about their economic affairs reflected in the lessons taught about love in the love emblems books?

The last contribution to this section of the volume by Peter Boot sheds light on a pleasant discovery that almost coincided with the completion of the Emblem Project Utrecht in November 2006.

Part 2: The digitisation of the emblem

Part 2 of this volume opens with a contribution by Els Stronks, attempting to classify the EPU site. The intention was to create a collection of digital editions, but how should the outcome be judged? The relatively new concept of a 'knowledge site' is introduced as an alternative for 'digital edition', and the ramifications of this change in attitude are listed and discussed.

Edward Vanhoutte in his contribution reflects on the specifics of digital editions. Scholars are in the process of defining technical and editorial standards for this type of edition. This process, Vanhoutte argues, should be finalized in the next few years to ensure the quality of digital editions, as well as their durability and comparability.

Johan Tilstra, in his contribution to the volume, explains the technical choices made by the EPU and their implications. What principles motivated these design decisions, and what future benefits are expected from the techniques chosen for the EPU site? The technical standards Vanhoutte is assuming for digital editions, are they also applicable for knowledge sites such as the EPU site aims to become?

Peter M. Daly presents an overview of digitisation efforts made so far in the field of emblem studies, and assesses the specific features of the EPU site.

In his contribution, Thomas Stäcker discusses future technical developments of emblem digitisation projects. The next logical step is the introduction of the XML Schema for the exchange of emblem data between emblem projects and the Open-Emblem Portal? Stäcker discusses an experimental implementation of a 'harvesting' procedure. Are the underlying data of sufficient quality, or will the individual databases need to be redesigned?

In the last contribution to this volume, Peter Boot discusses future developments for the editors and researchers using sites like the EPU site. Assuming that annotation facilities are the single most important item that digitisation projects will need to address, how will this influence scholarly reading, writing and publication? His article introduces the concept of mesotext to describe the bodies of structured annotation that may provide the supporting data for future emblem studies. Will this affect the nature of research done in the humanities?

As these summaries of the papers in this volume show, the conference *Learned Love* has resulted in new discoveries, new assumptions and new questions, offering all kinds of perspectives for future research and future digitisation projects. The Dutch love emblem should not be looked upon as an isolated event in Dutch literature. It was connected with the European culture and readers, just as it will be – by means of digitisation – connected to a world wide audience in our times.

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Part 1 The Dutch love emblem

Creator of the earliest collection of French emblems, but now also creator of the earliest collection of love emblems? Evidence from a newly discovered emblem book by Guillaume de la Perrière

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The 'love emblem' is normally associated with the Dutch tradition, beginning with the well-known and delightful collections of *emblemata amatoria* by Heinsius and Vaenius, dating from the early seventeenth century, featuring in witty and often whimsical manner the exploits of winged Cupid.[1] In focussing around the single theme of erotic love these highly popular works were clearly very different from the earliest collections of emblems – those published in France in the first half of the sixteenth century – which were characterised by the diversity of their subject matter.[2]

It has nevertheless long been recognised that the Dutch love emblem may well owe some debt to an earlier French model. Heavily inspired by familiar Petrarchan and Ovidian conceits (to the extent that Porteman has remarked that Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* could well have been entitled *Emblemata Ovidiana*, following the pattern of his earlier *Emblemata Horatiana*), Dutch emblem books of the early seventeenth century may well have received this influence through the filter of Maurice Scève's *Délie*, as Mario Praz suggested nearly 70 years ago.[3] Certainly the mode for Ovidian and Petrarchan love poetry was very strong in France from the 1530s, and Scève's originality lay in giving an additional layer to the conceits of love by complementing his verses with illustrative woodcuts. And certainly there are clear similarities between some of the woodcut figures and devices and the textual imagery in Scève's *Délie*, published in Lyon in 1544, and those of the earliest collections of Dutch love emblems, but the similarities do not extend beyond that. There is little resemblance between the conventional emblematic pattern of the Dutch emblem books (which normally comprise a collection of freestanding verses each accompanied by a figure and motto) and Scève's complex *canzoniere*, which has an almost narrative thread, relating the peripeties of a single sustained love affair as perceived through the subjective vision of the poet-lover, a *canzoniere*

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1 Heinsius (1601); Heinsius (1608 and 1973); Vaenius (1608/1996). For details of editions of Heinsius see Breugelmans (1972, 281-90). See also Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999 and 2002).

2 For this purpose I include Alciato's emblem book – the first official emblem book – among 'those published in France' since it was in France that it was primarily published in numerous editions after the first (very inferior) Augsburg edition of 1531: Alciato, Andrea (1531) *Viri clarissimi D. Andree Alciati iurisconsultiss. Mediol ... emblematum liber.* Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner.

3 Vaenius (1996), introduction, 3; Praz (1964); Scève (1544).

in which the sequence of 449 stanzas is broken up by the insertion at regular intervals of woodcut figures and devices.

The similarities and parallels of imagery are interesting, certainly, but I would not wish to argue that Scève's *Délie* in any way constitutes a threat to the accepted view that collections of love emblems are a Dutch invention of the early seventeenth century. The object of this paper, however, is to draw attention to a newly discovered early French 'emblem book' which, it could be argued, does call into question the generally accepted view that collections of love emblems are 'a wholly seventeenth-century Dutch invention'. This work is Guillaume de la Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour*, a very rare work, published in Lyon in three different editions, the earliest of which dates from 1543. Only two known copies of the work survive (neither of them from the first edition), and – until a year ago – only one known copy (from the second edition) survived.

La Perrière is well known as the writer of the earliest French emblem book – a remarkably early one, composed in 1535, but not published until 1540.[4] That work, the *Theatre des bons engins*, follows, not surprisingly, the hotch-potch pattern which was first established in Alciato's emblem book, and remained the norm for all early emblem books (until the discovery of the rather different *Cent considerations d'amour*). Certainly, like Alciato's emblem book, La Perrière's *Theatre* does include emblems on the subject of love, but these are scattered throughout the volume, and love is just one topic among many others. The same is true of his other well-known emblem book, the 1553 *Morosophie,*[5] as it is likewise true of other early French emblem books like Gilles Corrozet's 1540 *Hecatomphile* or Barthélemy Aneau's 1552 *Imagination poetique.*[6] But La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* is, as its title suggests, quite different from these, since it comprises a series of 100 'emblems' all on the single subject of love.

But what is this book, and why has it been hitherto so unnoticed by emblem scholars? The reason is that until a year ago there was only one known copy of the work (in Paris in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), and this was not a copy of the first edition, but of a subsequent edition published in 1548 by a little known Lyon publisher, Jacques Berion.[7] Furthermore, in this 1548 edition there are no woodcut figures: the text simply comprises 100 quatrains on the theme of love, all closely packed together, six to the page. However, when I first saw this little sedecimo volume many years ago, I was nevertheless struck by the emblematic potential of its highly figurative verses which clearly would have lent themselves very well to woodcut illustration. (In parenthesis, I was also struck by the remarkable similarities between some of the imagery used by La Perrière in this work and that used by Scève in his 1544 *Délie,* which – interestingly – was published a year *after* the 1543 first edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour*.) My strong feeling, already then, that La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* really ought to be considered to be

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4 La Perrière (1540 and 1973).
5 La Perrière (1553 and 1993).
6 Corrozet (1540 and 1974); Aneau (1552).
7 La Perrière (1548).

an emblem book was strengthened by finding a reference in a nineteenth-century sale catalogue to a copy of the first edition, also published in Lyon, but by François Juste and Pierre de Tours, in which the work was described as indeed containing 'figures sur bois'.[8] 'Figures sur bois', though, is somewhat vague, and could mean no more than a few woodcuts scattered through the text, but another reference to the same edition by the admittedly not wholly dependable Brunet did further specify that this edition contained woodcuts on every page.[9] So although we had here fairly clear evidence that in the form in which the work first appeared, the *Cent considerations d'amour* did indeed include illustrations, since the present whereabouts of the Yemeniz copy are not known, and there is no other known copy, this information remained somewhat hypothetical.

However since those early days when I first became interested in this work, modern technology has progressively provided Early Modern scholars with hugely enriched resources for bibliographical search, and in this particular instance it was while making a routine check on the online *Catalogue collectif de la France* to see if by any chance that, or another copy of the 1543 illustrated edition had turned up somewhere in a provincial French library, I did not find such a copy, but what I *did* find was a copy of a hitherto completely unknown, rather later, edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* in the Bibliothèque municipale in Versailles, published in Lyon in 1577 by Benoît Rigaud, and described tantalisingly in the catalogue as 'fig'.[10] And indeed in this 1577 edition the work *is* 'fig' throughout. Its structure replicates that of La Perrière's first emblem book, the *Theatre des bons engins.* The layout is symmetrical, with each emblem occupying a single page and comprising woodcut figure followed by 4-line verse. As in the *Theatre* (and also in his later *Morosophie*) La Perrière does not use titles or mottoes in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, but simply numbers his 'emblems' from 1 to 100. The big difference between this 1577 edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* and the *Theatre,* however, is that the *Cent considerations d'amour* is – unfortunately – an extremely inferior piece of printing, whereas the *Theatre*, particularly in the editions published by Denis Janot in Paris, is an aesthetically sophisticated and lavishly produced work, characterised by the strikingly ornate decorative borders framing each of its emblems. In contrast to this there are in the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* virtually no decorative borders. Only in two 'emblems' (31 and 100) are very basic side-pieces used, and the reason for these is because the woodblock used for them is smaller than all the others and the side-pieces serve to fill the space (Fig. 1).

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8 'Les Cent considerations d'amour, composees par Guillaume de La Perriere Tholosan. DMXLIII. A Lyon par Françoys Juste et Pierre de Tours, in 16. Figures sur bois, mar. rouge, filetz à compart. tr. dor. (Moreau). première édition. Rare', *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. N. Yemeniz.* 1867, no.1834.
9 Brunet, J.C. (1860-65; col. 830).
10 La Perrière (1577). See also Peach (1992, 345) (where the date is incorrectly noted as 1557). I should like to note my gratitude to the staff of the Fonds Ancien in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles for permission to reproduce illustrations and for facilitating my work on this edition, and in particular to Mme Marie-Françoise Rose for her unfailing help and generosity.
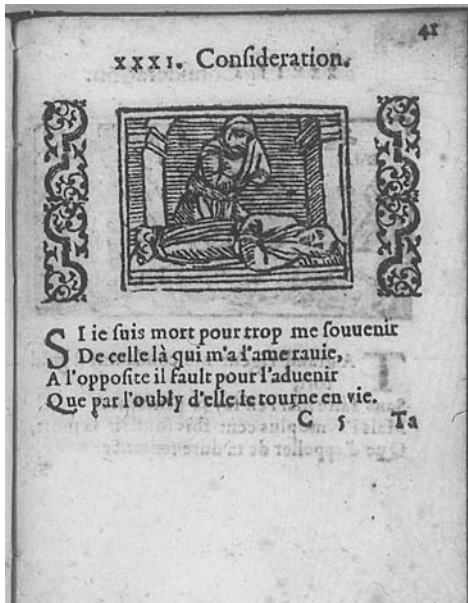
Fig. 1: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 31

It is unfortunate that no copy of the original 1543 edition of the work has as yet emerged. The Yemeniz Collection was sold at auction at the Hotel Drouot in 1867. The whole collection was bought up by Ambroise Firmin Didot, who kept a few items for himself, but sold on the rest, thereby dispersing the collection. His copy of the 1543 *Cent considerations d'amour* can not have been among the works which he kept for himself, since it features neither in the *Catalogue raisonné* of his library nor in the subsequent sale catalogue of his collection.[11] Individual books which were formerly part of the Yemeniz Collection do appear in sale catalogues, but not, as yet, his copy of this work, and all my attempts to trace the whereabouts of this copy or indeed of any other copy have so far failed. We can only surmise, therefore, what this edition would have been like, but my guess is that, like La Perrière's other works which were published in his own lifetime, it would almost certainly have been a better produced volume than the 1577 edition which appeared more than 20 years after his death in 1553.[12] More significantly (again based on the evidence of his other works published within his lifetime) I would guess that La Perrière would have ensured that in its first edition this work would have been illustrated by appropriate woodcut figures, possibly even designed specifically for it, as seems to have been the case with both his other two emblem books, the Paris-published *Theatre* and Lyon-published *Morosophie*.[13]

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11 *Catalogue raisonné des livres* (1867); *Catalogue des livres rares* (1878).
12 For biographical details of La Perrière see Dexter (1955, 56-73).
13 The woodcut figures used in the Janot editions of the *Theatre* are different in both style and size from those used by Janot in other works, and the fact that Janot did not re-use them subsequently to illustrate other works (as he commonly did) suggests that they may perhaps have
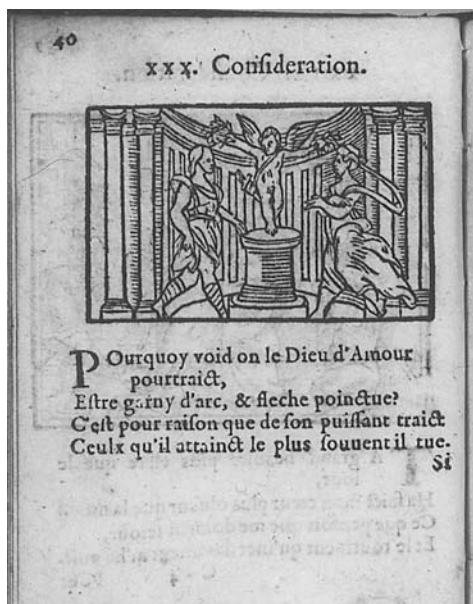
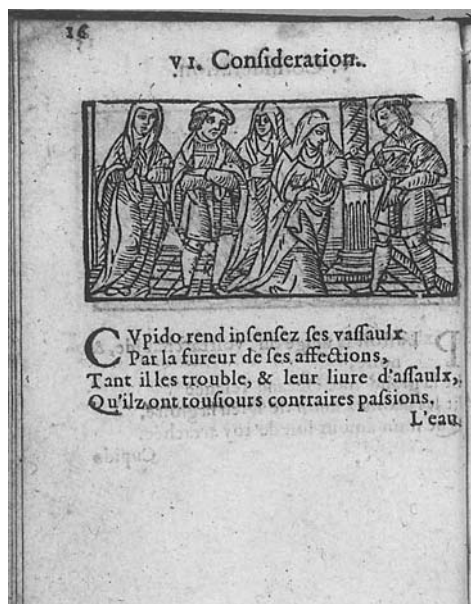Fig. 2: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 30

Fig. 3: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 6

But what we actually have in the form in which it appears in the 1577 edition is a work which is visually much inferior to La Perrière's other emblematic works. It is immediately evident that the woodblocks that are used here were not purpose-made for this text. Several different series of woodblocks are used, and they vary considerably in both size and style (Figs 2-5).[14] La Perrière's emblematic verses are thus accompanied here by very diverse, and illy assorted woodcut illustrations (several of which are used more than once), taken from various sets originally designed for other works, with the result that very often the correlation between what is depicted in the figure and what is said in the verse is poor. In some cases it is easy to identify what the woodcuts were originally designed to depict (particularly since several include the name of the characters represented) (Figs. 6-7).[15] But in other cases, where the woodcut depicts a fairly indeterminate scene, identifica-

been supplied by La Perrière himself. Likewise the striking and appropriate woodcut figures used by Macé Bonhomme for the *Morosophie* never reappear elsewhere.

14 It is difficult to identify precisely how many series of woodblocks are used in the work, but there are at least five, and possibly as many as nine, and they appear in four different sizes. The most common size is 30 x 55 mm, though one series (which includes Pyramus and Thisbe, (Fig. 8) and Orpheus with the animals) is slightly different, measuring 32 x 50 mm. Another very distinct series of five woodblocks is much larger, measuring 45 x 58 mm, (Fig. 4) while one single woodblock representing a shrouded dead figure (which is used twice) is much smaller, measuring only 28 x 34 mm. (Fig. 1).

15 As, for example, 'Diane' (1,65); 'Mars' (10,44); 'Oenone Paris' (11, 48, 61); 'Les trois Graces Volupté Cupido Venus' (14, 17, 47, 98); 'Chyron Thetis Achiles' (6, 91); 'Piragmon Vulcan Brontes' (25) (Fig. 6); 'Veissiez Eperion' (52, 60) (Fig. 7).

Qvi pour plaifir fe met en la prifon,
Merite bien que toufiours y demeure:
Et que dedans (pour fa grand' mefprifon)
Finalement fans aucun fecours meure:
B 4   Si

Fig. 4: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 13

CVpido faict par fon enchantement
Les fiers Lyons plus humbles que Bre
biz,
Ceux qui fond chaulx pour le commence-
ment,
Rend à la fin plus froidz que marbre bis.
                    Qui

Fig. 5: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 12

Tout bon trauail merite en fin repos:
Labeur conftant toufiours guerdon
ameine:
Mais Cupido (ne fçay pour quel propos)
Tant plus trauaille & plus me met en peine.
                    C 2   Quand

Fig. 6: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 25

Tant plus ie voy ton dur cœur refroi-
dir,
Plus grand chaleur voy enflammer en moy:
Tant plus ma vie apperçoy amoindrir,
Tant plus augmente en ton amour ma foy.
                    En

Fig. 7: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 52

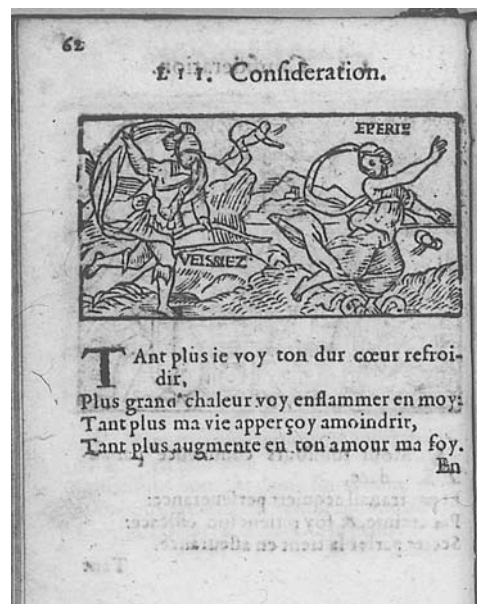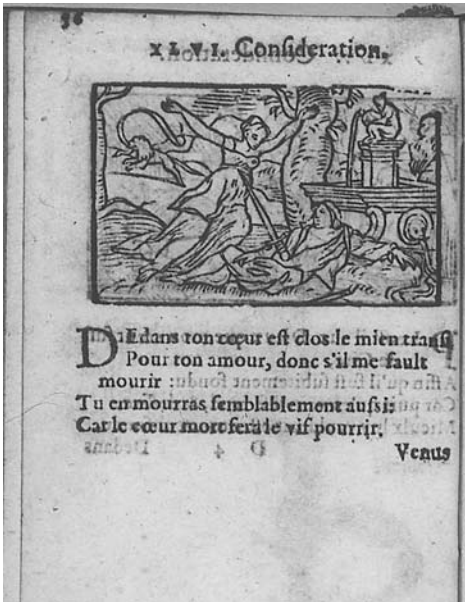18 Creator of the earliest collection of love emblems?

Fig. 8: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 46   Fig. 9: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 18
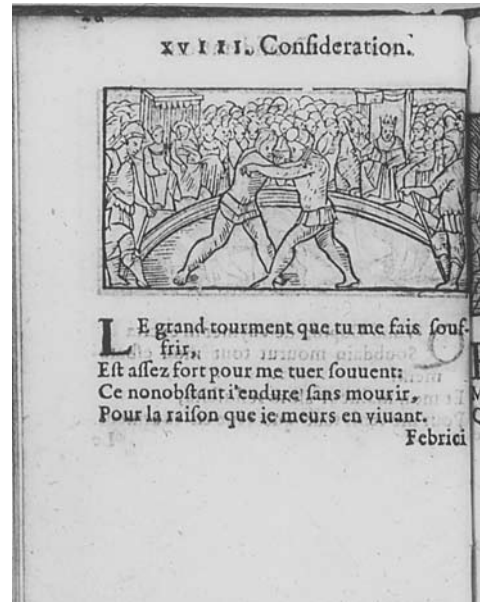
tion is not so easy, as for example in the rather archaic illustration to *Considera-tion* 6 (Fig. 3). And in the cases where the figures are identifiable, it is not always easy to establish precisely where they would originally have been used. One thing that is clear is that they were not all woodblocks owned by Benoît Rigaud which he had already used in earlier works that he had published. Several, for example, depict scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which is a text that he did not publish. Among the *Metamorphoses* illustrations are Hesperia fleeing from Aesacus (*Con-siderations* 52,60; *Metamorphoses*, Bk 11) (Fig. 7), and Pyramus and Thisbe (*Con-siderations* 3,46,88; *Metamorphoses*, Bk 4) (Fig. 8). I have not been able to identify where these came from – certainly some of them – including these two – are crude mirror-image imitations of woodblocks from a set used by Marnef and Cavellat in 1574 for an edition of the *Metamorphoses* – which were themselves closely mod-elled on the Bernard Salomon illustrations used by Jean de Tournes in his 1557 edition of the work.[16] (In particular with the *Metamorphoses* there was a strong tradition of copying illustrations from one edition to another.) I have, however, identified two of the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* woodcuts (*Considerations* 18, 53 and 26, 49) as having been earlier used in an edition of an extract from the *Metamorphoses* published in Lyon by Pierre de Tours in 1567 under the title *Le proces d'Ajax et d'Ulisses pour les Armes d'Achille, contenu au treziesme livre de la Metamorphose d'Ovide, translaté en langue françoise par M. Jacques Colin* (B1r and

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16 *Les XV livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide* (1574); *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (1557).
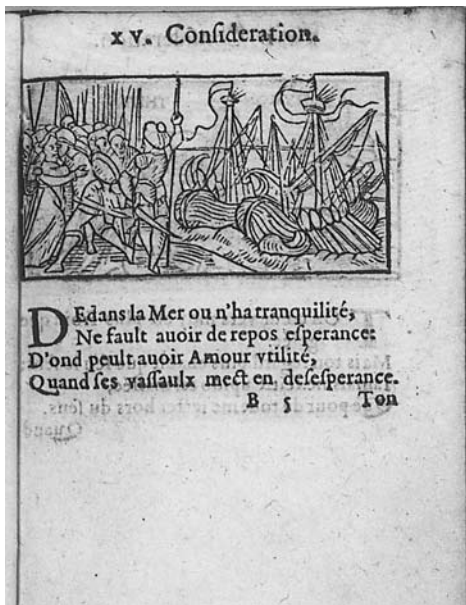
Fig. 10: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 15

B2r).[17] Interestingly, in the case of the woodcut depicting the wrestling figures of Ajax and Ulysses, the names of the two characters which were incorporated into original 1567 version of the woodblock have been removed by the time it is used in the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* (Fig. 9).

Certainly therefore in this 1577 version we have a very inferior 'emblem book' in which the correlation between figure and verse is often poor. But this quite commonly occurred in later sixteenth-century reworkings of illustrated texts dating originally from the earlier part of the century. We see it, for example, in two other such works published by Benoît Rigaud in various editions in the 1560s to 1580s: these are reworked versions of Barthélemy Aneau's 1549 *Decades de la description des animaux*, and Guillaume Guéroult's 1550 *Second livre de la description des animaux contenant le blason des oyseaux* (both originally published in Lyon by Balthasar Arnoullet) which appeared in a number of later editions by Rigaud and by others under variants of the titles *La description philosophale de la nature et condition des animaux, tant raisonnables que bruts. Avec le sens moral sur le naturel et condition d'iceux* and *La proprieté et nature des oyseaux: avec leurs pourtraits & figures naifvement taillees; le tout remis en bon ordre avec le sens moral, par un sçavant philosophe, pour l'utilité d'un chascun.*[18] Arnoullet's original versions were not particularly elegantly produced, but the later versions produced by Rigaud, like those similarly produced by members of the Bonfons family in Paris (who also

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17 A copy of this very rare work exists in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
18 *La description philosophale* (1586); *La proprieté et nature des oyseaux* (1584).

specialised in producing reworkings of earlier illustrated works) are – like the 1577 edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* – very crude pieces of printing.[19]

Unfortunately the Versailles unique copy of the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* is incomplete, lacking an entire gathering (F) and one leaf of another gathering (B1), so that it contains only 82 out of the full complement of 100 'emblems'. *Considerations* 7-8 and 71-86 are missing, so we cannot form an accurate evaluation of the extent to which in this edition there is correlation between figure and text. But from the 82 'emblems' in this copy, 22 do show a correlation between figure and text[20] (see, for example, Figs 1, 2, 6, 8, 10) while in the remaining 60 the correlation is not evident. Among these 60 the figures in 15 'emblems' are relatively indeterminate[21] (see, for example, Fig. 3) but in the remaining 45 where the woodcut figure depicts a more specific scene, there is little evident connection between the message of the verse and that of its accompanying figure (see, for example, Figs. 5, 7, 9). Given the potential importance of this work by La Perrière, as a collection of 100 symmetrically arranged illustrated epigrams all on the subject of love, produced decades before the Dutch collections of love emblems, it is unfortunate that there is at the moment no known copy of the first edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* which would have given us better grounds for judgement of what La Perrière himself had originally envisaged.

Two arguments against the view that this work constitutes an early emblem book on the subject of love have been suggested by David Graham, in the course of discussion at the conference at which this paper was presented. One is the fact that La Perrière does not use the word 'embleme' in the title, whereas he did so in the titles to both his *Theatre* and his *Morosophie*, and the other is the fact that in his dedication of the 1553 *Morosophie* to Antoine de Bourbon, he refers to one earlier emblem book produced by himself ('l'autre Centurie d'Emblemes, que pieça je dediay à la feu Royne de Navarre', B1r) rather than to two. These are cogent arguments, and the case for regarding the *Cent considerations d'amour* as an emblem book would certainly have been stronger if La Perrière *had* used the word 'embleme' in the context of this work. However, 1543 was still a very early date in the development of the emblem genre, and the word was by no means always used rigorously or consistently by writers at the time. Corrozet, for example, did not use the word 'embleme' in the title of his 1540 *Hecatomgraphie*, nor yet did Aneau use either 'emblema' or 'embleme' in the titles of his Latin and French versions of the 1552 *Picta poesis/Imagination poetique*. Despite David Graham's reservations, therefore, and despite the undoubted aesthetic shortcomings of the 1577 edition and the poor correlation between figure and text in many of its 'emblems', I would argue that given its structure, the *Cent considerations d'amour* clearly should be seen as a hitherto unacknowledged emblem book. And if we do accept it as such,

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19 For details see Saunders (1976, 437-57).
20 2, 3,10,14,15, 17, 18, 23, 25, 30, 31, 35, 36, 40, 46, 47, 55, 60, 87, 94, 98, 100.
21 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 22, 33, 34, 35, 51, 56, 57.

then it does raise an interesting question as to the earliest manifestations of the love emblem book.

In La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* we have an edition of a French love emblem book published in 1577, nearly a quarter of a century before the emblem books of Heinsius and Vaenius, but even more strikingly if we count back (as we logically must do) to 1543, the date of the first edition, we are talking about a collection of emblems being produced in France on the single theme of love more than half a century before those of Heinsius and Vaenius. So this newly discovered edition is a very striking discovery. (And in parenthesis, since its publication predates that of Scève's *Délie* by one year it is very tempting to suggest that Scève's inspiration to accompany his love *canzoniere*, in which a number of the images parallel those used by La Perrière in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, with interspersed figures and devices, came not wholly from his own inventive genius, or from a greater awareness of the work of Alciato than has hitherto been thought to be the case – as has been suggested by Gerard Defaux in his recent edition of the *Délie* –but rather perhaps from the more immediate and highly innovative model produced just the previous year by La Perrière.)[22]

Moving on from bibliographical and physical description of this new 'emblem book' let us now consider the textual content of the *Cent considerations d'amour* to see the extent to which it shows parallels to, and differences from early seventeenth-century Dutch love emblems. And to avoid speaking too unspecifically about 'the Dutch love emblem' in general, I intend to focus on one particular early Dutch collection of love emblems, Vaenius's 1608 *Amorum emblemata* published in Antwerp in trilingual editions with different combinations of languages, quoting, for purposes of easy comparison with La Perrière's French text, the French quatrains that appeared in this edition.

One very apparent difference must be mentioned straightaway. Although in terms of its single theme of love, Vaenius's collection of emblems is very different from earlier French emblem books, in another important respect it *does* conform to a characteristic pattern of the earlier emblem books, in the sense that nearly all Vaenius's emblems express their message impersonally, offering a moral lesson or reflection on the nature of love which is universally applicable. Thus, for example, in *Amour vainceur des Dieux* Vaenius depicts the figure of a diminutive but triumphant Cupid contemplating the arrow that he has just shot into the breast of mighty Apollo (shown standing rather nonplussed beside the monstrous crocodile that he has himself just conquered), accompanied by a self-explanatory verse reflecting on the all-powerful nature of love:

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22 Scève (2004). For discussion of emblematic aspects of Scève's *Délie* and similarities of textual imagery between it and the 1548 non-illustrated edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour*, see Saunders (1996, 405-17).

Amour laschant au coeur de Phebus sa sagette,
Par bravade luy dit: Cognoy moy plus puissant,
En tant que les hauts Dieux les bestes vont passant:
Toute chose en la terre & au ciel m'est subiette. (Vaenius, 20)

Similarly in *Amour change nature* the figure of Cupid attaching a small pair of wings to the shoulders of a mule is accompanied by a quatrain spelling out the universal truth that love has a civilising effect even on the most unlikely candidates:

Il n'y a parmy nous de chair masse si lourde,
A qui ne puisse Amour ses aislerons donner,
Il peut aux grands esprits l'asne paragonner,
Et au plus gros rustau esveiller l'ame gourde. (Vaenius, 114)

But this universality is much less apparent in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, in which La Perrière adopts overall a more subjective approach, very different from the universal approach which characterised his two accepted emblem books, the *Theatre des bons engins* and the *Morosophie*. We find in the *Theatre*, for example, an impersonally expressed emblem on the theme of the civilising impact of love, based on an image of Cupid teaching a mule to dance, which could well have been the inspiration for Vaenius's emblem:

Amour apprend les Asnes à dancer,
Et les lourdaulx faict devenir muguetz:
Pigner les faict, farder, & agencer,
Par le moyen de ses subtilz aguetz.
Aux endormiz il faict faire les guectz.
Rusticité transmue en gentilesse:
Car sans cela que de son traict les blesse,
Leur vilanie il convertist en grace.
Cymon jadis en receupt telle adresse,
Comme l'on ligt aulx escriptz de Boccace. (*Theatre,* emblem 62)

and in the *Morosophie* a similarly impersonally expressed emblem on the impact of Venus on the adolescent boy:

Lenfant croissant vient en adolescence,
Lequel Venus la Déesse conduit:
Lors le sang bouilt, & lors croist la semence,
Qui le rend prompt à l'amoureux deduit. (*Morosophie,* emblem 3)

But in contrast, in the *Cent considerations d'amour* La Perrière tends to a more subjective approach, with the love that is evoked in quatrain after quatrain being that

of the persona of the poet himself. Thus although in many cases the theme of his quatrains is the same as that of the French quatrains in Vaenius's work, the message conveyed by La Perrière is less one of reflection on the generality of human experience, but rather one of reflection on his supposed personal experience.[23] Both Vaenius and La Perrière, for example, include emblems on child Cupid's dominance even over that most powerful god, Jupiter, but whereas in Vaenius's version, *Rien m'arreste*, the message is expressed in characteristically universal terms:

> L'Amour surmonte seul le Terme, & le terrasse,
> Redouté d'un chascun, mesme de Jupiter,
> Qui sent son grand pouvoir par le Terme dompter.
> Rien n'empesche l'Amour, que par tout il ne passe. (Vaenius, 18)

La Perrière's message is directed more specifically to the lover's mistress:

> Si Cupido ha vaincu Jupiter,
> Il te pourra facillement convaincre,
> Dequoy te sert les flesches despiter,
> Quand tu vois bien quil peult les haultz dieux vaincre? (*Consideration* 33)

The opening quatrain of the *Cent considerations d'amour* sets the tone for the work, with the second couplet providing a subjective gloss on the striking image expressed in the first couplet – that of the lover in his boat with Venus at the sail and Cupid at the helm:

> Venus conduict le vent de ma nacelle,
> Et Cupido tient en sa main la rame.
> En tel peril (ou je tremble & chancelle)
> Qui peult lascher lancre fors que ma dame. (*Consideration* 1)

Other good examples of the way in which La Perrière combines in the *Cent considerations d'amour* vivid emblematic images with very personalised and subjective interpretations include *Consideration* 23 using the image of the wounded stag seeking the medicinal plant, dittany, to heal his wound to represent the suffering of the poet-lover seeking solace (but also paradoxically further pain) from his mistress:

> Le Cerf frappé cherche diligemment
> L'herbe quil scait bonne à sa guarison,
> J'yroie vers toy aussi semblablement,

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23 In this respect the *Cent considerations d'amour* is very similar to Scève's *Délie* – though with a marked difference in the quality of the verses.

Mais en toy gist mon remede, & poison. (*Consideration* 23)

or *Consideration* 19 associating the burning/shivering reality of high fever with the feverish lovesickness experienced by the poet-lover brought on by Cupid's attack:

Febricitans tremblent durant le froid,
Avant avoir de la fievre l'ardeur.
Mais cupido m'a mys en tel destroict,
Que de froid tremble en la grosse chaleur. (*Consideration* 19)

The same technique is used again in *Consideration* 48, but with the order of the couplets reversed, so that the subjective interpretation here precedes the image from which it is derived: vanquished by love, the poet-lover asks his cruel mistress for pity, using the analogy of the cruel lion which accords pity to its vanquished enemy:

Puis qu'amour m'a vaincu par son oppresse,
Allege moy par ta benevolence
Le lyon est cruel quand on le presse,
Mais aux vaincuz il use de clemence. (*Consideration* 48)

But although the subjective element is undoubtedly very marked in many of the verses of the *Cent considerations d'amour*, following the tone set in the opening 'emblem', and likewise reflecting the personal tone adopted in La Perrière's dedication of the work to his cousin Jean de Maleripe, in which he refers to Maleripe's strong interest in love during his youth,[24] interestingly it is not present in *all* of them. In fact a significant number are expressed impersonally, in the manner of a traditional emblem book, but because the subjective approach of the others is so marked, their presence is less apparent. There are in fact 31 such 'emblems' in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, so they comprise nearly a third of the whole collection. Interestingly they are not scattered evenly through the work, but rather they appear more and more frequently as it progresses, to the extent that it could almost be argued that the work changes character as it progresses.[25]

A large proportion of these impersonally expressed verses conveying a universal message about the nature of love are based on static representations of Cupid in one or other of his traditional guises – as for example childlike:

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24 'Car pourtant qu'en ta tendre adolescence, & florissante jeunesse, Venus deesse des Amoureux, & Cupido son filz ayent souvent piquée & eguillonnée ta sensualité (comme il advient infaliblement à tous jeunes hommes)' (*Cent considerations d'amour*, 1577, a2r).
25 The first half of the work includes 11 such impersonal verses, but this number almost doubles to 20 in the second half, and within that second half they feature more heavily towards the end, with 14 appearing among the last 25, and 7 among the last 10.

Si Cupido comme il est en paincture,
Est jeune enfant debile, sans vigueur,
Comment peult il doncques par sa poincture,
Maint puissant homme affoyblir par langueur? (*Consideration* 68)

Pourquoy painct on Cupido comme enfant,
Quand il debvroit estre painct en Satrappe?
Pource quil faict par son dard triumphant
Perdre le sens à tous ceulx la quil frappe. (*Consideration* 77)

Si Cupidon est tendre, & jeune d'aage,
Comme lon voit quil est painct en tous lieux,
Comment peult il vaincre par son courage
Foibles, & fortz, sages, folz, jeunes, vieulx? (*Consideration* 98)

or blind:

Si Cupido de ses yeulx ne voit goute,
Il ne peult estre à tirer bien adroict:
Et fault conclure, & dire somme toute,
Quil ne scauroit viser les flesches droict. (*Consideration* 84)

or naked:

Si Cupido est tel comme lon pense,
Pourquoy va il tout nud si povrement?
Puis quil est Dieu, n'a il pas la puissance
De recouvrer (sil veult) ung vestement? (*Consideration* 97)

or bearing bow and arrow:

Pourquoy voit on le dieu d'amour pourtraict
Estre garni d'arc, & fleche poinctue?
Cest pour raison que de son puissant traict,
Ceulx quil attainct, le plus souvent si tue. (*Consideration* 30) (See Fig. 2)

While verses like these do undoubtedly have very clear echoes of Alciato's emblems on representations of the traditional attributes of Cupid, they have less obvious affinities with the much later love emblems of Vaenius, which characteristically go one stage further and focus either on Cupid's interchanges with others or on his various exploits, rather than simply commenting on his traditional attributes. Typical of Vaenius's more complex approach are his emblems on the relationship

between Cupid and Fortune in *Fortune aveugle l'Amour*:

> La fortune à l'Amour quelquefois les yeux bande,
> Et mobile le met sur son globe tout rond;
> Car au chaud d'un malheur l'Amour leger se fond,
> Mais en l'Amour loyal deffaut sa force grande. (Vaenius, 156)

and between Cupid and Avarice in *Amour hayt l'avarice*:

> Amour l'avarice ouvre par sa puissance
> La bourse bien fermée, & rend le chiche esgal
> (Changeant son naturel) à l'homme liberal,
> Lors qu'un trait plein d'ardeur en sa poitrine il lance. (Vaenius, 204)

Typical of Vaenius's emblems on picturesque exploits of Cupid are *Amour trouve moyen* depicting Cupid's ingenuity in using his quiver as a makeshift raft, and his bow as a paddle to cross water:

> Voycy le Dieu d'Amour, qui hardy passer ose
> Les vagues de la mer, flottant sur son carquois,
> D'une rame luy sert son petit arc Turquois.
> L'Amant pour voir sa Dame entreprend toute chose. (Vaenius, 92)

which must surely be a witty development from Corrozet's non-love specific emblem *S'aider de tous ses membres* in the *Hecatomgraphie*, depicting a squirrel similarly on a raft, using his tail as a sail:

> Quand tes affaires tu remembres
> Qui tumbent en adversité,
> Il t'est adoncq necessité
> De te servir de tous tes membres. (*Hecatomgraphie*, K3v)

or *Qui trop embrasse, peu estraint* showing Cupid with a pair of hounds trying to hunt two hares at the same time, to make the point that the lover attempting to pursue two women at once risks losing both:

> Qui deux lievres poursuit à mipartie chasse
> Fera faute à tous deux, ainsi qui fait l'amour
> A deux dames au coup, l'une, & l'autre à son tour
> L'esconduiront à droit, de tout ce qu'il pourchasse. (Vaenius, p. 24)

– an emblem which again offers a clear echo of Corrozet's more generally applicable emblem on the same subject in his 1543 *Emblemes*,[26] *N'entreprendre trop d'affaires à une fois*:

> L'homme tresape en son affection
> Qui à la fois trop d'affaires assemble,
> Sans jugement & sans discretion
> Entreprenant tout ce que bon luy semble:
> Scavez vous bien à qui cest qu'il ressemble
> A un chasseur mal ruzé, non scavant,
> Qui en chassant à deux lievres ensemble
> N'en prend que l'un, & point le plussouvent. (*Emblemes*, G2r)

It is in this area of emblems on the various exploits of Cupid that we find the clearest affinities between Vaenius's emblem book and the *Cent considerations d'amour* which also includes emblematic verses on the activities of Cupid. Although these are not necessarily the *same* activities as those depicted by Vaenius, they are nevertheless depicted in a similar manner. And in all of these we see La Perrière using his 'emblems' to convey a universal message which is absolutely akin to those of Vaenius, rather than expressing, as he does elsewhere in the collection, a subjective message relating to the impact of love on the persona of the poet-lover. Thus, for example, Vaenius's *Amour par tout, Par Amour tout, tout par Amour, par tout Amour* depicting Cupid shooting arrows at a globe, accompanied by a verse gloss explaining the universal impact of love, impacting on both heaven and earth:

> Ce petit Dieu d'Amour le ciel, la terre, & l'onde
> Transperce de ses dards, les joignants d'un accord:
> Sans l'Amour tout ne fut qu'un chaos de discord.
> Il nourrit & soustient le ciel, & ce bas monde. (Vaenius, p.34)

finds an echo in La Perrière's earlier emblem which similarly offers a non-subjectively expressed message about the universality of love, linking heaven and earth:

> Le ciel, & terre, & tous les aornemens,
> Sont par amour lyez jusques au bout:
> Dont dire fault par expres argumens,
> Que qui dict mal d'amour, dict mal de tout. (*Consideration* 95)

Again in *Consideration* 12 La Perrière's uses the exploits of Cupid to make a non-subjective point about the nature of love: here Cupid is described as using his powers to tame mighty lions:

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26 *Emblemes*, appended to *Le Tableau de Cebes de Thebes* (1543 and 1997); Corrozet (1544 and 1543).

Cupido faict par son enchantement,
Les fiers lyons plus humbles que brebis:
Ceulx qui sont chaulx pour le commencement,
Rend à la fin plus froidz que marbre bis. (*Consideration* 12) (See Fig. 5)

– a theme which offers a clear early echo of the much later well-known opening emblem of Heinsius's *Emblemata amatoria*, *Omnia vincit amor*, depicting Cupid perched triumphantly on the shoulders of a fierce lion. Further examples could be cited. So we see that even in this *apparently* subjective collection of 'emblems' on the theme of love by La Perrière, many are actually just as universally applicable in their reflection on the nature of love as the verses in conventionally accepted emblem books, and this brings La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* and Vaenius's *Emblemata amorum* much closer together than might at first sight have appeared to be the case.

But it is interesting also to look at this question the other way round. While close inspection shows that the message of a number of La Perrière's love 'emblems' is universal rather than personal, similar close inspection of Vaenius's collection of love emblems shows that not all of them offer a universally applicable message. In fact a number offer a message which is just as subjective as some of those of La Perrière. Here also, therefore, we find further parallels between the two works. Thus we find in Vaenius's emblem *Rien ne me peut guerir* on the injured stag seeking dittany to heal its wound a clear – and equally subjective – reworking of La Perrière's earlier interpretation of that same image:

Le cerf fuyard atteint d'une viste sagette
Cerche parmy les bois le dictamne oste-fer:
Mais nulle herbe ne peut de ce mal triompher,
Que m'a fait en mon coeur d'Amour la main tendrette. (Vaenius, 154)

Vaenius offers a similarly subjective interpretation of the image of Cupid distilling tears in an alembic fired by the flame of love in his emblem *Mes pleurs tesmoignent*:

Amour me fait en pleurs distiller goute à goute,
Sa flamme sert de feu, de fournaise mon coeur,
Et mes souspirs de vents, nourrissants ma chaleur.
Mes yeux d'un alambic, qui mes larmes esgoute. (Vaenius, 188)

again echoing La Perrière's earlier subjective interpretation of the same theme:

Leau amortist le feu par sa coustume:
Mais quant à moy, elle faict aultrement:
Leau de mes yeulx, mon feu plus fort allume:

Car tant plus pleure, & plus ay de torment. (*Consideration* 7)

Again in *Secours me nuit* Vaenius's description of the incurable nature of lovesickness for which the remedy only renders the illness worse is expressed in subjective first-person terms:

> La pluye ny le vent ne nous peult rendre esteinte
> La flamme de l'Amour, ains nourrit son brandon.
> Quel espoir de trouver à mon mal guerison?
> La medecine accroist la cause de ma plainte. (Vaenius, 170)

echoing the personal tone of La Perrière's similarly paradoxical expression of the same theme:

> Du mesme lieu que procede ma playe,
> Fault obtenir le remede benin
> Ver toy, doncq' fault que d'aller je m'essaye,
> Car en toy gist medecine, & venin. (*Consideration* 64)

So what can be concluded from this? What I hope to have demonstrated is that – despite the aesthetic shortcomings of the work as it exists in the 1577 edition – there are nevertheless significant similarities between La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* dating from the first half of the sixteenth century and Vaenius's collection of love emblems dating from the early seventeenth century. Certainly there are differences: that is hardly surprising, but these differences are in fact less marked than at first appears to be the case. Nothing that I argue here negates the importance of the Dutch love emblem or the huge impact it exercised across Europe in its numerous successive manifestations and reworkings, particularly subsequent on Vaenius's inventive genius in creating the further figure of *Amor divinus*, thereby giving a whole new dimension to the love emblem. But what I do suggest is that whereas we have hitherto accepted the notion that there is *some* French influence on the Dutch love emblem, partly via Maurice Scève's *Délie,* and partly in the form of occasional borrowings of images from Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* and La Perrière's *Theatre* (as of course from Alciato himself), we now need to think in terms of a much more fundamental French influence on the genre. Vaenius was clearly aware not just of Corrozet's well-known and popular *Hecatomgraphie* but also of his much less well-known and popular *Emblemes.* Like many others in the Netherlands, he was similarly aware of La Perrière's well-known and popular *Theatre.* As Karel Porteman reminded me, three editions of a Dutch translation of the *Theatre* were published in Antwerp in the space of ten years between 1554 and 1564.[27] We cannot *know* that Vaenius was also aware of La Perrière's less well-

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27 La Perrière (1554, 1556 and 1564).

known *Cent considerations d'amour*, but it does now look very much as though he was, and that in creating his own aesthetically delightful and witty emblems of love he did have an already existent French model in mind.

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Commonplaces of Catholic love. Otto van Veen, Michel Hoyer and St Augustine between humanism and the Counter Reformation

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What does an innovative scholar have in common with the mythological figure of Narcissus? This slightly disturbing comparison was first made not by one of the fathers of modern psychology, Freud or Jung, but by the father of the emblem, the legal humanist and antiquarian Andrea Alciato. In his emblem 'Φιλαυτία' (Fig. 1), he places the intellectual innovator on the therapeutic couch to deliver a grim diagnosis: rejecting traditional methods and pursuing new doctrines are signs of 'self-love', a condition of serious intellectual decay ('ingenii est marcor cladesque') of the type that caused the beautiful Narcissus to turn into the flower known for its mind-numbing, *narcotic* qualities. Similarly, Alciato argues, scholars seeking new paths are high on themselves, chasing merely their own shadows.[1]

Alciato's appeal to 'old learning' is perfectly in tune with the humanist agenda of restoring the classical heritage. For the humanists, the past should show the way, that is, Classical Antiquity, rather than the new methods developed in the medieval schools. These modern scholastic inventions, they believed, were of no practical use, and represented a form of intellectual autism. Yet ironically, Alciato's Narcissus emblem also complicates the humanists's own call for a return to the sources, 'Ad fontes!'. For how do they avoid the same trap? Can they be free from the wrath of Echo and avoid their own reflection in their studies? Obviously, they could not and for this both the philologist and the cultural historian of today should be very grateful. In fact, electronic editions of emblem books exemplify just how fruitful it is to study the relationship between ancient models and the development of a new literary genre. Indeed, it might even give us some dangerously interesting reflections of ourselves...

This paper is concerned with the uses of ancient sources in devotional love emblems. It proceeds from the idea that these emblems constitute a significant index to religious practices in early seventeenth-century Europe. It is my aim to identify some forms and functions of the devotional emblem, by focusing on two collections in particular: Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata*, and the little-studied, but more often reprinted *Flammulae amoris* by Michel Hoyer. In both collections the early Christian church father Augustine of Hippo takes a central place. Why? What does the prominence of Augustine tell us of the confessional status of these emblems? What are Augustine's lessons in love and what do they teach us about the learned side of the emblem? These are the questions we will try to answer, but before doing so, we need to sketch the contours of Augustine's authority in the Reformation era.

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1 Alciato 1988, emblem 69.
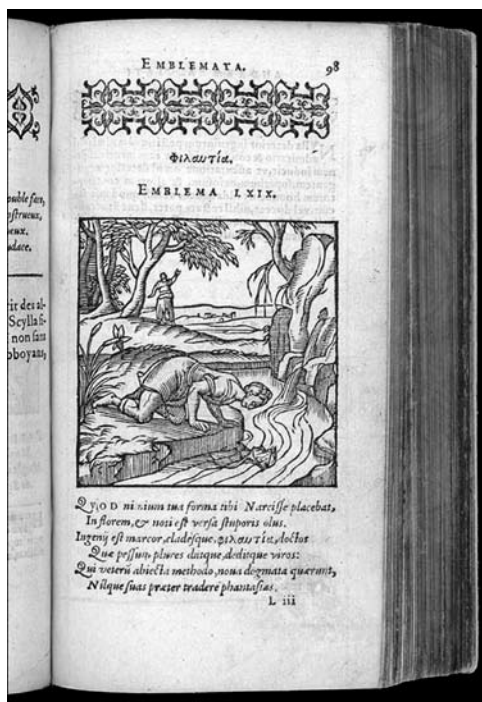
Fig. 1: A. Alciato, 'Φιλαυτία', in: *Emblema* (Paris, 1584; French Emblems at Glasgow site)

Augustine in the Reformation

Modern historians have long recognised the importance of Augustine's thought for the Reformation. If it was 'the explosive power of an idea' that sparked the religious revolution, as Diarmaid MacCulloch put it, this idea was in fact 'a new statement of Augustine's ideas on salvation'. For the young Luther the church father was a seminal guide to scripture, in particular to the letters of Paul.[2] However, Luther's opponents were equally informed by Augustinian thought, appealing in particular to his ideas about obedience to the church and the sacraments.[3] Thus, the Reformation could once be summarized as the 'ultimate triumph of Augustine's doctrine of grace over Augustine's doctrine of the Church.'[4] The dissemination of his works illustrates the Church father's importance. No fewer than sixteen monumental *opera omnia* editions were published in the sixteenth century, and, more significantly, he beats the other fathers in patristic anthologies. More than sixty percent of the quotations in these collections refer to his works, including texts falsely attributed to him.[5]

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2 Good overviews of Luther's reception of Augustine are Krey 1999, and Hendrix 2004, 41-42.
3 See for example Moore 1982.
4 MacCulloch 2003, 107-114; McGrath 1987, 175-182.
5 *Index Aureliensis: Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum* 1966, part 1, 1: 397-445;

Augustine's overwhelming presence has thus created the image of a monolithic and impenetrable influence. This is further reinforced by the use of the term 'Augustinianism'. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some have given up hope of coming to a more precise picture of Augustine's significance. In the *Oxford Dictionary of the Reformation*, Hans-Ulrich Delius, for example, considers it 'a moot question, for all the reformers owed an indirect debt to Augustinian traditions in ways that today can no longer be calculated.'

I believe, however, that this scepticism should be challenged. Although 'Augustinian traditions' are surely difficult to disentangle, it is not evident that the works of Augustine were equally influential. Indeed, the sheer diversity of ideas for which Augustine's authority was lined up contradicts a monolithic influence. What caused this diverse, even contrasting reception? Two factors in particular seem to be responsible.

First, the vast range of the church father's oeuvre. Apart from unique works like his spiritual autobiography, *Confessions* and the encyclopaedic apology of *City of God*, his works can roughly be organised around three polemics, that against the Manicheans, the Donatists and the Pelagians. Each of these polemics shaped Augustine's thought in a different way, allowing the reader to select his favourite perspective. The broad scope of the oeuvre and his personal development make it in fact difficult to speak of *one* Augustine.

Second, for his early modern readers Augustine was not just an author but an authority. Most of his readers did not plough through his full oeuvre but cited the useful bits. In fact, they may never have read the 'real' Augustine at all. Countless printed anthologies offered a storehouse of quotations, useful for a wide variety of arguments. This practice of commonplacing, a term referring to the rhetorical concept of *locus communis*, thus qualifies the humanist claim of a return to the sources.[6] For scholars of the emblem this is nothing new. Emblem books were part and parcel of this rhetorical culture, trading in portable quotations, which could be applied to all sorts of arguments. And yet, although we know of their role in producing emblem books, we have paid less attention to the implications of this practice. What does it mean, for instance, when Van Veen quotes Augustine? This is especially interesting in the field of religious emblems, which appeared in an age of increasing confessional divisions. The example of Augustine, who, as we just saw, had a remarkably flexible authority in the Reformation, will help us to identify the forms and functions of 'learned love'.

Otto van Veen (1556-1629)

The first collection of devotional love emblems, Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata* (Antwerp 1615), features the figures of Divine Love, represented as a haloed Cupid, and 'Anima', the human soul, in the form of a young girl. Perhaps less

Lane 1993, 69-95.
6 Moss 1996, Moss 2003.
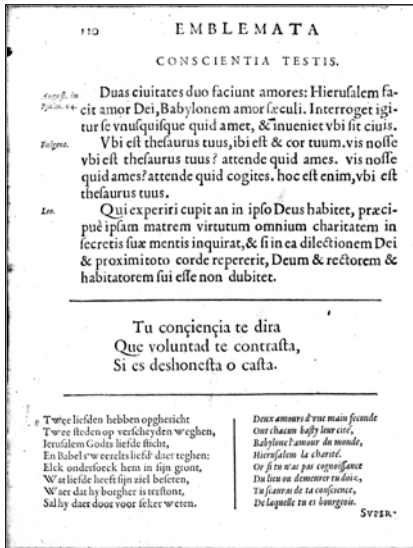
Figs. 2 and 3: O. Vaenius, 'Conscientia testis', in: *Amoris divini emblemata* (EPU site)

obvious behind the presence of these allegorical children is the fatherly authority of Augustine. In a total of 60 emblems he is cited no less than 82 times from twenty different works.[7] This makes him by far the most cited authority of the collection, more prominent, for example, than the Bible. Moreover, for roughly a quarter of the emblems (16 examples) Augustine seems to have prompted the invention.[8]

A clear example is 'Conscientia testis' ('Conscience is a witness', Van Veen 1615, 110-111, Figs. 2 and 3), which exemplifies Augustine's seminal image of the two cities. This image, most fully developed in his *City of God*, distinguished between two spiritual realms, Jerusalem and Babylon. Citizens of the heavenly city were those who loved God and obeyed His word, while self-love and presumed independence characterized the inhabitant of Babylon. In the *pictura* of Van Veen's emblem the difference between the two cities is clear: The high heavenly city with its prominent church can only be reached by a steep, narrow road. On this road stands Divine Love, his gaze fixed upon the cross he is holding in his hand, while keeping a globe firmly under his foot. By contrast, in Babylon buildings are on fire, creating huge black clouds above it. On the road to it, Cupid, treasuring a globe in his arms, casts a beguiling look at Anima, who is examining her conscience. All these components closely match the accompanying quotation from Augustine's *Explanations of the Psalms*.

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7 This includes spurious works and untraceable quotations.

8 'Amor rectus', 'Amor aeternus', 'Mentis amor sol dei', 'Amor docet', 'In unitate perfectio', 'Amor vinculum perfectionis', 'Gravata respuit', 'Facit munificum', 'Nihil amanti grave', 'Amoris flagellum dulce', 'Amor omnia rectificat', 'Sitim extinguit', 'Odit timorem', 'Conscientia testis', 'Par pari' and 'Virtutum fons est et scaturigo'.

How, then, does Augustine contribute to the religious identity of Van Veen's book? Is 'the great herald of divine love', to borrow Karel Porteman's words, simply an unavoidable authority, is he a medium for a mystical message, or could we perhaps even detect that other persona, that of the 'doctor of grace'?[9]

The first step to an answer is to consider Van Veen's historical world. The *Amoris divini emblemata* appeared at a time when Protestant and Catholic authorities were 'fishing for souls', to use Adriaan van de Venne's famous image. With Antwerp, its place of publication, we find ourselves in one of the centres of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. Apart from the activities of the religious orders, such as the Jesuits with their emphasis on education, the secular authorities set up their campaigns for recatholization and consolidation of their own power. In their public devotion the archdukes Albert and Isabella emphasised some elements in particular, which may help us to position Van Veen. These included the cult of the Eucharist, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, especially the Immaculate Conception and the Lady of Sorrows, as well as a renewed veneration of several carefully selected local saints and relics.[10] In communicating this devotional programme the visual arts played a vital role.

How should we place Van Veen in this context? Against the backdrop of these institutional campaigns, two characteristics of Van Veen's style emerge: his humanist approach and his sober use of Catholic devotional imagery. Van Veen's connection with humanist circles is well known.[11] Although his loyalty to the Catholic court of Albert and Isabella is not in doubt – indeed his social credit at court was associated with his status as a religious refugee – his work is more devoted to preserving classical standards than to reviving Catholic piety.[12] In fact, his work sometimes bridged the confessional divides in unexpected ways. For the States General of the Dutch Republic, for example, surely an openly Calvinist institution, he even produced a series of twelve paintings about the Revolt of Claudius Civilis (1613), based on his album with engravings about the same subject.[13]

It is intriguing, therefore, to read that Isabella herself may be behind the invention of the spiritual love emblem. In the preface to his latest collection, Van Veen describes how the archduchess was offered a copy of the secular emblems, and had wondered whether they could also address Divine Love. If this were true, the *Amoris divini emblemata* would be part of the court's devotional campaign. Yet the idea is problematic. Not only is the anecdote based on hearsay – Van Veen obvi-

9 Porteman 1977, 103.
10 Duerloo 1998.
11 Porteman 1996a, 1-2.
12 See the internal report to a request by Van Veen to the Archdukes, dating from 1619, and printed in De Maeyer 1955, 347-348. Another fascinating example of Van Veen's idiosyncratic religious quest is his attempt to explain the theological problems of predestination and free will in a geometrical system, published in Van Veen 1621, see Geissmar 1993.
13 The paintings are now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, object numbers SK-A-421-432. See further Morford 2001, 57-74.

ously did not verify it with Isabella – it is also presented in the context of a dedication. Van Veen needed to attract Isabella's attention, for since the return of Peter Paul Rubens from Italy, he was increasingly overshadowed by his talented former pupil.[14] He received some support from the Archdukes, but he was not one of the official court painters.[15] Van Veen's quest for patronage is reflected in his dedications of the *Emblemata horatiana* to Albert and the *Amoris divini emblemata* to Isabella.

In modern research, Van Veen's message has been associated with a variety of mystical traditions. Margit Thøfner suggested a conscious link with the thought of Teresa of Ávila, for whose canonization Isabella was campaigning.[16] Jan Bloemendal placed the work in the context of 'Jesuit and pietist religiosity'.[17] Most recently, Anne Buschhoff tried to identify several spiritual and mystical traditions that 'influenced' the work, including that of medieval bridal mysticism.[18] Although these traditions constitute a significant general context for devotional literature of this period, I believe that we can locate the work more precisely in its religious landscape. As his use of Augustine will show, Van Veen's book should be seen as a thoroughly humanistic product advancing a practical form of piety, rather than a mystical programme. I will make two points in support of this case, one regarding formal aspects and the other its content.

First of all, Van Veen's collection reveals a humanist concern for *copia*. A substantial number of emblems, for instance, take their cue from the *loci* Van Veen had exploited before, in his secular love emblems. Its composition also resembles Van Veen's other emblematic achievement, the *Emblemata Horatiana*. In each of these works Van Veen heavily relies on the principle of commonplacing.[19] In his analysis of the devotional emblems Jan Bloemendal has demonstrated how Van Veen took many of his quotations from Josephus Langius' commonplace bible.[20]

This compositional practice has fascinating implications. It undermines the idea of deliberate intertextual allusions to the original classics. Instead, we see these sources used as a storehouse, which the user accessed through a range of general of topoi. It is important to realise that the principle of commonplacing is not just a curious aspect of the genesis of these works, it also pervades their subsequent presentation and anticipates their intended use: in other words, Van Veen not only relies on commonplace books, he produces them.[21]

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14 Rubens had returned from Italy in 1608, see Buschhoff 2004, 139.
15 Van Sprang 2005, 37; de Maeyer 1955, 62-82.
16 Thøfner 2002, 83 and 101.
17 Bloemendal 2002, 277.
18 Buschhoff 2004, 151-178.
19 Enenkel 2006, 20-25.
20 Bloemendal 2002; Buschhoff 2004, esp. 360-393, further offers a systematic account of Van Veen's sources, including his use of commonplace books.
21 For Van Veen's use of commonplace collections, see Buschhoff 2004, 181, Bloemendal 2002 and Gerards-Nelissen 1971.

Fig. 4: O. Vaenius, 'Amor aedificat', in: *Amoris divini emblemata* (EPU site)

Moving from form to content, my second point is that Van Veen's collection of quotations is meant to combine piety with pleasure. Rather than showing a path to mystical union with God, and taking the reader through the steps of purification, illumination and union, many of the emblems in fact promote what I would call practical forms of piety, often with a neostoic edge.[22] They advise to follow the path of virtue (in 'Amor rectus'), to spurn earthly riches (in 'Amor thesaurus', 'Amor spernit'), and explain that love makes steadfast in need (as for instance in 'Amor docet'). They associate virtue with good works ('Virtus character amoris', 'Ab uno amore multa bona') and invite concrete action, such as giving alms to the poor ('Munificum facit'). Even penitence is presented as a social practice, when Van Veen uses the image of flagellation to stress the virtues of criticism from a friend ('Amoris flagellum dulce').

One final example may suffice. In 'Amor aedificat' (Van Veen 1615, 78-79), Paul's words to the Corinthians (I Cor. 8:1), 'Charity builds up' prompts Van Veen to depict Divine Love and Soul as construction workers (Fig. 4), with Divine Love

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22 *Pace* Buschhoff, who argues that the first group of eight emblems are meant to lead the reader to 'mystical contemplation' (Buschhoff 1999, 40-44; Buschhoff 2004, 183-198). Yet, Van Veen's references to the three steps of this process would be rather vague, and especially the themes of purgation and penitence are conspicuously absent. In fact, the clearest example of penitence only follows on page 62-63.

providing the cement (in a rather sturdy fashion) to the bricklaying Soul.[23] The accompanying selection of quotations expresses ethical, rather than mystical concerns, such as the passage from Paul's letter to Timothy (1 Tim. 4:12): 'be thou an example of the faithful, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity [...].' In his Dutch poem Van Veen proceeds from the image of building to make a similar point:

> The soul in love always fancies building and founding
> something which brings virtue, prosperity or peace
> to lighten someone else's heart:
> God's love gives the grace to do this
> And provides the means to build.
> It gives a blessed life to him
> Who firmly can trust in its basis.[24]

This is not the affective, mystical language we are used from later devotional love emblems. True, Augustine is a source of some of the most successful mystical imagery: it was he who wrote how God had 'pierced [his] heart with the arrows of [His] love', and who had compared his religious enthusiasm to a strong burning fire that could not be put out by any 'cunning tongue'.[25] This imagery was taken up in Teresian mysticism, for example. But that is not what Van Veen shows to his audience. The archduchess Isabella, for one, would have found ample trace of Catholic spirituality, but no references to the Eucharist or the Lady of Sorrows. She would have seen no arrows piercing through hearts, or references to holy relics.[26] Rather than promoting a specific confessional message, Van Veen offers an elegant guide to Catholic piety for an international readership. Augustine's commonplaces, I would say, are meant to lend universal authority to this spiritual manual, aimed at an international elite.

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23 It is interesting to see that the first part of Paul's phrase is not exploited: 'Scientia inflat, charitas aedificat', 'Knowledge puffs up, charity builds up.' See also Els Stronks's discussion of this emblem elsewhere in this volume, comparing it to Montenay's 'Sapiens mulier aedificat domum', based on Prov. 14:1.

24 Van Veen 1615, 78: 'De siel verlieft heeft altijdt lust / Om yet te bouwen en te stichten, / Tot deught, tot weluaert, ofte rust, / Om andre t'herte te verlichten: / Godts liefde daer toe gratie gheeft, / En brenght de middel om te bouwen, / En maeckt dat die hier salich leeft, / Die op sijn gront kan vast betrouwen.'

25 *Confessiones*, 9.2.3, quoted from Augustine 1961, 182.

26 In 'Agitatus fortior', Van Veen cites Augustine's image of the heart pierced by arrows of love, not to signify a mystical experience, however, but the effect of external hardship on faith. In the *pictura* sacred love and the human soul cling to a big tree during a storm. Van Veen 1615, 92-93.

Fig. 5: M. Hoyer, titlepage, in: *Flammulae amoris*
(private collection). (See also colour plate 1)

Michel Hoyer (1593-1650)

In our second case, however, the affective language of Catholic devotion is very much present. The little-studied collection of *Flammulae amoris*, or *Sparkles of Augustine's love*, brings us to the world of penitent tears, chaste sighs, and pious desire (Fig. 5).[27] The work was composed by the Augustinian hermit Michel Hoyer, and published in Antwerp in 1629.[28] It contains 25 emblems about Augustine's remarkable career from sinner to saint. Each of these starts with a fine engraving by Guillaume Collaert, followed by quite extensive Latin poems and a short selection of commonplaces from Augustine's works.

Compared to Van Veen, Hoyer's use of Augustine is more focused: he draws primarily on the *Confessions* and a few pseudo-Augustinian texts of a similar slant. He shows us not only the authoritative Father of the Church, but also the man who struggled with worldly temptations, the adolescent who once prayed to God: 'Give

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27 Hoyer 1629; Rubio Álvarez 1970; Courcelle 1972; Hebert 1987.
28 De Meijer 1993; Gerlo and Vervliet 1972.

Fig. 6: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 5, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 2)

Fig. 7: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 8, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 3)

me chastity and continence, but not yet.'[29] Especially the first section of emblems deals with this long spiritual crisis. For example, one emblem (Hoyer 1629, emblem 5) shows Augustine as a Roman soldier, wounded by one of Cupid's arrows (Fig. 6). The blindfolded perpetrator of this crime is still flying around, and visible in the left corner. Meanwhile, first aid is delivered by a winged physician in the form of Divine Love, (a role we recognise from one of Herman Hugo's emblems). In the background we see another victim, a wounded stag, with a similar spiritual condition.

In comparison, the *pictura* illustrating Augustine's famous conversion seems slightly disappointing (Fig. 7). In the *Confessions* the episode, presented at the end of book 8, forms the climax of the book (in fact to such an extent that generations of readers never finished the last, more philosophical books). It describes how a depressed Augustine had retreated into the garden of a friend's house when he suddenly heard a child singing the words 'Pick up and read' ('Tolle, lege'), which he took as a divine command to take up the Scripture to address his problems. In Hoyer's emblem of this tolle-lege episode, the *pictura* represents the scene in a straightforward way, depicting Augustine as a melancholic young man, weeping

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29 *Confessiones*, 7.7, quoted from Augustine 1961, 169.

Fig. 8: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 19 in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 4)

Fig. 9: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 24, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also colour plate 5)

under a tree. The divine command literally comes from the heaven in upper right corner. Perhaps one of the most suggestive features is the Flemish monastery on the left in the background.

With its close focus on Augustine's life, Hoyer's *Flammulae* can partly be seen as a transformation of the genre of the saint's life into emblems.[30] As such, it belongs to a different cultural world than Van Veen's devotional emblems. We see this reflected in the use of Augustine's works. Whereas Van Veen used the church father as a resource for topical quotations, Hoyer preserved the coherence of Augustine's original text. His references are clearly based on sustained reading of the original. This different approach to the sources points to different functions of the book, two of which can be singled out.

The first concerns the institutional profile of the *Flammulae*. Hoyer was an Augustinian hermit and his book is clearly meant to strengthen the identity of the order in a local context. For example, in several *picturae* Augustine is dressed as a Flemish hermit, with the characteristic wide-brimmed hat and black habit (Fig. 8). In one of the final emblems (Hoyer, emblem 24, Fig. 9), glorifying Augustine as the fountain of wisdom, the *pictura* even implies a hierarchy: we see a hermit drinking first from the fount, next in the queue is a Dominican (dressed in a white habit and a black cape), followed by a canon (or possibly a Jesuit) and a Franciscan

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30 See Guiderdoni-Bruslé in Stopp 2005, 15-16; Knapp and Tüskés 1998.

(wearing a brown habit). The local, institutional orientation is also reflected in the dedication of the book to fellow-Augustinians.[31] In his dedicatory letter, signed on Augustine's name day, Hoyer quotes yet again other fellow-Augustinians.[32] All this makes the book an emphatically Augustinian venture.

From a functional perspective, one could regard the *Flammulae* as motivational literature, which provided a welcome boost to the confidence of the order. The Augustinians had suffered big losses in the Reformation caused by their fellow-brother Luther; in fact, nearly all of their monasteries in Germany and England.[33] In the Low Countries, they lost half their buildings, while the number of Augustinian monks was decimated. Since 1585, when Alexander Farnese freed Brussels from Calvinist rule, the Provincia Belgica of the order had been working steadily and highly successfully on its restoration, mainly through education.[34] Moreover, apart from bolstering internal confidence, clerical competition may also have been a consideration for Hoyer. Other orders were fishing for the same souls. The Jesuits in particular were fierce competitors, with an infrastructure, which was slightly bigger than that of the Augustinians. Around 1625 the Augustinians ran 13 schools for humanities in the Southern Netherlands, providing education to 2,444 pupils. The Jesuits, however, had 16 colleges in their Flemish province and another 18 in the Walloon area. There are numerous traces of institutional rivalry on the educational front, including violent clashes between students.[35] Of course, the Jesuits were also highly successful in their appropriation of the genre of the emblem.[36]

The second function of Hoyer's *Flammulae* is that of pedagogical instrument. Hoyer was a teacher, lecturing at the time at the Augustinian college of Brussels.[37] Paratextual pointers guide us to this social context: the preliminaries include poems by some of his students, among whom we find Albertus Rubens. This publication, his first, was soon followed by other didactic works, including saints' lives and Latin plays with revealing titles such as *Theatrum castitatis*.[38] This concrete pedagogical background informs the emblematic style. Hoyer's poems are perfect examples of the imitation exercises he must have set his students on a daily basis. They combine classical allusions and various metrical forms, with a distinctly

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31 Franciscus vander Eycken, one of Isabella's chaplains, and dean of Yper cathedral, the town where Hoyer was ordained as priest.

32 Thomas of Villanova, the Spanish bishop who would soon be canonized.

33 Po-Chia Hsia 1998, 28.

34 Vermeulen 1964, 18, n. 52 indicates the number of members was reduced from over 500 before the religious conflicts to 62 in 1589; for the restoration of the order in Brussels, see Vermeulen 1964, 17-22. For the essential role of education in restoring the order, see Leyder 1997.

35 Vermeulen 1964, 24-25, 38-49.

36 Porteman 1996b.

37 Vermeulen 1964, 22-28; the pedagogical purpose is explicitly mentioned by the printer's preface in the third edition from 1708: 'quondam ad Juventutis studia promovenda [...] Typis commissae' (fol. *3ro).

38 De Meijer 1993.

Augustinian moral. This made Hoyer's *Flammulae* a practical book for students, teachers and preachers.

Conclusion

What, then, do these examples tell us about the learned side of the Dutch love emblem? First of all, the case of Augustine has revealed that quotations should not necessarily be taken as intertextual allusions to coherent, 'original' contexts. Rather, the significance of emblematic sources depends on textual transmission and cultural reading practices. The Augustine Van Veen used was the one that others had selected for him, culled from all the major medieval ecclesiastical writers. Here, Augustine does not represent one of the theological positions he became associated with during the sixteenth century, but serves as a commonplace authority furnishing edifying quotations.

The second point concerns confessional identity: by tracing the use of one source through several works it has become clear how very differently the same author could be read and appropriated. Van Veen and Hoyer used the same literary genre and the same source to target different niches in the religious market. This exemplifies the confessional flexibility of the genre, a feature which is further reflected in the reception of religious emblem books. Hoyer's emblems, for example, formed the basis for the rational inquiries of the Anglican John Hall, intended to please the scientist Robert Boyle.[39] All this illustrates how the learning behind the love emblem was not a static quality, offering mere erudition for modern footnotes. It was a creative principle.

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39 Turnbull, 1953, 224; about Hall's *Emblems* see Bath 1994, 186-190.

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Encoding the emblematic tradition of love.
The emblems in the *Imago primi saeculi soietatis Jesu* (Antwerp 1640) and Poirters's emblematica verses in the *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eeuwe der societeyt Iesu* (Antwerp 1640)[1]

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In 1640 the Jesuits of the *Provincia Flandro-Belgica* commemorated the first centenary of the founding of the Society of Jesus with a large number of festivities: pageants, fireworks and highly spectacular and multimedia theatre plays performed in the different Jesuit colleges, and especially with great splendour in those of Antwerp and Brussels.[2] One of the most remarkable and prestigious events in this respect was undoubtedly the publication of the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Jesu* by the highly qualified and reputed Antwerp *Officina Plantiniana* (Fig. 1). The initiative for the project was taken by the industrious Father Joannes Bollandus (1596-1665). Together with his colleague Father Godefridus Henschenius (1600-1681) he was released from his work on the *Acta Sanctorum*, and succeeded, after eight months of hard work, to deliver the volume right in time: the royal privilege was granted in January, the publication was approved by the censor in February 1640.[3]

The impressive and quite expensive volume in the large folio format – its price being 12 guilders; 1050 copies of the book were printed –[4] would become an icon of the Jesuit order at that time. And though the initiative was a rather contested event, the Jesuit order itself considered the volume as quite successful and as a highly persuasive form of self-representation. The voluminous book of about 950 pages foregrounds not only the order's specific spirituality, but also its founding fathers, its martyrs and its missionaries. These are presented in a chronological-thematic account divided into six books. The first five parts correspond to the five stages of Christ's life. And in this way the history of the order is presented in terms of its origin, its rise, its accomplishments, its pursuit and persecution, and finally its glorification. The sixth and final part of the *Imago* was devoted, according

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2 See a.o. Poncelet 1928, II, 544-549, Rombauts [1930], 66-68, Salviucci Insolera 2004, 61-83 and D'Amiens 1641. On the performances in Brussels in 1640, see i.p. Porteman 1996a, 90-91 and Porteman 1996b. A description in manuscript is mentioned in Brouwers 1979, 75.

3 De Backer-Sommervogel 1960, 1, 1625-1626, nr. 5, Landwehr 1988, 149-150, Daly and Dimler 1997, 56-57.

4 Waterschoot 1996, 465.

Fig. 1: Title engraving of the *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesv a provincia Flandro-Belgica eivsdem Societatis repraesentata* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640). (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 3C 577).

to the same tropological scheme, to the history of the Flemish-Belgian province and was written by Father Jacobus Libens. The quite lengthy and overwhelming prose texts in all six books were intertwined with many rhetorical and poetical exercises: *exercitationes oratoriae*, encomiastic poetry, elegies, *ludi poetici*, and at the end of each section a number of emblems. The Courtrai Jesuit and most talented man of letters Sidronius Hosschius (1596-1653) and the gifted Jacobus Wallius (1599-1690) were responsible for these literary and poetic achievements. The emblems themselves – and I quote John Manning – drew the attention thanks to their 'visual and verbal opulence' and exploited the skills of the talented engraver and book illustrator Cornelis I Galle (1576-1650): with their 'luxuriant scrolls' and most 'pompous cartouches' (Praz) the *picturae* were as 'grandiloquent' as 'finely wrought' (Manning).[5]

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5 Manning 2002, 194 and 195, Praz 1964, 186. On the initiative and the overall concept of the *Imago*, see a.o. (in chronological order) Praz 1964, 185-190, Chatelain 1993, 118, Van Houdt 1996a, Waterschoot 1996, 464-465, Waterschoot 2002, 163-164, Manning 2002, 194-196, Salvi-

Fig. 2: Title engraving of the *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640). (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

The *Imago* was not in the first place a historical, didactical or apologetic account of the order, but above all an optimistic, even triumphalistic and encomiastic presentation of its glorious accomplishments. The jubilee was a celebration and as such the *Imago* fully participated in the spectacular festive culture of the Society's centennial. Father Daniel Papebrochius (1628-1714) mentioned in 1640 in his *Annales antverpienses* that certain copies of the 126 emblems were being hand-coloured and were hung out as emblematic exhibitions (*affixiones*) in the portal and the side aisles of the Antwerp Jesuit church ('Quae emblemata, aeri insculpta, volumen istud ornant, eadem per ecclesiae parietes et porticus fuerant vivis coloribus expressa').[6]

In 1640 the *Imago* was also published in a substantially abridged Dutch version, in the smaller 4°-format (though still covering over 700 pages): the *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eeuwe der societeyt Iesu* (Fig. 2).[7] Balthasar I Moretus printed

ucci Insolera 2004, 84-102. On the *Imago* and its adversaries: Fumaroli 1986 and Salviucci Insolera 2004, 195-222.

6 Mertens and Buschmann 1845-1848, IV, 414. See also Poncelet 1928, vol. 2, 546, Rombauts 1930, 68 and Salviucci Insolera 2004, 71, note14.

7 De Backer-Sommervogel 1960, VI, 927, Landwehr 1988, 41-42, Daly and Dimler 1997, 58-59.

no less than 1525 copies and sold them at 9 guilders.[8] The publication was again a joint enterprise. Father Laurentius Uwens (1589-1641) took care of the prose texts; Father Adriaen Poirters (1605-1674), a former student of Hosschius and an upcoming occasional poet, was responsible for the Dutch verses in the emblems. Together with Balthasar I Moretus (1574-1641) both Fathers must have worked under great time pressure since the volume had to appear before the end of 1640; the approbation dates from mid December. Despite all this haste, the initiative was taken most seriously and should not be minimized: it was published with a very specific public in mind, the 'ongestudeerde gemeynte' (i.e. the public not acquainted with the Latin verse forms) and fitted in with a quite consciously established and keen publishing strategy of the Society: from 1600 onwards the Jesuit order made their editions available not only in Latin but also in thoroughly adapted versions in one or more of the vernacular languages. And so the province's superior, Johannes Tollenarius (1582-1643), was prompted by one of his fathers, Judocus Andreas (1588-1658), 'utinam in idioma Gallicum liber vertatur' [that also a French edition would be published].[9]

The Dutch edition was in many respects thoughtfully reconsidered. The lengthy prose texts for the *dissertationes* in the *Imago* were reduced by half; all the *exercitationes oratoriae* (about 200 pages in the *Imago*) were left out, and so were the Latin poems by Wallius and Hosschius (about 100 pages). The Dutch *subscriptiones* of the emblems on the contrary were now getting more space: the 22-line epigrams in the *Imago* were replaced by 40 line poems in the *Af-beeldinghe* and they were now being spread over two pages. As a result the Dutch epigrams indeed did not present a translation of the Latin texts, but they interpreted the emblematic images in a new, quite often very idiosyncratic and even more self-conscious and highly polemic way. Father Papebrochius even thought that many of Poirters's verses excelled the Latin ones.[10]

It is fairly well known from the research by Dimler that the *picturae* went back for their *inventio* to the classics of the genre, be these e.g. the *Liber emblematum* of the founding father Andreas Alciato, Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae* or the in the Low Countries well-known and highly influential corpus of love emblematics, ranging from Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* and Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* (Cupid's trade) to the more ethical *Maechdenplicht* [Maiden's Duties] by Jacob Cats and his *Proteus*.[11] But also other emblem books were involved: Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*, above all Sylvestro Petrasanc-

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On the Dutch *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, see a.o. Romabuts [1930], 66-68 and 241-242, Salsmans 1940, B[ronselaer] 1994, Van Houdt 1996b, Meeus 1997, Waterschoot 1996, 465; Waterschoot 2002 and Salviucci Insolera 2004, 102-105.

8 Waterschoot 1996, 465.

9 Sacré 1996, 125. On Father Judocus Andreas (Josse Andries) and his work, see D[e] L[andtsheer] 1996.

10 Mertens and Buschmann (1845-1848), IV, 414.

11 Dimler 1981 and Salviucci Insolera 2004, 126-140.

ta's *De symbolis heroicis libri ix* (Antwerp, 1634; published by Balthasar I Moretus as well),[12] and (as became clear from my own research) Antonius à Burgundia's *Linguae vitia et remedia* (Antwerp 1631).[13]

In this article I will try to establish how some of the emblems in the *Imago* in a very intense and quite specific way made use of existing emblematic traditions with regard to profane love. But rather than presenting a study on the source material, that shows the often straightforward use of *picturae* from the profane love emblem tradition, my main focus will be on how the profane emblem tradition and its specific textual and visual discourse is recreated anew and integrated within the large Jesuit project. Or to put it in John Manning's terms: I will focus on how 'the pagan pantheon has been converted, and now works in full support of the order'.[14]

At first sight it is very tempting in this respect to assume that the volume just conforms to the well-known and convincing strategy of substitution: profane love being transposed into divine love. The technique became widespread after Vaenius had turned his profane love emblems, the *Amorum emblemata*, into a 'similar collection on spiritual love', the *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615).[15] In the same way did the Counter Reformation give rise during the first decennia of the seventeenth century to quite a number of religious songbooks that were intentionally set up to counter the large production of worldly songbooks.[16] As such it does not come as a surprise that in the *Af-beeldinghe* there are some overt allusions to the great success of the profane love songs and similarly tuned emblem books. In the prose text dealing with the Jesuits's vow of chastity 'amoureuse boecken' [amorous books] are seen as 'verweckselen der wellustigheyt' [arousing lust].[17] And for this reason, so we can read in the prose texts from book VI, some Jesuit authors had provided the youngsters with catechetical songs that could ban the foul songs from the shops and the streets ('soo wierden eensweeghs onder de meyssens ende ionghe-dochters in winckels ende op straete de vuyle liedekens uytghebannen, ende in plaetse van die, gheestelijcke, diemen inden Catechismus hoorde, inghebraght').[18]

However in the *Imago* there is more at stake than just a mere application of the technique of appropriation and – subsequently – substitution, of turning profane love motifs into images of sacred love, or of annihilating the profane discourse just

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12 Salviucci Insolera 2004, 135-140. On Petrasancta and Moretus see also Waterschoot 1996, 462.

13 Compare e.g. the *picturae* in Burgundia's *Linguae Vitia et remedia* on p. 46, 64 or 112 with respectively the *picturae* in the *Imago* 1640 on p. 462 (*Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 278), p. 719 or p. 456 (*Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 112).

14 Manning 2002, 196.

15 Porteman 1996c, 3.

16 See a.o. Keersmaekers 1989-1990, Keersmaekers 1991, Van Vaeck 1996 and Porteman 1998, 7-8.

17 *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 76.

18 *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 559.

LIBER PRIMVS. SOCIETAS NASCENS. 187

Caftitas fit intaminata.

Vapor rapit omne decus.

N Vper amor nitidum cùm se censore notaret
  Cryftallo, Scythicis quæ glaciata iugis,
Maturânque comam fuluo quæ pulchrior auro,
  Miratur primæ æmula labra rofæ:
Dum se ridentem videt , dum singula laudat,
  Vrentesque oculos , purpureasque genas,
Flammeus oris honos , & lactea colla pruinti,
  Et frons fideribus splendidiora placent:
Dumque suo similis Narciffo arridet imago,
  Ingemit , & gemitu vitrea plana replet.
Ilicet omne decus vvapor eripit , atraque nubes
  Ora superfusis occulit in tenebris.
Vicine cautus Veneris contagia vvitet
  Suadeo , qui caftæ lilia mentis amat:
Si puræ vvt speculo Numen tibi mente renidet,
  Ah , caue , vvel labes vvna fugare potest.
Inficit afflatu, licet oscula blanda propinet:
  Aura maligna rofæ , Cypridis vvmbra nocet.
Vidi ego fideribus certantia lumina , quæ nunc
  Aut fumo, aut turpi putria tabe fluunt.
Alciden memorant , nimis inftar fole fluenti
  Vicinâ tactum sic periiffe luet.

A a 2   Cafti-

Fig. 3: *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesv a provincia Flandro-Belgica eivsdem Societatis repraesentata* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), 187. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 3C 577).

by *replacing* it with a sacred narrative. On the contrary, some of the emblems in the *Imago* seem to activate and to incorporate the actual discourse of profane emblematics quite consciously. And Poirters's texts in this respect (and therefore this contribution will be dealing mainly with the Dutch version) even go much further than the *Imago*. This specific kind of intertextuality or intericonicity can best be described – and I refer here to Enenkel's research on Reusner – in terms of 'Scherenschnitt' and 'Montage', or 'Dekonstruktion' and 'Konstruktion'.[19] In this respect the somewhat prudish and at first sight quite trivial critique that has come down to us in a letter from January 1641, becomes more than an anecdote. In this letter the Bruges Jesuit, Judocus Andreas, complains to the province's superior Johannes Tollenarius that the little Cupid on page 187 in the *Imago* (in contrast to the one on the preceding folio) is not decently covered and misses a waistcloth (Fig. 3). Or in Latin: 'in emblemate parvulus Cupido non videtur sat tectus'.[20] The worldly god of love in the *Imago* is not always *replaced* by *amor divinus* but stands in opposition to it, not just as an *exemplum a malo* but as a very concrete and almost tangible world *a malo* as well.

This is most clearly the case in those emblems from book I ('Societas nascens') that are dealing with or referring to the Jesuits's vow of chastity. It is surely no coincidence that the quote about amorous books arousing lust is taken from this book. In the *pictura* of the emblem on page 185 in the *Imago* (Fig. 4) (page 110 in the *Af-beeldinghe*) a weeping Cupid is placed amidst some peasants. The engraver Cornelis Galle clearly copied some of the gestures after an engraving in Burgundia's *Linguae Vitia et remedia* (1631, 80) (Fig. 5), but the whole idea for the *pictura* was not inspired by an existing emblem volume. The peasants, the younger as well as the older ones, are destroying Cupid's arrows and bow in a very industrious and busy way, and by doing so they visualize the Latin motto taken from Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (book 2, 139): 'Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus' [if you give up

19 Enenkel 2003.
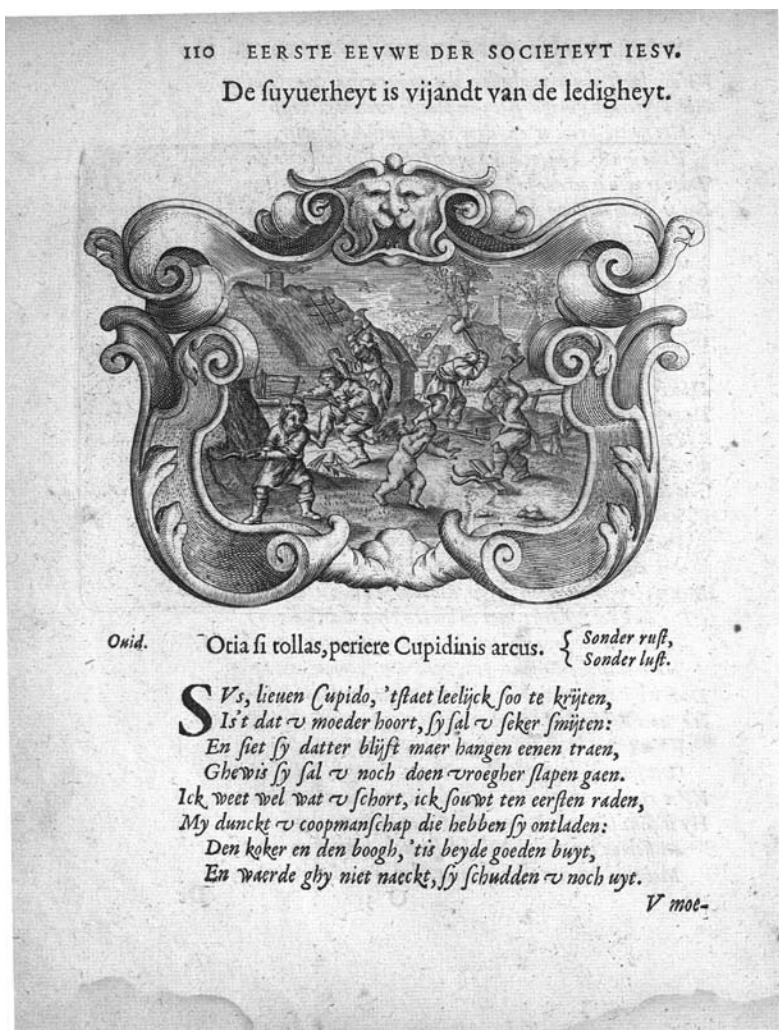20 Sacré 1996, 53, note 185.

De suyuerheyt is vijandt van de ledigheyt.

Ovid.   Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus.   { *Sonder rust,* / *Sonder lust.*

SVs, lieuen Cupido, 'tstaet leelijck soo te krijten,
Is't dat ʋ moeder hoort, sy sal ʋ seker smijten:
En siet sy datter blijft maer hangen eenen traen,
Ghewis sy sal ʋ noch doen vroegher slapen gaen.
Ick weet wel wat ʋ schort, ick souwt ten eersten raden,
My dunckt ʋ coopmanschap die hebben sy ontladen:
Den koker en den boogh, 'tis beyde goeden buyt,
En waerde ghy niet naeckt, sy schudden ʋ noch uyt.

V moe-

Fig. 4: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), 110. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

your quiet life, the bow of Cupid will lose its power]. The didaxis becomes clear: chastity hates idleness ('Castitas otio inimica', 'De suyverheydt is vijandt van de ledigheyt').

Poirters's Dutch verses on pages 110-111 in the *Af-beeldinghe* amplify the Latin texts from the *Imago* quite substantively and bring a quite lengthy and often very humorous *imitatio* of Daniel Heinsius's well-known love lyrics in the Theocritian style[21]:

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21 Becker-Cantarino 1983, 55*-60*.

Fig.5: Antonius à Burgundia, *Lingvae vitia & remedia Emblematice expressa.* (Antwerp: Jan Cnobbaert, 1631), pictura of emblem 37, p. 80. (Photo: Heverlee, Park Abbey, PrJIX/1).

Sus, lieven Cupido, 't staet leelijck soo te krijten,
Is't dat u moeder hoort, sy sal u seker smijten:
En siet sy datter blijft maer hangen eenen traen,
Ghewis sy sal u noch doen vroegher slapen gaen.
Ick weet wel wat u schort, ick souwt ten eersten raden,
My dunckt u coopmanschap die hebben sy ontladen:
Den koker en den boogh, 'tis beyde goeden buyt,
En waerde ghy niet naeckt, sy schudden u noch uyt.

[Hush, dear Cupid, weeping like that sounds so ugly.
If your mother hears you, she will box your ears.
And if she notices that there is still one more tear,
Surely she will send you to bed a bit earlier.
I know what bothers you, I can guess it at once.
I think that they took away your goods.
The quiver and the bow, these are both a good catch.
And if you were not naked, they would take all of you.]

As such the emblem as a whole pays tribute to the Jesuits's vow of chastity ('wy zijn al vromer […] [and] trotsen al u maght' [we are more brave and we withstand your

Fig. 6: Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria. Afbeeldinghen van minne. Emblemes d'amour* (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1611), embleem 23, 57. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 5A 30738).

– Cupid's – power]).[22] But at the same time Poirters is aiming at a broader public of youngsters. They should keep away from the foolish youth ('de domme ieught') and the idle layabouts ('de lege danten, Die vanden morgen-stondt tot 's nachts toe lanter-fanten' [the idle layabouts, who are loafing around all day]).[23]

In the same way the self-confident praise on *castitas* becomes in the other emblems a symbol for not losing one's virginity and presents itself as a lesson for youngsters: they are being addressed repeatedly and most explicitly in the Dutch verses. In the emblem on page 187 of the *Imago* (*Af-beeldinghe*, 114) (Fig. 3) Cupid looks at himself in a mirror, just like a new Narcissus (in the Latin text: 'similis Narcisso'), but his breath deprives the mirror of its lustre. (This time Cornelis Galle copied Cupid's gesture and the shape of the tree after the *pictura* of emblem 23 in Hooft's *Emblemata amatoria* (compare Fig. 3 with Fig. 6)).[24] Poirters's text starts with a large digression on the fashion-crazed coquettes of the time and goes on in this way (*Af-beeldinghe*, 115):

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22 *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 111.
23 *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 111.
24 I am grateful to my students Kristof Claesen and Bérangère Fortemps for this information.

Sy doen ghelijck dit kindt dat wou een Spiegel houwen,
Om daer sijn witte sneeuw, en root corael t'aenschouwen.
Het neemt hem in sijn handt, daer sit den krolle-bol,
En spiegelt wat hy magh, en siet sijn buycksken vol.
Dan siet hy op het root van alle bey sijn wanghen,
'tSchijnt dat op elcken kant een roosken is gehangen,
Dan siet het sijnen mondt, dan siet het op sijn kin,
En merckt, soo draey hy lacht, daer komt een kloofken in.
Dan siet het sijnen hals, dan sijn' ivoore tanden,
En dan sijn goudt-geel hayr, en sijn sneeuw-witte handen:
Dit siet het al te mael, iae stelt noch mondt aen mondt,
Als of daer in't gelas een ander knechtjen stondt.
Elaes! Ter wijl hy kust, den asem comt gevlogen,
En siet, den spiegel wordt terstont heel overtogen,
Den luyster isser af [...].
Och ionckheyt, wat ghy doet, den asem moet ghy schouwen,
Is't dat ghy dit versuymt, het sal u eeuwigh rouwen [...].
Sy zijn van een beslagh den spiegel, en u eer,
En speelt met gheen van bey, ô iongheyt, immermeer.

[They (i.e. these coquettes) behave like this child who wanted to hold a mirror
So that he could look at his white snow and at his red coral.
He took the mirror in his hands; and there the curly head is sitting
And he is looking at himself, looking, looking his little belly full.
Then he is looking at the red colour on both his cheeks.
It seems as if a small rose is dangling at every side.
Then he is looking at his mouth, then his chin
And he notices that, as soon as he laughs, a dimple does appear.
Then he sees his neck, then his ivory teeth
Then his golden and yellow hair and his hands white like snow.
He sees all this, and then, oh yeah, he presses mouth to mouth
As if another boy was standing in the mirror.
Alas, as soon as he kisses, his breath comes near,
And look the mirror is being misted over.
Its lustre has gone. (…)
O, you youth, whatever you do, beware of the breath.
If you do not take care, you will repent it for ever
The mirror and your honour, they are one of a kind (literally: they are both
made out of one and the same dough)
And do not trifle either of these, o you youngsters, never do!]

Fig. 7: Daniel Heinsius, *Nederduytsche poemata* (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1616), *Ambacht van Cupido*, pictura of emblem 21, 79. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC A 5422).

The tone of Poirters's didaxis in the emblem obviously comes quite near to the ethics that were established in Jacob Cats's *Maechden-plicht* [the Maiden's Duties] (1618), a maiden's mirror to which the *Imago* was so much indebted (infra).

The present emblem was certainly not a unique case. I just give you two more examples, taken from the emblems on *castitas*, that also illustrate the rather intricate intertextual relationships of the emblems in the *Af-beeldinghe* with the Dutch corpus of profane love emblematics.

The *homo bulla* depicted in the *pictura* of emblem 21 in Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* [Cupid's trade] must have inspired the emblem 'Si tangas, frangas' on the vulnerability of *castitas* in the *Af-beeldinghe* (*Af-beeldinghe*, 112-113) (Figs 7-8). The opening lines of Poirters's text address the young maidens directly: 'Komt maeghden, siet dit kinder-spel, // En hebdy tijdt, besiet het wel [Young maiden, come here, and have a look at this children's play. And please, if you have time, consider it thoughtfully.]

In Heinsius's emblem the soap bubbles are an image of the unsteady kindness of the beloved one, in Poirters's text they become a metaphor for the fragility of a young maiden's honour: a soap bubble should not be touched upon: 'Een bobbel, en der maeghden eer, // Zijn alle bey al euen teer' [a soap bubble and the honour of a young lady, are as equally vulnerable]. Precisely this idea links Poirters's text to another love emblem, now one figuring as opening emblem in Cats's *Maech-*

Fig. 8: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), p. 112. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

den-plicht (Fig. 9). I refer here more precisely to Cats's well-known emblem on the fragility of a grape of vines as a symbol for a young maiden's vulnerable virginity: a grape that should not be felt upon by a frisky young man.[25]

Also in other emblems on chastity Poirters integrates elements from the profane love emblems in his discourse and redirects them as lessons for young maidens. In the eighth emblem on chastity (Fig. 10) (on pages 116-117 in the *Af-beeldinghe*) penitence is seen as a means to safeguard one's virginity ('De suyverheydt wordt door lijf-kastijdinghe beschermt'). In the centre of the *pictura* a small hedgehog (designed after Jacob Cats's *Proteus,* emblem 35, (Fig. 11))[26] curls itself up and with its firm spines keeps the other animals (dog, swine, serpent and male goat) at a safe distance. (The swine and the serpent were modelled after the *pictura* in Burgundia's *Linguae vitia et remedia*, page 4, (Fig. 12)). The *pictura* itself visualises the Horatian motto from *Carmina* 3, 1: 'Odi profanum vulgus, & arceo' [I hate the uncivilised mob and keep it at a distance]. As such the didaxis in the Latin text pleads for physical castigation as a means to preserve one's chastity without adressing a specific public, but in the Dutch text again a public of youngsters is being aimed at (page 117):

25 Cats 1618, 'Wapen-Schilt alle eerbare maeghden toe-ghe-eyghent' [coat of arms dedicated to alle honourable young maiden].
26 Luijten 1996, I, 240-245 and II, 553-563.

Fig. 9: Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht, ofte ampt der Ionck-vrovvven, in eerbaer liefde, aen-ghewesen door Sinne-beelden. Officivm puellarum, in castis Amoribus, Emblemate expressum* (Middelburg: H. van der Hellen, 1618), 'Wapen-Schilt alle eerbare maeghden toe-ghe-eyghent' [coat of arms dedicated to all honourable young maidens]. (Photo: University of Utrecht, University Library, 132 B 1:4).

> Leert dit dan voor besluyt: het lichaem te castijden
> Is eenen stercken schilt waer mé de maeghden strijden

> [Take this as your lesson: physical castigation
> is a safe shield and a firm weapon for virgins].

Poirters even expands in a Petrarchist way the Latin verses by two *exempla* taken from the lives of Saint Frances and Pelagia of Antioch. Pelagia, in order to escape from the soldiers that were threatening her, threw herself into the sea and by doing so, extinguishes and smothers the fire of love:

> Pelagia die sprongh, en sonck in een rivier,
> Versmachte daer den brant, en bluschte daer het vier.

The sea that gave birth to the goddess of love ('schoon dat Venus is geboren uyt

Fig. 10: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), p. 116. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

Fig. 11: Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte Minne-beelden verandert in Sinne-beelden* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberghe, 1627), emblem 35, 206 (EPU site).

Fig. 12: Antonius à Burgundia, *Lingvae vitia & remedia Emblematice expressa* (Antwerp: Jan Cnobbaert, 1631), pictura of the opening emblem, 4. (Photo: Heverlee, Park Abbey, PrJIX/1).

de baeren'), is turned into a place where even one's virginity can be safeguarded ('Men vindter die oock *daer* den maeghdom wel bewaeren') (page 117).

References to the discourse of the worldly god of love, as a kind of sounding board in the emblems, turn out to be spread all over the volume. The *pictura* on page 196 in book II of the *Af-beeldinghe* (Fig. 13), with its laughing Cupid – in the *Imago* on page 321: 'parve puer risit'; *iocus* and *risus* as the companions of Venus! –, visualizes the Latin motto in terms of the well-known Ovidian truisms on love's omnipotence being the world's driving force: 'Fac pedem figat, & terram mouebit' [give me place where I can stand and I will be moving the world], a statement on the force of levers by Archimedes. The opening lines of Poirters's Dutch texts even seem completely in tune with the tenor of the profane love lyrics: 'Wel, wat doet hier dit kleyne kindt, // Dat heel de werelt opwaerts windt?' [Ah, what is this small boy doing here, he who is winding up the whole world]. His activities *finally* – by means of the *simulatio* as a rhetorical figure – turn out to be a metaphor for God who uses the Jesuits as his instrument to bring light to the world and to uplift the
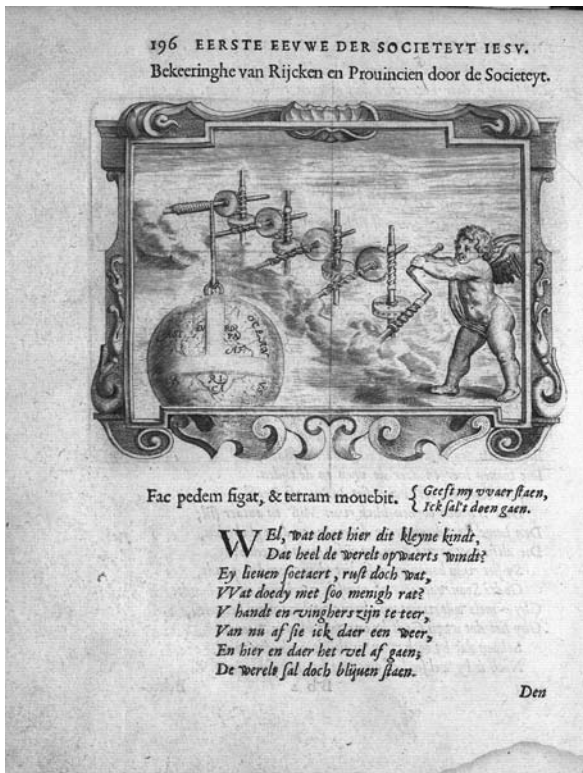
Fig. 13: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), 196. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

heathens in Japan, China and all other foreign countries. In the *pictura* of the final emblem in book 2 (dealing with the young Stanislas Kostka) the sun is ripening a bunch of grapes under a glass jar (Fig. 14) (*Af-beeldinghe*, 212-213). The first half of the Dutch *subscriptio* describes how an impatient Cupid loves to use his garde-ning tricks in order to accelerate the maturing process. His impatience provokes some clear negative connotations: 'Als ghy soo de Liefd' hoort spreken, // Peyst het zijn maer minne-treken' [If you hear Love talk like that, bear in mind that these are but love's tricks]. They contrast sharply with the reliability of the Jesuits's house that forms a warm and save surrounding in ripening the soul (and more precisely young Kostka's soul).

The specific discourse of the profane love emblem and more in particular its preoccupation with the fire of love became in the *Imago* and in the *Af-beeldinghe* a most prominent vehicle that expressed the Jesuits's self-confident spirituality la-belled by a pun on the name of the founding father of the Jesuit order. Ignatius's name was indeed quite often linked to the Latin word *ignitus* (he who burns) or *ig-*

Fig. 14: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), 212. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

nis (fire). In this way in 1650 the students from the Brussels's Jesuits's college would assemble their *affixio* in honour of Saint Ignatius on the basis of the element fire. Occasionally the *Imago*-emblems function as a source of inspiration for the Brussels's *affixiones*.[27]

It even seems as if the *Af-beeldinghe* quite consciously sharpened this idea. The frontispiece for the Dutch edition of the *Imago* (engraved by Michael Natalis [1609-1670] after Abraham van Diepenbeeck [1596-1675]) did not just render in a reduced size the engraving from the Latin edition but was conceived completely anew, inserted new pictorial elements and stressed the idea 'that the whole world was [set] ablaze with the fervent propaganda of the Company' (Knipping).[28]

In the emblems themselves the elements of fire and flames become a most dominant pictorial motif, not least in those emblems devoted to Ignatius. A burn-

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27 Porteman 1996a, 114-115.
28 Knipping 1974, I, 143. On the Latin and the Dutch frontispiece, see Salviucci Insolera 2004, 109-117. The Latin frontispiece is also being discussed in Fumaroli 1986. On the iconography of the frontispiece in the Dutch edition see as well the preface 'Aen den leser' [To the reader] in *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, fol *3v°-[*4]v°.

ing candle, its light shining into the dark, becomes a symbol for Ignatius's early accomplishments.[29] In the sixth emblem of book II God, speaking from heaven, sees his servants as a bright fire that even excels the powers of Venus.[30] Or according to Poirters's Dutch verses:

Ick hebb' een krachtigh vier, ick hebb' een vlam bereet,
Die Venus vier verdooft al waer het noch soo heet.
Ick laet mijn sluysen toe, 'kwil vier met vier verwinnen
Niet dat daer steden velt, maer Godt meer doet beminnen.
Loiola sal het doen, hy is daer toe ghestelt.

[I have made a bright fire, I have kindled a flame
That extinguishes the flames of Venus, as hot as these may be.
I keep the sluice gates closed, I want to beat fire with fire.
It will not be a fire that destroys cities,
but it will make people love God intensely.
Loyola will do this, it is equipped for that.]

But here as well, further resonances to the profane love discourse are inserted in the Dutch texts. I give one more example. In the *pictura* on page 522 in the *Af-beeldinghe* (Fig. 15) (page 726 in the *Imago*) the Jesuit martyrs killed in Japan are being represented by some festive fireworks. Each of the braziers full of flames symbolizes the Jesuit martyrs who gave their life. The burning fires become an image of triumph and victory ('Haec signa triumphi').[31] In Poirters's Dutch text the *subscriptio* is introduced by a supplementary emblematic image based on Cats's *Maechdenplicht,* an emblem that completely fits in with the tradition of Cupid's trade (Fig. 16).[32] Poirters's own text reads as follows:

De kuyper gaet in 't eerst met spaender-vier de duyghen
Versaemen inden reep, en dwinght haer om te buyghen;
En gaen de saecken wel, soo komt men nae der handt,
Men steltse op den staeck, en viert voor 't vader-landt: [...]
Een die Godts liefde voelt nu seffens in hem branden,
En sich vrywilligh buyght, en sluyt in vaste banden,
Al komter een tyran die hem in kolen stelt,
't Is teecken dat die brandt blijft meester van het velt.

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29 *Af-beeldinghe* 1640, 192-193 (*Imago* 1640, p. 317).
30 *A-fbeeldinghe* 1640, 202-203 (*Imago* 1640, p. 325).
31 On the prominent topic of the joyfulness of the Christian martyrs 'trumpeting the triumph of a universal Christian religion', see Verberckmoes 2003.
32 Cats 1618, 9.

Fig. 15: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der Societeyt Iesv voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt* (Antwerp: Balthasar I Moretus, 1640), 522. (Photo: K.U.Leuven, BIBC 4A 6033).

> [At first and by means of a small fire the barrel-maker will fix the
> Wooden staves within the iron hoops and he bends them.
> And if all things go well, one can attach at the end
> the small barrel to a stake, as a bonfire for the nation. […]
> Someone who feels God's flames burning inside
> And who bends out of free will and lets oneself be fixed in firm ties,
> He will always conquer, even if a tyrant would put him amidst a coal fire.]

And this idea leads to the concluding lines: 'Der Martelaeren bloedt maeckt altijdt vruchtbaer landt' [The blood of martyrs will always render the land fertile] (page 523).

It is time to draw some conclusions. In this article I presented the *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* in the first place as a highly self-confident and above all quite festive book, in which the *Provincia Flandro-Belgica* commemorated quite proudly the achievements of the Jesuits's order according to its specific spirituality. The result was an impressive volume in which specific emblematic traditions

Fig. 16: Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht, ofte ampt der Ionck-vrovvven, in eerbaer liefde, aen-ghewesen door Sinne-beelden. Officivm puellarum, in castis Amoribus, Emblemate expressum* (Middelburg: H. van der Hellen, 1618), 9. (Photo: University of Utrecht, University Library, 132 B 1:4).

not only influenced the process of selecting and encoding the emblematic images but were also steering, often by means of the rhetorical technique of the *admiratio*, a dynamic process of decoding at the side of the reading public. I grouped my examples around the tradition of love emblematics but other emblem traditions were at stake here as well.

The jubilee year 1640 was the culmination point and for this reason a Dutch version of the *Imago* had to be completed under great pressure of time. But the order remained faithful to its own principles: the Dutch version in any case was certainly not a cheap and mercantile trick just to recuperate the high costs for the production of the superbly executed visual material. The volume undoubtedly meets with the order's own standards as well as with the specific expectations of the 'ongestudeerde ghemeynte'. Further research will be needed to describe this specific public more in detail. In this article I also could only partially dwell upon some aspects of Poirters's techniques of encoding the emblematic images and on his quite creative use of the profane love emblem tradition. Both Poirters's highly versatile reading of the emblematic images on the one hand and his inclusion of

the emblematic tradition on the other hand are highly successful in creating less learned texts (mythology e.g. is less prominent than in the Latin texts). But these texts on the other hand were still full of wit, humour and didacticism and as such a successful attempt to establish a Dutch variant of the *pia hilaritas*.[33] Or, as Daniel Papebrochius remarked about Poirters's Dutch verses: 'hoc quidem adeo eleganti, ut Latino nusquam cedere videatur' [these were as elegant as in the Latin texts and were not exceeded by the latter ones].[34]

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Churches as indicators of a larger phenomenon. The religious side of the Dutch love emblem

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Introduction and research topic

In 2002, the Vatican launched a campaign against celebrities wearing a bejeweled cross as a fashion statement. The papal news agency Fides published an edict in which the latest fashion trend was called 'an incomprehensible mania'. To convince people to stop wearing the crosses, the news agency asked: 'Is it consistent with the Gospel to spend millions on a copy of the sacred symbol of the Christian faith when people all over the world suffer and die of hunger?' (Kim and Kennedy 2002) It is quite possible the papal news agency was sincere in asking this question, but it seems there were other motifs too. The problem was also, so it seems, the context in which the sacred cross was placed. In the edict Fides mentioned a few names of celebrities violating an unwritten rule. Among those the name of actress Catherine Zeta Jones. A picture of her dating from 2002 sheds another light on the matter (Fig. 1). I am referring to this incidence to point at the value and weight of religious symbols in past and present. Since the cross has served as a sacred symbol for centuries[1], using it is never without meaning. The picture of Zeta Jones exemplifies how a symbol can trigger something far beyond it's modest appearance.

In this line of thought, I will focus in this article on the presence of another religious symbol in the corpus of the Dutch love emblematics as it was selected by the Emblem Project Utrecht (EPU).[2] On the basis of an overview of occurrences of church buildings in word and image in the EPU-corpus, I will examine how the profane and religious love emblematics were tied together in the period in which the religious genre came into being (1601-1615), and also take a closer look at the developments within the religious genre between 1615 and 1725.

In order to concretize this research topic, I will analyze emblems from the EPU corpus on which a church building is represented in the *pictura*, and/or emblems which refer to a church building in their text. Several reasons underlie the consideration of church buildings as an important theme in the Dutch love emblematics. The most significant reason is the omnipresence of church buildings in the lives of writers and readers of emblem books, both literally and figuratively. Church towers dominated the skylines of cities as a constant reminder of the importance of

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1 Not only in West-European culture, but elsewhere as well. In Western Europe, the cross served mostly as a Catholic symbol until the end of the nineteenth century, so it seems (Smith 2001, 705). I will readdress this issue later on in this article. Translation of this article: Jayme Blans

2 For a justification of the corpus selection and the use of the word 'Dutch', go to: http//emblems.let.uu.nl/project_procedures.html#corpus_selection. NB: all Internet websites named in this article were last accessed in August 2006.

Fig. 1: actrice Catherine Zeta Jones

religious aspects of daily life, and weekly routines were modelled around church visits on Sundays. In a figurative sense, the church building ('temple') played an important role as a biblical metaphor, as described by Paul Minear in his *Images of the Church in the New Testament*:

> […] the New Testament pictured the temple as a dwelling place of the Spirit. Where God's spirit is, there is the temple. It may also have been the nuance which enabled Paul to speak of the body of each believer as a temple (1 Cor. 6:19) without excluding the idea that every congregation is also a temple (ch. 3:16-17) and without excluding the vision of the whole church as a temple (Eph. 2:21).[3]

As omnipresent as church buildings were in those days, they seem not to have played a significant role in emblem books that were published before 1567. Most

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3 Minear 1960, 97. Symbolic representation of a church can be found in numerous Christian literary works. For example, in *Den Tempel onser Sielen*, a Roman Catholic tract printed in Antwerp in 1543 and written by the same hand as *De grote evangelische Peerle* (1538), and in George Herbert's *The Temple* (1633) (see Amoe 1968, 64-65 and Hanley 1968, 121). For a more specific link between church and body, see Synnot 1992, passim. And for an elaborate explanation of the church's function as a 'space for the ascetic lifestyle' see Schroeder 2004, passim.

likely, this was the result of the fact that until 1567 – the year in which Georgette de Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*, the very first religious emblem book, was published – emblem books were of a generally moralistic and didactic nature, and seem to avoid a specific, religious focus.[4] Before 1567, churches were scarcely, if at all, mentioned in prominent emblem books. This observation is based on research in the iconographic database with texts from the Glasgow French Emblems website[5] which includes editions of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (1531), Théodore de Bèze's *Icones* (1580), Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* (1540), Hadrianus Junius's *Emblesmes* (1567), Guillaume La Perrière's *Le theatre des bons engins* (1544) and *Devises heroïques* (1557), and Joannes Sambucus's *Emblemata* (1564).[6] In Henkel and Schöne's *Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, the church does not appear as an independent reference in the category 'Stätten und Bauwerke'. This indicates that churches neither played a significant role in the pre-1567 emblem books from Henkel and Schöne's selection that are not incorporated on the Glasgow website (Bartholomaeus Anulus's *Picta poesis* (1565), Achille Bocchius's *Symbolicarum* (1562) en Petrus Costalius's *Pegma* (1555)).

This all changed in 1567, and the change is symbolized, as it were, by a church building that is highlighted both pictorially and textually on the first emblem of De Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*. I will discuss this emblem in more detail later, but for now I just give a description of its *pictura* and the Latin *motto*, 'Sapiens mulier ædificat domum' [A wise wife builds her building].[7] On the *pictura*, we see a distinguished-looking and crowned woman laying bricks on the four walls of an unfinished, yet reliable and stable-looking building.[8] A compass, ruler, right-angle, and plumb line emphasize the craftsmanship the woman puts into her work.[9] In addition, the unnatural smooth texture of the bricks comprising the perfectly angled four walls, suggest strength and stability. The building is flanked

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4 According to De Montenay's own words, she was the first to create religious emblems. In the preliminary pages of *Les Emblems ou Devises chrestiennes*, she writes: 'Alciat feit des Emblémes exquis//Lesquels voyant de plusieurs requis//Desir me prit de commencer les miens//Lesquels ie croy estre premier Chrestiens.' For the complete quote, go to http://emblems.let.uu.nl/av-1615front002.html

5 See http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php

6 For more information, also go to the Mnemosyne website: http://www.mnemosyne.org/mia.

7 The Latin 'domum' is used for the more general 'building' as well as 'house'.

8 Matthews Grieco 1994, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 1999, Peil 1999, Adams 2002, and Saunders 2002 all within their own research emphasized the active role of the woman portrayed. I, on the other hand, am mostly concerned with what it is she is so actively building, namely a church.

9 Matthews Grieco 1994, 864: 'Against the wall lie a compass, a ruler, and a right-angle, instruments that are often used in female personifications of the Arts and Sciences.' It seems to me – with thanks to Arie Gelderblom who made me aware – the attributs rather point to Ripa's 'Architectura', see: 'A stately woman, of a grave age; her sleeves tucked up unto the elbows; clothed in changeable silk; having in her one hand, a line with lead at the bottom, or plummet line, a square, and a compass; and in the other hand, a draft of a great building, divided according to the art of Geometry', http://www.levity.com/alchemy/iconol04.html

Fig. 2: *pictura* of emblem 1, G. de Montenay, *Cent emblemes chrestiens* (EPU site)

by a pillar, carrying an inscription (two letters and a cross) (Fig. 2). In line with De Montenay's example, the Dutch love emblematists emphasized the role of the church: it became a prominent and much employed element in Dutch love emblem books. Not relevant to the corpus selected by the EPU, but still a nice example of the importance of the church building for Dutch emblematics, is *Geestelijk gebouw met sinne-beelden verciert* ('Religious structure in one's mind, embellished with emblems') made by the Dutch minister Cornelis Udemans. In this emblem book without *picturae*, protestants are urged to see themselves as church. This church can be built with 'levende steenen' ('living stones', that is any work done to purify the soul and live without sins). The temple of Salomon is shown at the titlepage, as an example to the reader (Middelburg 1659, (a)2r) (Fig. 3). Beforehand, assumptions can be made about the dissemination of emblems in which the church manifests itself within the EPU corpus. It is plausible that with the publication of Otto Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615) – the emblem book marking the turn from profane to religious Dutch love emblematics – more churches emerge in the pictorial and textual elements of emblems. It can also be assumed that, while in

Fig. 3: titlepage of C. Udemans, *Geestelijk gebouw met sinne-beelden verciert* (courtesy of Zeeuws Documentatiecentrum-Zeeuwse Bibliotheek)

profane emblem books churches are portrayed as self-evident and thereby becoming an inconspicuous element in the depicted scenes of the emblem, in religious emblem books church buildings often carry a deeper and more significant meaning. However, by assuming this, the question also arises of whether one could indeed draw such a sharp line between the profane and religious emblem books within the corpus. Additionally, what happens after 1615? For one, could perhaps, in the religious section of the corpus of the Dutch love emblematics, differences and similarities be methodically identified simply on the basis of considering the church as a symbol? Moreover, could the church be considered as important a symbol in emblem books made by Protestant emblematists, e.g. Jacob Cats, as it is in the Roman Catholic emblematics, such as in for example *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* and *Typus mundi*?

Before I present and analyze the inventory of church occurrences, I will first comment on how the used examples were acquired. First and foremost, there is the difficulty of recognizing churches on *picturae* – what does and does not constitute a church? This dilemma is best illustrated in the *pictura* used to publicize the EPU conference (Fig. 4). Is it a house, at the right behind the trees, or is it a church? Even when zooming in, doubt remains: such instances are therefore categorized as 'disputable'.

Fig. 4: *pictura* of emblem 23, D. Heinsius, *Ambacht van Cupido* (in: *Nederduytsche poemata*) (EPU site)

In those cases in which it is apparent whether the illustration depicts a church and/or is described in a text, I utilized Dietmar Peil's categorization approach of 'architectural motifs' as proposed in 'Architectural Motifs as Significant or Decorative Elements in Emblems and Frontispieces.' Peil distinguishes three different levels on which 'architectural motifs' are used in emblems:

1. they may appear as main bearer of meaning, and whether they appear alone or together with other motifs they communicate the emblematical message
2. [they] may provide a well founded or arbitrary background to the emblematic bearer of meaning which derives from another field
3. [they] may support the emblematical message by providing additional notions or specific accentuations; in this case it is not always necessary to interpret them as allegorical motifs and they do not have to be interpreted in one way only. (Peil 1999, 212)

In actual practice, the distinction made by Peil can be conveyed by the degree of attention the churches attract: are they the central 'topic' of an emblem? For instance, is the church represented in the foreground or background, or does the text refer to a church that is visibly represented on the *pictura*? Peil's distinction is also connected with the difference between a literal and figurative meaning: when churches convey a figurative meaning, they usually play a more central role in the emblem.

With the aforementioned considerations in mind, I will now provide some specific examples to demontrate the inventory of emblems with church references.

Fig. 5: *pictura* of emblem 36, J. de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (EPU site)

As said before, in De Montenay's first emblem, the church is prominently present, both on the picture and in the text. Thus, this emblem falls into the category 'main bearer of meaning' (Peil's category 1). In addition, *picturae* on which the interior of a church is represented as a frame also fall into this first category. Opposite to this category, we find the example of Justus de Harduwijn's emblem No. 36, a Dutch translation of Herman Hugo's 'Quid enim mihi est in cælo' from the *Pia desideria*. The soul depicted here is seated on a globe on which the names of a few cities are recorded by the engraver. These cities, among others Antwerp and Brussels, are represented by a single church (Fig. 5). Instances such as these fall into Peil's second category, 'church presented in the background'.

One could argue that 'churches presented in the background' are easily subjected to overinterpretation. For instance, was is possible to imagine and engrave a Dutch landscape *without* a church building in it? In line with comments made by Russel on the meaning of pictures in the background ('background décor may help express, or at least emphasize, the message of an emblem' (Russell 1999, 78)) I would argue that a church represented in the background definitely can add mean-

ing to a *pictura*, as is shown by the above example in Hugo/De Harduwijn. It is true recent research into Dutch landscape painting has shown that landscapes, the visual world, was very often painted to show God's omnipotence and goodness. And that in these surroundings, church buildings were merely emphasizing the general message of the landscape (Bakker 2005, passim). However, research has also shown that it was not common practice to include human structures in Dutch landscape paintings. The classical theory of art showed a preference for portraying harmonic, symmetrical structures, but in the Netherlands existed, probably under the influence of Van Manders *Schilderboeck* (1604) a tendency towards the painting of buildings in decay. Both in the classical theory and the Dutch seventeenth century theory, buildings were not a mandatory, of even preferred element in landscape paintings (Bakker 1996, 54-55); much like Dutch country house poems in which the house it self is never the main focus of attention. The presence of a church building in a Dutch landscape is therefore less common than it might seem at first sight. In the case of the love emblems, it seems that many churches are purposely shown as extraordinary parts of a landscape. They are either separated from other elements in the *picturae*, or they are accentuated by some extra elements in the *picturae* (curly roads leading towards the church building for instance) to draw the reader's eyes towards it. As Peter Boot recently argued, even each tree and each plant in the background is proof of God's presence in the world in Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (Boot 2007, 293). It seems therefore more than likely that special meaning should be attached to the presence of church buildings.

The advent of the church in the Dutch love emblem

In order to assess in which capacity the church made its appearance in the religious emblematics, I will now return to the opening emblem of De Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens*.

When reading the French *subscriptio*, the uncompleted building on the *pictura* appears to be a 'temple', a (Protestant) church building.[10] The text and picture both refer to the biblical metaphor of believers being a house of God; for instance, see 1 Corinthians 3:16-17: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? […] the temple of God is holy which temple ye are".[11]

The depicted woman is Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre and known advocate of the Protestant, or more specifically Calvinistic religion.[12] The image of the queen independently building a house of God is also described in the 'Dedication'

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10 In the sixteenth century, the French word 'temple' implied a Protestant church, while 'église' referred to a Catholic church (according to Matthews Grieco 1994, 862). Adams mainly emphasizes the Latin 'domum' in her analyses of the emblem (Adams 2003, 752-753). To me, it appears that the French word 'temple' together with the presence of a pillar guides the reader to a 'temple' rather than a 'house'.
11 Quote taken from the King James Version. See Adams 2002, 149 and Adams 2003, 751-753. Similar words can also be found in 1 Corinthians 6:19 and Ephesians 2:21-22.
12 De Montenay was D'Albret's lady-of-the-bedchamber.

Fig. 6: C. de Pisan, *Livre de la cité des dames*. Picture taken from http://expositions.bnf.fr/utopie/grand/1-56.htm/

of De Montenay's collection: "Que l'Immortel de vous faisant son temple//Vous façonna pour estre à tous exemple".[13]

In her 'Georgette de Montenay: A Different Voice in Sixteenth-Century Emblematics', Matthews Grieco rightly so pointed out that De Montenay's *pictura* shows many resemblances to an illustration from Christine de Pisan's *Livre de la cité des dames* (1405) "[…] [D]e Pisan helps Reason, a lady crowned like a queen, lay the foundations for the City of Ladies"[14] (Fig. 6). Imperative to my line of reasoning is De Montenay's conversion of De Pisan's image toward the construction of the foundations of a church. The (religious) pillar leaning against the church – looking like a buttress and on which D'Albret's initials are interwoven with a cross – supports such a message.

The temple metaphor indicates the communion of the believer with God. In De Montenay's French and Latin *subscriptiones*, we can gather that working hard at building a temple – concrete: a virtuous and pious life – leads to eternal life. In Latin, it says that she puts her *hands* to work, and in French it is her *cœur* doing the work. Anna Roemersdochter Visscher, who translated the emblem into Dutch several decades later, again refers to the *hands*.[15] Nevertheless, in all cases, the em-

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13 Quote taken from http://emblems.let.uu.nl/av1615front002.html
14 Matthews Grieco 1994, 867.
15 In 1567, *Cent emblemes chrestiens* was published with French subscriptiones. The 1584 republication also included Latin subscriptiones. Anna Roemersdochter Visscher utilized a

Fig. 7: frontispiece of J. de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen* (EPU site)

Fig. 8: *pictura* of emblem 32, *Typus mundi* (EPU site)

phasis lies on the physical labour in designing the church in which God and the believer can meet.[16]

With the publication of De Montenay's emblem book in 1567, this image was completely at odds with the ruling Catholic view of the believer's communion with God; the latter focussed on the physical experience of a different nature. Opposite to De Montenay's physical labour, which only indirectly (and in death) leads to the communion with God, the Catholic tradition considers physical suffering and physical exaltation – for some believers already during this lifetime – the path to communion with God (Treffers 1999, 94). This Catholic perspective on the physical is, on the *picturae* of love emblems, often visually represented by highlighting

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1602 reprint of the 1584 edition (see Adams 2003, 751). This reprint was digitalized within the framework of the EPU. The French text of emblem 1 in the 1584/1602 edition does not differ from that in 1567.

16 Minear (1960, 97-98) too observes this: 'The picture of the church as temple encouraged writers to include an emphasis on the temple's growth. The author of Ephesians indicates how the 'household of God' 'grows into' a holy temple in the Lord (Eph. 2:18-22). […] This element of growth prompted Peter to speak of individual Christians as 'living stones' being built into a spiritual house (1 Peter 2:5).'

the believer's heart; for example, by displaying believers pointing at their hearts or injuring their hearts, or by having the heart serve as a metaphor for the believer, as is the case in the Jesuit heart emblematics that originated in the seventeenth century (Treffers 1999, 102-104). An example of such a physical communion can be found in the EPU corpus, namely in the frontispiece of Hugo/De Harduwijn's *Goddelycke wenschen* (1629) (Fig. 7). The arrow points directly from the believer's heart toward God's listening ear and watchful eye. I will elaborate on his *pictura* later. A similar view on the union between God and the believer is found in the last emblem of the book *Typus mundi*, of which the Latin *subscriptio* begins as follows:

> Deus Cordis dominatur in aulâ,
> Vicit Amor, clausit Cor tibi, Munde, fores.

> [God rules in the temple of your heart; Love has conquered, and the heart has closed its portal to you, O world][17]

The accompanying *pictura* shows an image that reminds strongly of Hugo (Fig. 8). Contrary to this image of the physical communion of the believer with God is De Montenay's working woman. Although she seems physically very concerned with and involved in her work – after all, she is positioned right in the middle of the church she is building – she especially demonstrates the intellectual capacities needed for a believer to attain God. Building requires exact measurements, solid and straight walls. Also, the church the woman is building is a bare church ('brick church') stripped from all its statues and other objects.[18] The complete opposite is the Catholic tradition of physical emotions, which, as recently observed by Buschhoff and Porteman, are expressed in great detail in the *picturae* of Jesuit emblems (Buschhoff 2004, 263-270 and Porteman 2006, 161-162).

Interestingly, when Vaenius adapts De Montenay's emblem in 1615, he presents an altar with a cross on top in the church[19] together with a female believer working outside that same church (Fig. 9). De Montenay's example is imitated in the Dutch love emblematics, but not without providing one's own twist: the (finished) church in the background, the altar with the cross on top, the presence of the church bells, and the repositioning of the female believer all result in an image in which the focus is much more on the church as an institute, rather than on the personal endeavours of the individual believer. I will revisit the subject of the church/cross

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17 Translation taken from Moseley 1989, 186.
18 Michalski 1993, 186 and also Phillips 1973, passim. Description of the English situation of the transition from a Roman Catholic veneration of statues to the absence of statues in Protestant churches.
19 In a 1619 republication of De Montenay's book, a second Latin subscriptio is added which also discusses altars ('aras'). The pictura is similar to the ones in earlier editions of the book (see Adams 2002, 151-153).
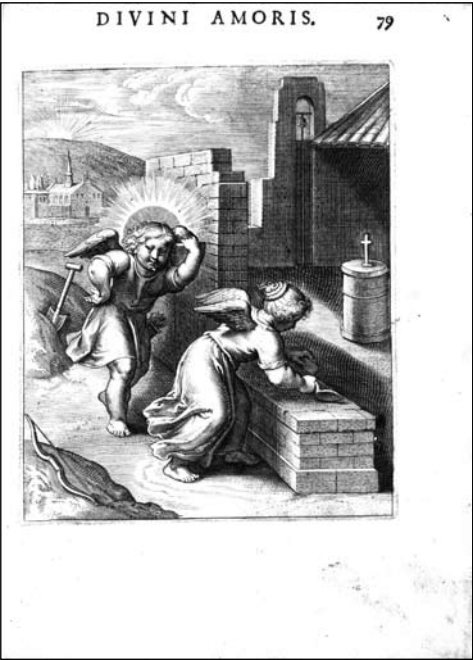
Fig. 9: *pictura* of emblem 36, O. Vaenius,
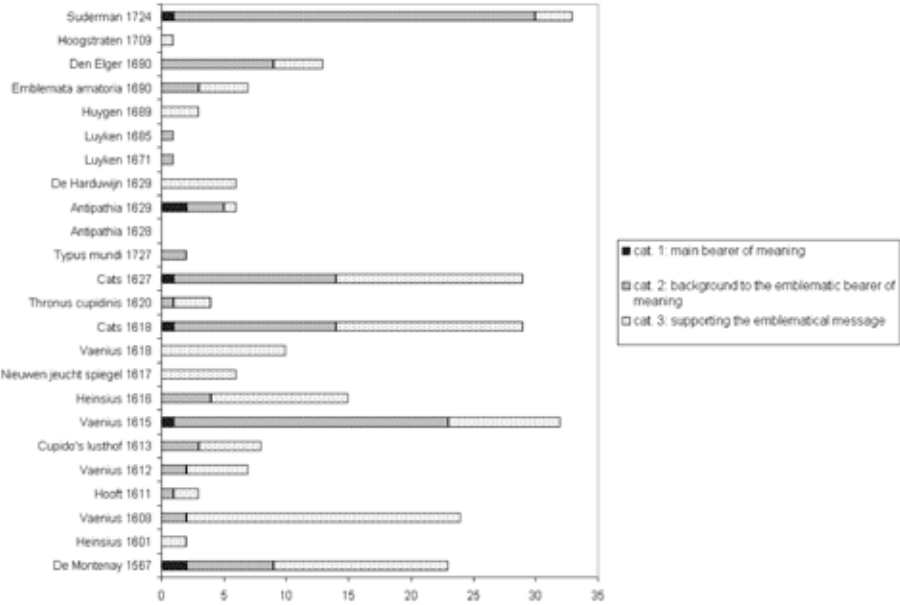*Amoris divini emblemata* (EPU site)

Fig. 10: overview of the occurrence of churches

Churches as indicators of a larger phenomenon

Fig. 11: *pictura* 'Ni mesme la mort', D. Heinsius, *Emblemata amatoria* 1607/1608, engraver J. de Gheyn, c. 1601 (EPU site)

Fig. 12: *pictura* 'Ni mesme la mort', D. Heinsius, *Emblemata amatoria* (in: *Nederduytsche poemata*), engravers M. le Blon/S. VandePasse (EPU site)

relation later in this article. First, I will present an overview which shows in broad outlines the emblems in which references to a church are made within the EPU corpus[20] (Fig. 10). In 29 percent of De Montenay's emblems, churches play a considerable role. When in 1601 the first Dutch love emblem book was published – *Quaeris quid sit amor*, composed by Leiden professor Daniel Heinsius[21] – churches barely made an appearance. That is to say, in 8 percent of Heinsius's emblems, churches only play a minor role, are a décor, in the background of the *pictura*. Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* (1608) exhibits a different view. In 23 percent of his emblems, churches are found of which some play significant roles. And multiple reprints of Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit amor* published between 1613-1616 reveal that the number of churches was increasing in Heinsius work too. In the collection of emblems included in Heinsius's *Nederduytsche poemata* (1616), 35 percent have some reference to a church.

I will demonstrate the rising trend in church metaphor usage on the basis of the development in the engravings made for one of the emblems from *Emblemata amatoria*. The engraving on the left is made by Jacques de Gheyn for the 1601/1607/1608 editions, and it belongs with emblem 17 along with the motto 'Ni mesme la mort' ['Not even death'] (Figs. 11 and 12). On the right, an adaptation

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20 See for a digital and more elaborate version in which the specific emblems are linked to the graph: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/church.html See for complete references of the author and titles mentioned in this graph: http://emblems.let.uu.nl/project_procedures.html#corpus_selection

21 As of the 1607/1608 reprints of this book were known as *Emblemata amatoria*. For a printing history of the book (it was published under a pseudonym, without a title, and without a listing of the year and place of publishing), see, among others, Fontaine Verwey (1973, 291-308).

of the abovementioned engraving is shown; made by Michel le Blon and Simon vande Passe[22] and from the 1616 reissue of *Emblemata amatoria*. Apart from some minor spelling variations, the Dutch epigram remained unaltered:

> Het een is gans vergaen, het ander staet noch schoone,
> En spreyt zijn rancken uyt seer rijckelick ten toone,
> Altijdt sijnd' even groen: soo gaet het oock met dy,
> O Venus lieflick kindt, die altijt woont in my.
> De doodt neemt wech den mensch', maer laet de liefde leven,
> Zy wordt noch door den doodt noch door den tijdt verdreven,
> Zy blijft alst al vergaet, zy bloeyt oock in den noodt,
> De doodt verwint het al, maer Venus oock de doodt.[23]

At first sight, the engravings from 1616 also seem unaltered. Other than the image being mirrored, Cupid is still represented in a similar position, and the in a vine-covered tree remains in both cases a bare, decayed plane-tree – as can be read in the *pictura*'s Latin caption.[24]

Yet, at a second glance, changes can be observed. In Le Blon and Vande Passe's adaptation, the tree is even more crooked and seems in a far more advanced stage of decay. Moreover, in the 1616 adaptation and visible right under a bunch of grapes, a church is added in the background. When revisiting the emblem from which Heinsius drew his inspiration – viz. 'Amicitia etiam post mortem durans' ['Even in death, friendship endures'] from Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (1531)[25] –

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22 For detailed bibliographic information, see Landwehr 1988, No. 292, and also visit the EPU's introduction on the digitalized edition of the 1616 reprint: http://www.emblems.let. uu.nl/he1616_introduction.html.

23 Dutch translation (by the author of this article): De ene is helemaal vergaan, de ander laat nog prachtig zijn altijd even groene takken zien. Zo gaat het ook met jou, Venus' liefelijke kind, dat altijd in mij woont. De dood neemt de mens weg, maar laat de liefde leven. De liefde wordt door de dood noch door de tijd verdreven, maar blijft als alles vergaat. Zij bloeit ook in tijden van nood. De dood overwint alles, maar Venus overwint ook de dood. Free English translation: One has perished, another still stands spreading its branches, lavishly displaying its evergreen self. So too will happen to you, Oh Venus charming child, ever residing in me. Death can take away man, but lets love live; Neither death, nor time can drive her out; She remains when all has gone; even in distress she thrives. Death may conquer all, but Venus conquers death.

24 'Nec platani lethum vitem, nec tollet amorem Nostrum, quæ tollit cætera, summa dies'. Dutch translation (by Jan Bloemendal): De dood neemt de wijnrank niet weg van de plataan, en zo neemt de laatste dag, die al het andere wegneemt, onze liefde niet weg. English translation: Death does not take away the vine from the plane-tree, and so the final day, that all other matters takes, does not our love take away.

25 Alciato abstracted from the imagery of the tree and grape to a lesson in friendship that even death could not interfere with. Heinsius argued that love even conquers death. Alciato, in turn, probably fell back on Ovidius's *Remedia amoris* ['Remedies for love'] in order to compose his 'Amicitia etiam post mortem durans'. In book V, vers 141-144 of *Remedia amoris*, a reference to an in a vine-covered tree can already be found. The quote goes as follows: 'Quam

Fig. 13: *pictura* 'Amicitia etiam post martem durans', A. Alciato, *Emblematum liber,* 1531, woodcut attributed to J. Breu, see http://www.mun.ca/alciato/c160.html

we can observe that in most prominent sixteenth century publications of the book no churches are shown in the background[26] (Fig. 13). In other words, the represented church in the 1616 adaptation is either Heinsius's own idea, or of his engravers. Unfortunately, I found little information on Heinsius's collaboration with his engravers; thus for the time being, it will be left unresolved who introduced this change. However, there is no denying that for the 1616 edition, Heinsius introduced major textual modifications in the set of emblems compiled under the title 'Ambacht van Cupido' ['Trade of Cupid']. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that he was also the one involved in the changes in the engravings.

When going back to two, shortly before 1616, published reissues of *Emblemata amatoria* (supplemented with a second collection of love emblems under the title *Ambacht van Cupido* for which a new set of oval plates was made), we find that there is no church depicted on emblem 17. Yet, in these two volumes, a change had set in: in the supplementary section of 'Ambacht van Cupido', 6 out of 24 emblems depict a church. Plus when Le Blon and Vande Passe make new plates for these 24 emblems as well, two more churches are added. And out of the 24 emblems from 1616, 5 depict a church in the background (including emblem 17, referred to

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platanus vino gaudet'. English translation: 'The way the plane-tree takes delight in the presence of the grape. Venus no more shuns exertion than the plane-tree is displeased with the grape'.
26 See the edition overview on the Studiolum website: http://www.studiolum.com/en/cd04-alciato.htm. The text belonging to this emblem reads as follows: 'A vine, covered in vibrant greenery, has embraced an elm, dry with age and even stripped of foliage. It acknowledges natural change, and gratefully gives back to its parent the reciprocal obligations of service. And so by example it counsels us to seek out friends those whose pact of friendship is not broken even by death'. For the original Latin text and English translation, see http://www.mun.ca/alciato/c160.html . The pictura is depicted the way it is included in the unauthorized version of the 1531 *Emblematum liber*; in the standard numeration based on the 1548 edition of *Emblematum liber*, this is emblem 160.

above) against the 2 in 1601. Consequently, Heinsius's emblems emanated a more and more ecclesiastical feel.

In the aforementioned overview of references made to a church within the EPU corpus, another matter attracts attention. Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* seems to lean towards Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615) rather than towards Heinsius' *Emblemata amatoria* (1601) – that is to say, that is to say: 8% in Heinsius 1601, 23 percent in Vaenius 1608 and 57 percent in Vaenius 1615. In addition, a book such as *Cupido's lusthof* [Cupid's garden of delight], published in 1613, already refers to a church in 57 percent of its emblems.

With such examples in mind, the question arises of whether it was only with the appearance of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* that the love emblem gained a more moralistic, or rather strongly religious connotation. Moreover, when assuming that Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* appeared earlier than the new plates for the 1616 edition for which Heinsius made textual modifications, is it conceivable that Heinsius strengthened the religious connotation as well?

What happened after 1615?

From the inventory of 'church-emblems' of the EPU corpus, we can gather that after 1615, hence after the publication of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*, Cats often used the image of a church in his *Proteus* (1618) – later reprinted as *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (1627) – to draw the attention of his readers to a religious perspective of existence. In Cats's book, church references can be found just as often as in Vaenius' *Amoris divini emblemata*. Then, an interesting development began to unfold: in the Jesuit emblem books that appeared around 1625 in southern part of the Netherlands, the church figured as a symbol without any meaning attached. The percentage of 'church-emblems' in *Typus mundi* 1627, *Antipathia* 1628, *Antipathia* 1629, and De Harduijn 1629 is negligible.

Even later in the seventeenth century, this remained the case for the Northern Dutch Luyken and Van Hoogstraten. Only with Suderman did the church win ground; but that is mainly due to the fact that in the second part of his book, he included adaptations from Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*. He left these intact. A significant role for the church was only reserved in the first part of his book with adaptations of Hugo's *Pia desideria*. In the *pictura* depicting a believer whose heart is directed towards heaven, Suderman included a church in the background, so as to leave no doubt of his intentions (Fig. 14). In contrasting the usage of a church as a symbol with the usage of a cross, an opposite movement can be detected. The latter symbol displays no specific value in books like Cats's *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, but appears in many of the books in which a church is absent (Fig. 15). It now becomes all the more evident that with the advent of the Protestant religion, the church was viewed in a different light and acquired a new symbolic meaning, which can be observed in De Montenay's *Cent emblemes chrestiens* and by the fact that the symbol of the cross remained reserved for the Catholics.[27] An interest-

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27 The cross being dismissed as a symbol by Calvin, Michalski 1993, 66.

Fig. 14: frontispiece of J. Suderman, *De godlievende ziel* (EPU site)
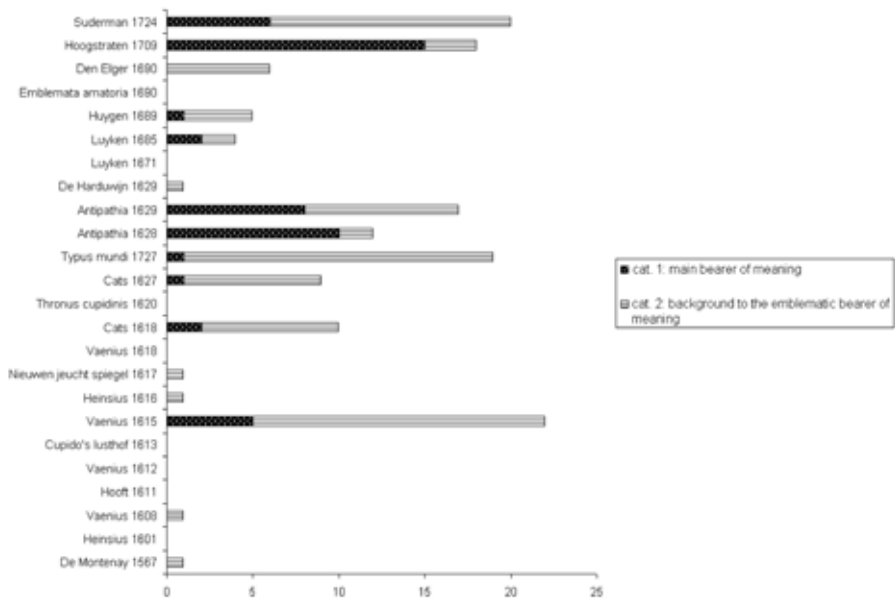

Fig. 15: overview of the occurrence of crosses

ing detail is the middle position taken up by Protestants such as Luyken and Van Hoogstraten.

Conclusion

To conclude all this, I can now say that the sharp line drawn between profane and religious emblem books needs to be reconsidered. Also, the connection between the part of the corpus created in the South, and the part created in the North needs reconsideration. A simplified classification as 'Protestant' or 'Catholic' is not enough to describe the actual practice of those days.

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Alonso de Ledesma and the Spanish epigrams in the polyglot edition of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata*[1]

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In this paper, I will discuss the epigrams in the Spanish language that (with others in French and Dutch) explain the *picturae* in Otto Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615). As Vaenius indicates in the preface of the book, the author of those verses is Alonso de Ledesma, described as 'poëta peregregius', that is to say, as an excellent, magnificent poet. I will outline the question of why this particular Spanish poet was chosen for that task and in what grade/measure those epigrams are similar or different to others that were used in Spanish emblem books at the time. I will analyze the particularities in the metric form and the dominant features of style.

The author

Alonso de Ledesma lived from 1562 to 1623. He was born in Segovia – and there he died –, a Castilian town with thousands years of history that has been declared 'Patrimony of Humanity' and that – due to its spectacular location and nearby beautiful landscapes – was one of the favourite Spanish towns of King Felipe II, who spent long periods at the magnificent Alcázar (fortress), as well as at a nearby mansion in the field called *La Casa del Bosque de Segovia* (The House of the Forest of Segovia). There are hardly any traces of this mansion left.[2] This palace was the favourite place of Queen Isabel de Valois, the third wife of the Spanish monarch,[3] and it was there that their first daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia, was born on August 12, 1566. Isabel would become the person most trusted by her father, the King, who initiated her into state matters and who entrusted to her and her husband, the archduke Alberto of Austria (1598-1621), the government of the Low Countries.

It is impossible not to wonder – although we cannot obtain an answer – why Alonso de Ledesma was chosen to work on the Spanish version of the epigrams in Vaenius's emblem book. Was the choice for this poet related to the fact that he was known and admired by the Princess herself and by her circle? In the prologue of *Amoris divini emblemata*, she is identified as the promoter of the adaptation of Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* (1608) to a version with religious contents.[4] Vaenius

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2 The regrettable state of this place has produced a 'Estudio integral de la Casa del Bosque de Valsaín, arquitectura y paisaje' (an integral study of the architecture and landscape), a project that is financed by the Junta de Castilla y León (regional government), undertaken by research workers from Universidad SEK, and supervised by Luis Ramón-Laca Menéndez de Luarca.

3 Fontainebleau 1546 – Aranjuez 1568.

4 Vaenius declares in the foreword to his *Amorum divini emblemata* that Isabel Clara Eugenia,

took on the challenge and dedicated his new book to the Spanish Princess, governor of the Low Countries.

Isabel Clara Eugenia lived in Spain until the day she married in 1599, when her father had already died. She had the opportunity of getting to know part of the poetic production of Alonso de Ledesma, a poet who enjoyed an enormous popularity and recognition in Spain at the time. He used to participate in whatever contests were announced and very often won a prize. His fame was definitively consolidated in 1600 with the publication of the first part (others would follow) of his *Conceptos espirituales (Spiritual concepts)*, which had an unusual success and was repeatedly reprinted.[5] His poems passed from hand to hand before reaching the printing house. Due to the popularity he acquired with the method of transforming the profane into the religious, Ledesma received the nickname of 'divine Ledesma'. He had the ability to make the most of his personal talent to establish links and connections (to create 'conceits'), at a time when witty sayings and analogies were very much appreciated, and for putting all of that at the service of the Catholic Church in order to stimulate people's devotion.

Religious wars and the fear of Spanish rulers for the expansion of Protestants ideas fostered all kinds of actions aimed at inflaming people's devotion, this being more bound to emotions than to intellectual reflection. The formula used by Ledesma can be characterized as follows: a saying, a proverb, a little tune from a

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when become aware of Vaenius's book of emblems about Love, asked if the work could be adapted to a spiritual variant, turning the focus on the divine love, since the effects of both types of love were almost the same ones: "Hæc cùm Sua Celsitudo, vt amicorum relatu percepi, coràm inspexisset, petissetque, illane Emblemata commodè ad sensum spiritualem ac diuinum trahi possent, cùm diuini & humani Amoris iidem pene sint erga rem amatam effectus: nolui tacitæ Principis voluntati, officióve meo deesse, & in gratiam illius nonnulla Diuini Amoris Emblemata, additis è sacra Scriptura & SS. Patrum scriptis depromptis hinc inde testimonijs, concinnare ac designare visum fuit. Accessere his ad illustrationem peregrino idiomate versiculi, Hispano, Belgico, & Gallico. Castellanos Alphonsus de Ledesma, poëta peregregius, Gallicos dominus Carolus Hattronius I.V.L. Duci Arschotanae à Consilijs, suggessere; vernaculi domi nostræ, velut vernæ, nati." [When Her Highness, as I understood from reports by friends, had had a look and had asked if those emblems could easily be redirected toward a spiritual and divine meaning, as the effects of human and divine love are almost the same towards the object of love, I did not wish to disregard the Princess's silent wish, nor to fall short of my responsibility. To please her I decided to produce 'Emblems of Divine Love', with the addition of a broad selection of quotations from Holy Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers. In addition there are poems in foreign languages (Spanish, Dutch, French) to illustrate the emblems. Alphonsus de Ledesma, a most excellent poet, made the Castilian collection, M. Carolus Hattronius, licensed in sacred and secular law and advisor to the Duke of Aarschot, collected the French. (Translation into English offered by the *Emblem Project Utrecht,* http://emblems.let.uu.nl/v1615pre002.html).

5 The first part is followed by a second (1608) and by a third (1612). He also became very popular thanks to his *Juegos de la Noche Buena en cien enigmas* (1611), where he adapted profane popular lyric to versions 'of the divine'. In that work he includes enigmas with logographs, *letreados, paranomasias* and play on words. The *Romancero y monstruo imaginado* (1615) is full of witty ambiguities.

children's game or from a popular game, a song or a popular ballad, a riddle, or a joke is taken and changed a bit to adapt the profane topic and turn in into a religious one. The new product was accepted immediately because it appealed to the reader's senses, to his liking of music and the familiar. That attraction produced unaccustomed results. At the time, few authors managed to see their own poems printed so many times; much less to sell their editions in so many copies as did this poet from Segovia.[6] His *Conceptos espirituales* was reprinted thirty times in the seventeenth century. His success was probably related to his permanent friendship with the Society of Jesus, with which he always collaborated (Ors 1974, 27; Quintanilla 1949).

So, it is not strange that, given the fame Ledesma enjoyed, and given that this fame was associated with the kind of production Isabel Clara Eugenia demanded, this poet was thought to be the suitable person to be charged with writing the Spanish versions of the Vaenius's epigrams, that were to have such a prominent place on every page (See fig. 10 on page 105).

The epigrams

What does surprise and stands out when reading Ledesma's epigrams for the polyglot edition of Vaenius's *Amoris divini emblemata* is their brevity and concision, something that already attracted Mario Praz's attention (Praz 1939, 138). Praz praised the Spanish author for the wittiness and the grace with which he composed his adaptation, in contrast to the French and to the Dutch versions that he found less elegant.

Epigrams for emblematic compositions in the Spanish language written before 1615 were mostly written in the hendecasyllabic verse and strophes, being influenced by the Italian lyric. As I have closely analyzed elsewhere (López Poza 1999), this trend is already perceived in the first piece of work in Spanish related to the genre: the translation of Alciato's emblems made by Bernardino Daza Pinciano in 1549 (Fig. 1). In the title he already indicates the kind of compositions he is going to use:

> *Los Emblemas de Alciato traducidos en **rhimas** españolas*– Lyon: 1549 –. (The Alciato Emblems translated into Spanish **rhimas**).

The word *rhima* was used in Spain during the sixteenth century to name the compositions that, by imitating the Italian ones, use long verses (hendecasyllabic in this case) which are gathered in strophes such as the octave, the sonnet, the tercet, the quatrain, etc. During the first half of the sixteenth century there was a confrontation in Spain between those poets who clearly showed themselves to be

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6 In a dedicatory letter that is included in *Juegos de Nochebuena* it is said that, up to that moment (1611), 50.000 copies of *Conceptos espirituales* had been printed, an unheard-of ammount at this time.

Fig. 1: Title page of Spanish translation of Alciati *Emblemata*

enthusiastic admirers of the metrics in the Italian style – adapting those to compose their works in Spanish, following the examples of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega – ,and those who resisted change and were faithful to the octosyllabic verse that was used in ballads and popular compositions. These last poets were called 'Castilian poets' and they kept using short verses and traditional strophes: the Castilian *copla*, the octosyllabic quatrains, the octosyllabic tercet, and even the *coplas de pie quebrado*[7], well known in the fifteenth century. Despite the resistance, however, the Italian forms finally became the most used, although not in poetry with a didactic aim, or in popular poetry sung and learnt by heart.

I would like to highlight the significance of metrics because, during this time we are talking about, the choices of verse and strophe were not as arbitrary as they are today. Metrics were chosen according to the poetic genre and to the nature (sublime or low) of the composition. Depending on content, intention, and genre, the poet was expected to use a certain kind of verse and a certain kind of strophe.

Ledesma's choice of the octosyllabic tercet or the Castilian tercet as formal vehicle for the epigrams is significant, being based on certain precedents. Three or

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7 *Copla de pie quebrado* (or *sextina de pie quebrado*): strophe composed for six verses (four of eight syllables and two of four syllables) with consonant rhyme, and with the following disposition: 8a-8b-4c-8a-8b-4c. Every short verse is called broken foot (*pie quebrado*). This verse type was very used by Jorge Manrique (XVth century), for what is also known as *copla manriqueña*. It has been used in all the times of the Spanish literature, suffering some variations in the distribution of the rhymes and in the situation of the broken foot.

Fig. 2: Titlepage of Gómez de Castro's *Recebimiento que la imperial ciudad [...]*

four octosyllabic verses were as a poetic form characteristically used at public festivities, to exhibit emblems or hieroglyphics with their explanation in Spanish (in octosyllabic tercets, octosyllabic quatrains). This is to say, the language – Castilian or Spanish –, and the kind of verse – octosyllabic – and the strophe – short – were associated with a didactic, popular, and informative aim.

In the festival books of the middle of the sixteenth century one can observe that an interesting change took place between 1560 and 1570. The festival book of the solemn entry in Toledo of Queen Isabel de Valois on the 12th February, 1560, written by the prestigious humanist Alvar Gómez de Castro and published one year later (Fig. 2), reproduces the epigrams that explain or supplement the meaning of the sculptures or paintings, the arches and other material of ephemeral art. The texts are written in Latin and the chronicler, in order to facilitate their comprehension, translated them into Spanish (Fig. 3). But, one decade later, in Segovia, on the occasion of the celebration of the fourth wedding of Felipe II marrying Anna de Austria, the humanist Jorge Báez de Sepúlveda, born in Segovia, described the iconographic programmes in great detail, and reproduced the epigrams – he calls them *letras* – that were put on large posters or *affixiones* near the pieces of architecture of ephemeral art whose significance they tried to explain (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these poems were written in the Italian style, but an important number of them were written in the Spanish language using octosyllabic verses: octasyllabic tercets, octosyllabic quatrains, *quintillas*[8] or *sextina de pie quebrado* (Báez de Sepúlveda 1572).

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8 *Quintilla*: five verses of eight syllables, rhyming in consonant to the poet's pleasure, with the following limitations: it cannot be any loose verse, they cannot rhyme more than two followed verses, the last two verses cannot form a rhyming couplet.
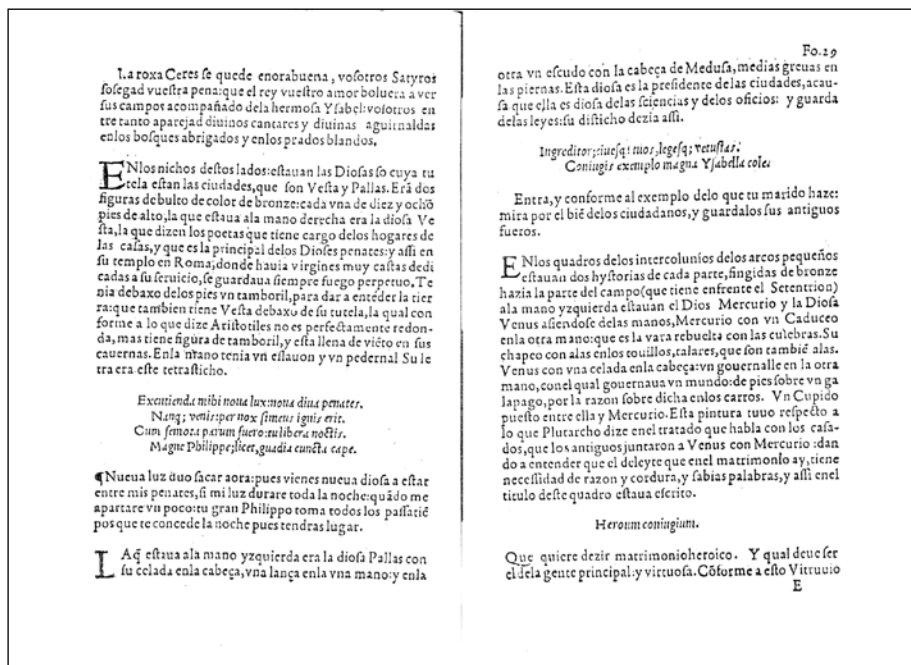
Fig. 3: Text in Gómez de Castro's *Recebimiento que la imperial ciudad [...]*

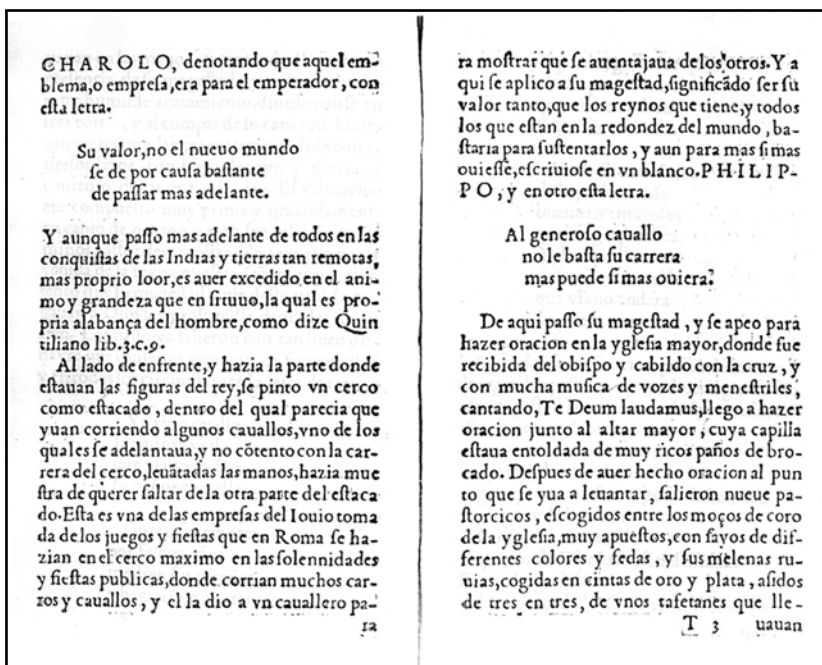Fig. 4: Titlepage of Báez de Sepúlveda, *Relación verdadera del recibimiento [...]*

CHAROLO, denotando que aquel emblema,o empresa,era para el emperador, con esta letra.

Su valor,no el nueuo mundo
se de por causa bastante
de passar mas adelante.

Y aunque passo mas adelante de todos en las conquistas de las Indias y tierras tan remotas, mas proprio loor,es auer excedido en el animo y grandeza que en situuo, la qual es propria alabança del hombre,como dize Quintiliano lib.3.c.9.
Al lado de enfrente,y hazia la parte donde estauan las figuras del rey,se pinto vn cerco como estacado , dentro del qual parecia que yuan corriendo algunos cauallos,vno de los quales se adelantaua,y no cõtento con la carrera del cerco,leuãtadas las manos,hazia muestra de querer saltar de la otra parte del estacado.Esta es vna de las empresas del Iouio tomada de los juegos y fiestas que en Roma se hazian en el cerco maximo en las solennidades y fiestas publicas,donde corrian muchos carros y cauallos , el la dio a vn cauallero pa-
sa

ra mostrar que se auentajaua delos otros.Y a qui se aplico a su magestad,significãdo ser su valor tanto,que los reynos que tiene,y todos los que estan en la redondez del mundo , bastaria para sustentarlos , y aun para mas si mas ouiesse,escriuiose en vn blanco.PHILIPPO, y en otro esta letra.

Al generoso cauallo
no le basta su carrera
mas puede si mas ouiera?

De aqui passo su magestad , y se apeo para hazer oracion en la yglesia mayor,donde fue recibida del obispo y cabildo con la cruz , y con mucha musica de vozes y menestriles, cantando,Te Deum laudamus,llego a hazer oracion junto al altar mayor , cuya capilla estaua entoldada de muy ricos paños de brocado. Despues de auer hecho oracion al punto que se yua a leuantar, salieron nueue pastorcicos , escogidos entre los moços de coro de la yglesia,muy apuestos,con fayos de differentes colores y sedas , y sus melenas ruuias,cogidas en cintas de oro y plata , asidos de tres en tres, de vnos tafetanes que lle-
T 3   uauan

Fig. 5: Text in Báez de Sepúlveda, *Relación verdadera del recibimiento [...]*

These *letras*, according to the *Diccionario de Autoridades* of the Spanish Royal Academy, fulfilled the function of explaining the *pictura* in the devices or emblems; that is, they are equivalent to what we call today *epigrama* in the *emblema triplex*. They had to be short poems in order to be read without delay or difficulty by those who undertook the processional route. Frequently, they are laconic maxims that display some witticism to provoke the readers's hesitation and uncertainty at first, and give satisfaction later, when they understand the full meaning.

Ledesma must have been very used to this kind of composition because public festivities were very common in the town in which he was educated and lived. In the sixteenth-century Segovia was, thanks to a very favourable conjuncture, one of the most modern towns in Spain.[9] The King had given privileges to woollen cloth makers (tax concessions and facilities to achieve the status of nobility) and that attracted many people as a labour force and merchants, people with money but without the cultural level and knowledge of Latin that had the inhabitants of towns with a University such as Alcalá, Salamanca, or the traditional Toledo (with the weight of the Church). In so far as that manufacturer bourgeoisie contributed to the festivities' expenses, they would want to understand the explanations on the posters, that is to say, they wanted the verses to be written in Spanish. Perhaps this had something to do with the change we notice in festival books.

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9 By the end of the sixteenth century, the working population consisted of manufacturers (for three quarters) and traders (a fifth). For more detailed information, see Vela Santamaría 1991.

ticbriſtus eſt.in rrophetia.Iacob, crudele ex
ſerpentum genere animal duobus in capite
cornibus armatum: In quo tribulatio maxi-
ma tunc temporis futura figuratur. Sed nul-
lum aliud damnum efficere valet, quàm vt
mordeat vngulam equi, & ſi fieri potiſt. ſeſſo-
rem ſternat. Verùm ſi forti eſt animo & ſtre-
nu: miles, nil curat dolos, & ſerpentem cal-
cat, ſecurúſque iter peragit. Ita & iuſtus nul-
lo euentu perturbatur, dicente Salomone.
Quicquid acciderit iuſto, non contriſtabit eũ.
Externa ſunt, quæcunque adverſa putantur
mala; nec aliud damni infligit, quàm vt equi
vngulam mordeant. Et hæc cum ſit cornea fa-
cile ictibus reſiſtit inſidioſis. Quo fit vt nullus
in aduerſis cadat, niſi ob ignauiam, &
nullam in animo fortitudinem: præ-
cipuè cum fidelii ſit Deus, vt
Apoſtolus docet, qui non
patitur nos tenta-
ri vltra id,
quod
poſſumus.

SYMBOL. LXXXV.

Corre el niño en ſu cauallo
Y ſe canſa ſin mirar
Lleua a quien le a de lleuar.

Puſio diſcurrens lætatur arundine longa
Aſt equulum pedibus iugiter actus agit.

PVER equitans in arundine lõga, qui & ſe
vndequaque diſcurrens fatigat, animad-
uertere ſæpius nos cogit, quàm ſimilia ſint his
ludis

Fig. 6: Emblem in Horozco, *Sacra Symbola* (Agrigento 1601)

In Segovia the more productive years in textile trade were 1571-1586, that is, the years of Alonso de Ledesma's education. Ledema's father, by the way, worked as a cloth merchant, as did the poet himself later in life. It is within this manufacturer bourgeoisie, which envisaged a modern and capitalist society for Castile, where the literary changes we are talking about were carried out.

In Spain the first emblem book was printed in Segovia: Juan de Horozco's *Emblemas morales* (Juan de la Cuesta, 1589). This author, who was a canon or prebendary at the Segovia Cathedral, as he was Archdeacon at the village of Cuellar, was the first to use the octosyllabic tercet as an epigram in emblems of the religious kind. I am referring to a work he published in Agrigento (Sicily) in 1601, while he was a bishop there, and that he dedicated to Pope Clemente VIII. The book is titled *Sacra symbola* (Fig. 6). Today the work is extremely rare, but Ledesma must have known it. It presents a series of xylographic prints in the *picturae* that are of great interest, despite of the fact they seem naive or simple. Although the moral lesson of the emblem is written in prose and in Latin, the author used the Spanish language for the epigrams, in octosyllabic verses, and strophes such as those used by Ledesma: the octosyllabic tercet and the octosyllabic quatrain. Due to their shortness, witticism and popular nature, the epigrams achieved the instructive aim Horozco was looking for, which would have been difficult to obtain in Latin. Thus, his book was useful, on the one hand, to the priest – who could under-

stand the statement and moral lesson of each emblem in Latin – and, on the other hand, to those who did not understand the Latin language. He or she could at least comprehend the meaning of each *pictura* and motto with a short and little poem similar to so many song choruses.

Horozco, having used the Italian metrics for his *Emblemas morales* (81 octaves and 19 sonnets), used the octosillabic Castilian verses for his *Sacra symbola*. The same happens in another work that, no doubt, Ledesma knew and appreciated, given that it was the first book with Jesuits' emblems printed in Spain. I am referring to *Libro de las honras que hizo el Colegio de la Compañia de Iesus en Madrid, a la […] Emperatriz doña Maria de Austria (Book of honours that the College of the Company of Jesus in Madrid made for the Empress Doña María de Austria)*, printed in Madrid in 1603. This book showed the Jesuits's grief for the death of their benefactor, the sister of Felipe II, widow of the Emperor Maximilian of Austria, who, during her last years, lived a withdrawn life in the convent of the *Descalzas Reales* in Madrid. The Jesuits's *Colegio Imperial* was established in this town in 1572, only 16 years after the death of Saint Ignacio de Loyola, founder of the Society, thanks to Maria de Austria's generous donation. The book, apart from a description of the display done for the Empress's last honours in the church at the Jesuits' School, includes the text of a prayer and a funeral sermon in Latin in which the Empress's qualities and generosity with religious orders are praised. The hieroglyphics with the epigrams in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Spanish that were created and exhibited for her obsequies, are also reproduced. For the epigrams in Spanish, strophes such as the octosyllabic tercet and the octosyllabic quatrain were preferred.

In those cases in which the reproduction of the *affixiones* used in the festivities of Ledesma's writing period are preserved, the octosyllabic tercet and the octosyllabic quatrain are almost exclusively used for the explanatory epigram of the exhibited image. This is the case, for instance, in a beautiful manuscript preserved in the National Library in Madrid (Fig. 7). This reproduces some of the posters or *affixiones* that were exhibited on the occasion of a Literary competition that took place in Alcalá de Henares during the visit of the Kings Felipe III and Margarita de Austria in 1611 (Cordero de Ciria, 1991).

We can see, then, that Alonso de Ledesma had several relevant precedents upon which he could base his work when he was entrusted with the task to write epigrams on topics related to divine love. He chooses the octosyllabic tercet to convey the content of the epigrams because of his pedagogic purpose: that his epigrams could be learnt by heart, as if they were a prayer, as so many proverbs were learnt in those years in Spain, especially by those people who could neither read nor write. That intention required shortness and a concise composition.

Ledesma would have written emblem books if he had had a patron, or a protector, who covered the high expenses that the carving of the wooden blocks for the making of the *picturae* entailed. But, for the 'hieroglyphics' he wrote, he had to resign himself to words without concomitant image. These *jeroglíficos* have em-

Fig. 7: Fragment of manuscript with reproduction of emblems dedicated to the the king Felipe III and Margarita de Austria in 1611, at Alcalá de Henares. (See also colour plate 6)

blematic elements, but no *picturae*; these were substituted by an explanatory text preceded by the word *Pintose,* meaing 'it was painted'. The reader is invited to imagine the drawing or *pictura* to form a conventional, complete emblem. Then, by adding some biblical text in Latin and some low art verses (octosyllabic tercets or quatrains), Ledesma wrote in the same witty style he used before:

> **Hieroglyphic to Christ our Lord**
> Pintóse una Piedra con sus rayos de oro y cobre
> ***Petra autem erat Christus.***
> Vos soys la piedra de toque,
> Donde nuestras obras vienen,
> A ver qué quilates tienen.[10]

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10 A stone was painted with its golden and copper rays. *Petra autem erat Christus.* You are the touchstone | to which our works are put | to test how many carats they have. In: *Conceptos espirituales de Alonso de Ledesma, natural de Segouia. Dirigidos a nuestra Señora de la Fuencisla.* En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real 1602, 333-346. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: R/ 39694.

Epigramas de

A LA GVLA
EPIGRAMA.
Gula, cofa es ya prouada
  que mata mucha comida,
  que es cuchillo de la vida
  quien la tiene defreglada:
Tu viuiràs poco, ò nada
  fi tal vicio no remedias,
  que comidas, y comedias
  tienen algo femejante,
  pues vna cena es baſtante
  para boluerſe tragedias.

HIEROGLIFICO.
Pintoſe vna chimenea con lum-
      bre, y ceniza.
Al fuego imito en comer,
  pues lo que en eſſo conſumo,
  pàra en ceniza, y en humo.
                    A LA

Fig. 8: Text in Ledesma's *Epigramas y Hieroglificos a la vida de Christo*

As you can see in figure 8, all the emblematic elements are present: an epigram, and – titled *Hieroglifico* – a description of the pictura to help the reader imagine its presence, and then three verses that serve as summary, just like a motto uses to do in an emblem.

The conceptual wit

Ledesma was famous in his time because of his skills in establishing links and connections between very different realities, bringing together these realities for a religious purpose. This is why he was regarded as the father of 'conceptism', a fashion that enjoyed an uncommon success in the seventeenth century. Conceptism reached a point of exhaustion in abuses, when wild relationships were established between issues of a sacred nature and the most earthly and daily things. This even worried the Inquisition, which sometimes intervened to restrict the distribution of some of the works of this type.

Conceptism consisted in the creation of a mental connection (relationship or equivalence) between different realities. The further away the ideas are, the more attention their connection within the *conceit* will draw, and the more witty the author will be considered for being able to establish a connection between the two objects, either by similarity or by disparity.

In the seventeenth century, theorists of the *agudeza* wrote about the many procedures by which these mental associations could be expressed. For instance,

'sicut mathematicum et materiale acumen consistit in unione duarum linearum diversarum, ex una tertia contra se procedentium, sic acutum rhetoricum consistit ... in unione et affinitate dissentanei et consentanei pullulantis ex ipsa materia, de qua est oratio'
Sarbiewski, *De acuto et arguto*, h. 1627 (1958: II, 489)
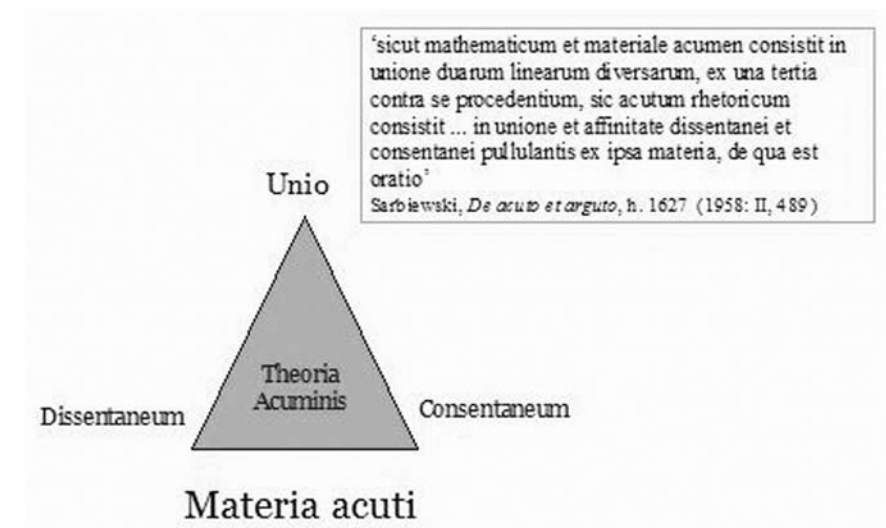
Fig. 9: Sarbiewski, *De acuto et arguto*, h. 1627 (1958, II, 489)

Baltasar Gracián, a Spanish Jesuit, made an effort to explain this (1642) in his *Arte de ingenio. Tratado de la Agudeza* (*Art of ingenuity. A treatise of keenness*), extended in 1648 as *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (*The wit and art of ingenuity*). Another Jesuit, the Polish Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski, in his *De acuto et arguto liber unicus*, written around 1627 but not published until 1958, explains the means by which alliances between the chord and the discordant can be established in order to reach a harmonious effect that will take the reader by surprise and through which the one who has the ability of gathering things so visibly apart will be described as *agudo*. This process can be graphically represented by a triangle in whose angles at the base the discordant and the concordant (which are opposed and had nothing in common) are placed together.[11] The author's ability will consist in finding an alliance between what is concordant and what is discordant so that a harmonious effect is achieved where one could only see dissimilar elements at first (Fig. 9). This meeting point is the *acumen* or the vertex of the triangle and it produces the *concors discordia* or the *discors concordia*. A relationship based on equivalence almost imperceptible at first sight and requiring careful reflection was considered to be very keen, characteristic of a sharp mind.

Let's consider an example of an epigram by Alonso de Ledesma for Vaenius' *Amoris divini emblemata*: (Fig. 10)

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11 'Sicut mathematicum et materiale acumen consistit in unione duarum linearum diversarum, ex una tertia contra se procedentium, sic acutum rhetoricum consistit ... in unione et affinitate dissentanei et consentanei pullulantis ex ipsa materia, de qua est oratio'. Sarbiewski, *De acuto et arguto*, h. 1627 (1958: II, 489). See Malgorzata Anna Sydor, 2006.

Fig. 10: Emblem 24 in Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615)

Facit munificum [Vaenius 1615, 54-55]
El Amor más que los clavos
hizo, alma mía, por vos
manirroto al mismo Dios[12]

The author is addressing his soul. He tells her that divine Love, out of love for her, became a squanderer – in Spanish 'manirroto', a popular adjective formed by the noun MANO (hand) and the adjective ROTO (broken), which refers to one spending more than he should, wasting away his properties (and even his life) in useless expenses. The word evokes somebody who has a hole in his hands through which all the wealth received flows away. The adjective *manirroto* most often conveys a contemptuous tone. The boundary between virtue and vice is subtle and a question of degree. Generosity is worthy of esteem, but not keeping anything, or giving everything one owns, is imprudent. This is an adjective much used by parents to criticize their children's excessive expenses. It is a popular term.

Ledesma employs a witticism by establishing an equivalence that is apparently absurd: how can one say that God is *manirroto* (a squanderer)? This question, at first, seems scandalizing, because it seems to contain an insult. But, later, the relationships achieved by the verbal pirouettte become visible:

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12 Amor Divinus, just for your love, my soul, | Made God wasteful (as if he had a hole in his hands) | Not just for the holes they made him when nailing him to the cross.

- A *manirroto* has a hole in his hands through which he allows his wealth to flow away.
- Christ's hands were broken in order to nail him to the cross and he, like the *manirroto*, gave, for men's salvation, his most valuable wealth: his own life. Therefore, Christ can be called *manirroto* for two reasons. Firstly, he indeed had his hands (physically) broken. And secondly, he figuratively was lavish or prodigal to man, in giving him the most precious, his life.

Conceptual playing also implies word play. The simplest conceit is the one that establishes a connection between two analogous realities. And the author can show his witticism by these rhetorical means: comparison, image, metaphor, personification, allegory, paradox, antithesis, etc. For the witty saying to be effective a laconic style is required. No idle word should be employed. Verbal brevity, concise expression facilitates quick connections, it helps to grasp the spark of the conceits.

Most of Ledesma's epigrams in this work by Vaenius show a simple structure frequently based on causal subordinate sentences. In the first line the main sentence is displayed and the causal subordinate occupies the other two lines.

Causal subordinate sentences:

Omnia vincit Amor [90-91]

No hay peto a prueba de Amor,	There is no armour that resists the force of Love
Que la flecha de un amante	because the arrow of a lover
Pasa un pecho de diamante	is able to pass through a diamond chest

or a comparative structure (with explicit comparisons):

Amoris umbra invidia [56-57]

Cual sigue la sombra al cuerpo,	Just as the shadow follows the body
Tal la invidia a la afición	Envy follows Love
Y a virtud la emulación	And Emulation Virtue

Micat inter omnes Amor virtutes [88-89]

Es la luz de charidad	The light of Charity
Entre las virtudes bellas	Among the beautiful Virtues
Cual sol entre las estrellas	Is like the sun among the stars

Nec vidisse sat est [100-101]

Amor es **como** la gloria,	Love is like Glory
Pues la cosa que es amada	As the thing that is loved
Jamás le cansa ni enfada	Never tires or angers him

Metaphor:

Agitatus fortior [92-93]

Cuanto la **planta de Amor**	All the more the plant of Love,
Más inclemencias padece	suffers hardships
Tanto más se arraiga y crece	so much more it grows and strengthens its roots

Two metaphors:

Crescit spirantibus auris [96-97]

El **aire de Amor divino**	The air of divine Love
Enciende con suavidad	Gently lights
El **fuego de caridad**	the fire of Charity

Allegory:

Gravata respuit [52-53]

Amor es **ave que vuela**	Love is a bird that flies
Y las cosas que acá tiene	and the things that he has down here [on earth]
Son liga que le detiene	Are birdlime that ties him and brakes his ascent/his flight [birdlime is a viscous substance with which, anointing some bars, birds were hunted]

Antithetic couples (sometimes metaphor and paradox):

Sternit iter Deo [72-73]

Amor allana el camino	Love levels the road toward the celestial court,
De la corte celestial,	and although the path is narrow
Y aunque estrecha, es senda real	It is the main road

Laconic sentence with the technique of the proverb or the riddle:

Animae sal est Amor [104-105]

Amor y sal son dos cosas	Love and salt are two things that,
Que fuera de dar sazón	besides giving season,
Preservan de corrupción	they preserve against corruption

In this last example, Ledesma has found two analogical elements in two far away realities such as love (an intellectual and friendly conception) – something sublime – and salt (used to flavour food and to preserve meat) – something ordinary and low –. The witticism lies in finding what they have in common: both give flavour and preserve from decay.

This liking for surprisingly weaving the sublime with the everyday in a playful net of ambiguities is the technique that made Ledesma famous. In spite of the positive judgement that Praz passed on these epigrams, one only occasionally notices

poetic refinement. But his religious fervour, the effective brevity of the versified precepts and his funniness are what made Alonso de Ledesma popular and respected by his contemporaries.

We could say that Ledesma attains the same sharp brevity already employed by Erasmus in his *Adagia*. That *acuta brevitate* was also in an old text that every boy had studied in the school for different exercises: *Disticha Catonis*. Ledesma's epigrams gathered, like these works, teaching and enjoyment (*docere* & *delectare*), and they satisfied anyone who had, as a main concern, the maintenance of the Catholic faith through having recourse to the most intricate feelings and emotions.

An interesting but impossible to prove question remains: How did Ledesma come to know the motives that were going to illustrate his epigrams? Would drawings of the *picturae* have been sent to him? Would descriptive texts have been sent to him? We have not succeeded in finding something that could have orientated the poet about what he should say in his short poems. If we occasionally notice some large distance between what is pictorially represented and what is said in the epigram, most of the times the poet fully gets it right and he does so with an economy of discourse that is highly superior to other epigrams in French and in Dutch.

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Love emblems and a web of intertextuality

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The call for papers for the conference 'Learned Love: Dutch Love Emblems on the Internet' poses the following query: 'What should a digital emblem site aspire to be: a reconstruction of a seventeenth-century reading experience, a collection of search indices, or a collection of scholarly editions?' I hope to give some answers to this question.

Introductory remarks

It is commonplace nowadays, as opposed to ergocentric approaches like e.g. New Criticism, that works of literature never are isolated phenomena. Texts refer to other texts, as intertextuality teaches us, and to reality.[1] Those other texts may be written, painted or designed, or even belong to the domain of music, as in André Gide's *La Symphonie pastorale* (1919). And in a way even reality itself can be a text, because it is described in words. Julia Kristeva, who formulated the theory of intertextuality elaborating the ideas of Mikhael Bakhtin, claimed that each text is part of a textual web or even of several of those textual webs. One text may react to another text or to a dozen of texts, and may build on a dozen of other texts, or in some way quote them. In this respect not only the intention of the author is important, but also – and even more so – the reception by the reader or spectator. It is she or he who, when reading, actualises other texts, or to put it differently, who gives a text his or her meaning by using the web of texts that exists in his or her head. In this respect intertextuality departs from the same principles as New Historicism that also assumes that the interpretation of 'history' is related to the observer's point of view. Every reader or historian – who is also a reader! – constructs his or her own image of the past and of a text by actualising all the other facts, ideas and texts he knows. It is common sense that must prevent her or him from getting into the morass.

The theory of intertextuality is primarily developed and further advanced by Gérard Genette for modern texts.[2] *Mutatis mutandis* the same holds true for early modern texts such as emblem books. There is one main difference. Early modern texts, like ancient ones, are written within the context of a genre, while modern authors seem to be freer in their conception and writing of their texts, unless we take the concept of 'discourse' or the Genettean notion of the architext as veiled genre concepts. In the domain of the intentional intertextuality in emblem collections, one emblem book reacts to others or quotes them, parodies them. In the domain

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1 Bakhtin 1984a and 1984b; Kristeva 1969.
2 Genette 1982.

of intertextuality in the sense of reception in the receptive mind of the reader other emblem books and other texts are evoked, that may correspond to the author's intention, but may deviate from it as well. Emblem books are very well suited for this kind of approach, because their intention is to please and amuse the reader, especially in an intellectual way. The often multilingual character of the emblem books contributes to this intellectual play – one may even state that in many emblems the texts in different languages form intertexts themselves –, but it also influences their intertextual reception. To what extent and in what way does the choice of the languages matter to the reader's reception? Emblems lead to some other questions because of their typical form, often combining image and text. In this respect we must also keep in mind that it is well possible that similar thoughts and ideas that are introduced in emblems may be also spread or even have been spread by other genres like songs, see, f.i., the multi-generic character of Hooft's *Emblemata amatoria* (1611) and of *Apollo of ghesangh der Musen* (1617).[3] For all these reasons a full 'web of intertextuality' cannot be given, but perhaps that is not necessary. The authors of emblem books do direct the readers' minds with what may be called 'clues of intertextualities', both in the texts themselves as in the paratexts they add to their work.[4] In this way some intertexts are actualised – by authors and readers – in a more direct way than others. We can speak of 'a reading experience' or 'reading experiences' that we reconstruct or, as you may understand from the discussion above, construct. The web edition made by the Emblem Project Utrecht (EPU) is of great help to detect those 'clues'.[5]

Clues of intertextualities

Early modern authors, as well as modern ones, may direct the readers' interpretation of the text and also evoke some intertextualities in their minds. There are several means by which they do that. I will start with paratextual clues.[6] One of them is the title that may refer to earlier titles. But if it is such a clue, what does it mean when Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft in 1611 publishes his *Emblemata amatoria* with exactly the same title as Daniel Heinsius's emblem book of 1607/1608?[7] Does Hooft specifically point to Heinsius's book or just to the text type 'love emblem' in general? And what about the anonymous author of the *Emblemata amatoria* of 1690? Does he refer to Hooft, Heinsius, the text type, or to these three? The same questions may be put to the courtier, emblem-maker and painter Otto Vaenius, who was born in the very city of Leiden where Heinsius had written his book of

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3 Modern editions in Hooft 1983 and Keersmaekers and Bostoen1985.
4 Cf., e.g., Conte 1986 and Hinds 1998.
5 I will build on concepts that I learnt from Hans Luijten and his magnificent edition of Jacob Cats's *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (1618/1627 and 1996), which is also available on the site of Emblem Project Utrecht.
6 On paratext, see Genette 1997.
7 This is the third edition of a book *Quaeris quid sit amor?* [Amsterdam, Herman de Buck for publisher Jan Matthijsz., 1601]

Love emblems and had moved to the southern city of Antwerp, and his *Amorum emblemata* ('Emblems of Instances of love') (1608).

A next issue is the role of the printers and publishers. About 1608 the shrewd businessman, printer and poet Dirk Pietersz. Pers obtained Heinsius's *Emblemata* and brought it to the international market, probably stimulated by the success of Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata*, in an edition in Latin, but one that preserved the French and Italian mottoes.[8] Regarding the intricate relationship between printmaker, poet, printer and publisher it is possible that intertextuality and 'commerciality' interfere. This is also indicated by the conception of Hooft's *Emblemata amatoria*: maybe Hooft was asked by the printer Willem Jansz. (Blaeu) to add some verse subscriptions to illustrations.[9] In the case of Justus de Harduwijn and his *Goddelycke wenschen* (1629) this title clearly refers to *Pia desideria* of 1624 by Herman Hugo. If the reader still hesitates, he is helped by the subtitle: 'Verlicht met Sinne-beelden / ghedichten / ende vierighe uytspraecken der Oudt-vaeders. Naerghevolght de Latijnsche vanden Eerw. P. Hermannvs Hvgo Priester der Societeyt Iesu' ('Illustrated by emblems, poems and stimulating quotations of the Fathers of the Church imitated from the Latin of the Reverend Father Herman Hugo, Jesuit priest'). De Harduwijn wants the reader to know that this is a truly Catholic book, inspired by another emblem book by a Jesuit priest. The reader's mind is directed towards and is made attentive to Catholic 'pious desires'. But with regard to drama, protestant schoolmasters could produce plays written by Catholic authors and vice versa, so how Catholic is the nature of such an emblem book in this context?

Sometimes the titles of single emblems or the same *picturae* refer to other, older ones. The website of the EPU provides excellent tools to inspect these. Within the emblems themselves, there are often explicit references to other texts or sources of quotations, for instance 'Seneca', 'Ovid', 'Virgil', 'St. Augustine', etc. The references themselves may lead to the domains of religion or philosophy. In the first ten emblems of Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* we find explicit references to the philosophers Seneca (1, 5), Aristotle (2, 8), Plutarch (5), Cicero (5), Porphyry (6) and Boethius (10), the historian Tacitus (*Germania*; 7), the philosophical poet Lucretius (9), the Latin love poets Ovid (2) and Virgil (3), and the philosopher-poet who is known from the Greek Anthology**,** Philostratus (5), as well as the Jewish-Italian author on love**,** Leo Hebraeus (1460-1520; 9). Even if she or he does not know the exact provenance of the text quoted or alluded to or is mislead by the author who gives a wrong reference, the reader's mind is lead to think that this is an emblem book on love with ideas based on philosophers from Antiquity. And he will consider it in the tradition of Neostoicism, even if he would have an idea of the possible relationship between this collection and the work of Guillaume de la Perriere. The Latinising of the name Van Veen into Vaenius also contributes to this impression, since with such a Latinisation the author presented himself as a

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8 Hooft 1983, 8.
9 Hooft 1983, 32-33.

learned artist in the humanistic tradition.

In 1615 the Catholic Vaenius composed and published its counterpart, the *Amoris divini emblemata* ('Emblems on Divine Love').[10] Vaenius explicitly presents this collection of pious emblems as a religious variation of his lascivious ones, inspired by Archduchess Isabella. In this emblem book the very quotations from Holy Writ, the Fathers of the Church and other theologians of early Christianity, especially St Augustine (82 quotations from 20 works of Augustine), catch the reader's eye. This emblem book may, or may not, have been inspired by Isabella, archduchess of the Spanish Netherlands (1566-1633), in her endeavour to propagate the Counter-Reformation and its pietistic tendencies. The idea pervading the whole book fits within this policy, that is that *Anima*, the Soul, can come to an *unio* with God by means of good works and through his own agency, the tenet of faith that the Tridentine Council (1545-1563) employed against the Reformation. Intertextuality may lead to a humanistic tradition of practical piety, but the overall impression the reader is likely to get still remains – in my opinion – this depiction of the spiritual travel of the *anima*, even though this 'Werdegang' tends to disappear with close reading. Grace, also one of St Augustine's main points, is certainly not absent in the *Amoris divini emblemata*, but it is not the only way to salvation. Thus in emblem 45 *Crescit spirantibus auris* ('Love grows when the winds are blowing'), with its *pictura* of a blowing Holy Spirit stirring up a fire, Vaenius quotes Augustine's *De gratia et libero arbitrio* ('On Grace and Free Will'), stating that God's Grace incites us to good deeds: 'God's grace works in us through love without us initially, bringing it to perfection because we collaborate willingly. However, without it, when it does nothing, we have not the power to do good works, even when we want to.'[11] This quotation is an alteration of Augustine's text, for in Augustine it is God who 'works in us', while in the quotation it is 'God's Grace' that works in us 'through love'. In emblem 34 (*Omnia eo unde*, 'Everything goes to where it is from') Vaenius cites Ecclesiastes, St Bernard of Clairvaux and Lactantius. One of the two quotes from St Bernard discusses the mutuality of love in bestowing the gifts of grace: 'Love is a great thing, if it runs back to its beginnings, if it is returned to its own source, if, once it has been poured back into its own source, it always takes something from where it can flow out continually'. So it is not an activity of God to which man can add to or from which he can subtract anything (which is the more Protestant view), but an answer of man to God's grace that is also necessary for salvation of the soul, the more Catholic belief. By way of the authors quoted, some readers could put into operation a 'web of intertextuality' of Christian texts that pertain to

10 See Bloemendal 2002, 273-278 and Buschhoff 1999, 39-76; also Arnoud Visser's contribution to this volume.

11 'Gratia Dei per amorem sine nobis operatur incipiens, quod volentibus cooperatur perficiens: sine illo autem nihil operante, cùm volumus, ad bona opera nihil valemus'; Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitirio* 17.33 (PL 44, col. 901: 'Ut ergo velimus, sine nobis operatur; cum autem volumus, et sic volumus ut faciamus, nobiscum cooperatur: tamen sine illo vel operante ut velimus, vel cooperante cum volumus, ad bona pietatis opera nihil valemus.'

God's grace and man's love in answer to that**,** or in other words: how the *Anima* is purified and enlightened so as to be united with God in an *unio mystica*. Of course it depends of their literacy to what extent this intertextuality is noticed and appreciated.

The process of making an emblem book

All these considerations do pertain to the reading of emblems, not to making them. In this process of composing emblems, intertextual references can be directed by several means: other emblem texts that serve as stores of commonplaces, or intermediary texts like the *Polyanthea nova* by Langius or other commonplace books.[12] Also when the author takes the quotation and the reference from such an intermediary book, the intertextual connection is in some way significant for the status of an emblem book. In the *Amoris divini emblemata* just mentioned the quotation from St Augustine almost certainly stems from Langius's commonplace book, for it was included in the section *Gratia* ('Grace') with the same alterations as Vaenius's text had.[13] Under the same heading the quote from St Bernard had its place.[14] In this respect there are many more quotations that could also be found in Langius's *Polyanthea*, in most instances in the sections on *Amor Dei* ('The Love of God'), *Amor proximi* ('The Love of One's Neighbour'), *Charitas* ('Charity' or: 'Love') and *Spes* ('Hope').[15] Even the title *Amoris divini emblemata* may be intertextually inspired: one of the chapters of Thomas a Kempis's *De imitatione Christi*, 3.5, is named 'De mirabili affectu *divini amoris*' ('On the wonderful emotion of divine love'). Vaenius took three quotations from this very chapter. It may be a way to attract and direct the readers' minds, but for Vaenius this must also have been a way to produce an emblem book efficiently. Here we see one of the restrictions of an emblem site: it cannot give all the sources, intermediary sources or other possible intertexts of an emblem.

Emblem books and their functions, combined with intertextuality

So far we looked at the intertexts of an emblem book from the perspective of its sources and forerunners. We can also reverse this perspective. Emblem books were read and used, love emblems were bought by young men for their actual or hoped-for girlfriends. One of them could have been Constantijn Huygens. In his youth he was 'in love' with the girl next door, Dorothea van Dorp.[16] When he studied in Leiden she sent him a letter every day. Suddenly these letters stopped coming because she loved someone else. The latter friendship ended in failure and Dorothea wan-

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12 Bloemendal 2002, 281-282.
13 Langius 1607, 462A i.v. 'Gratia': Gratia ad hoc datur, ut lex compleatur, ut natura liberetur, et peccatum non dominetur, ut velimus, sine nobis operatur incipiens, quod volentibus cooperatur perficiens: sine illo autem nihil operante, cum volumes ad bona opera nihil valemus. *Idem de gratia et libero arbitrio.*'
14 Langius 160, 463.
15 See Bloemendal 2002, 281-282.
16 See Bloemendal and Leerintveld 2005, 275-285.

ted to renew the friendship with Huygens. He elegantly refused with a 106 verse poem in Dutch 'Is 't quelling sonder vreucht' ('Is it torment without joy…'), addressed to Dorothea, who in this poem as in 'Doris oft herder-clachte' (Doris, or the Shepherd's Complaint)[17] is called Doris. In the poem Huygens contrasts love with all its agony to friendship with all its joys. He offers Dorothea his friendship but makes clear that he will never marry her. What makes the poem interesting for emblematics, is that Huygens in his manuscript added twenty five quotations in Greek and Latin to the poem that were suitable for some lines in it, or even were the source of inspiration. They stem from Roman authors: the philosopher Seneca (ca 4 BC-65 AD), the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus (1st cent. AD), the poet Virgil (70-19 BC), the satirist Persius (34-62 AD), the philosopher and statesman Cicero (106-43 BC) and the orator Apuleius (ca 125-ca 185 AD), and from Greek ones: the then popular philosopher Plutarch (ca 46-120 AD), the writer of tragedies with philosophical leanings Euripides (480-406 BC), the writer of philosophers's biographies Diogenes Laertius (3rd cent. AD) and a quotation of the obscure comedy author Theodectus, that could be found in the better known Anthology of Stobaeus. A contemporary quotation is derived from the Italian humanist Leo Hebraeus in his *De amore dialogi*. It is striking that eight of the quotations can also be found in the *Amorum emblemata* of Vaenius. Moreover, they contain the same alterations, the same wrong attributions, and the same translation of a Greek saying of Socrates. For instance, the quotation *ad* vs 63 reads, exactly as in *Amorum emblemata* 9: 'Amoris finis est ut duo unum fiant voluntate et amore. Socrat.' ('The goal of love is that two people become one in will and love. Socrates.'). And in a quotation by Cicero both Vaenius's emblem (*Amorum emblemata* 28) and Huygens's poem (also *ad* vs 63) have the variant reading *amore* ('Love') instead of Cicero's *amicitia* ('Friendship'), in a context where in fact friendship would be more suitable.

Myn hert, myn lust, myn wensch wordt derwaerts niet gedragen,
Het goet dat ick bejaech besit ick in 't bejagen,
(65) Een vruntschap sonder sorgh, een liefde sonder smert,
Twee herten in een siel, twee sielen in een hert,
Een twee-gemeynen wil, een eendracht van gepeynsen,
Een onbeduchte trouw, een vrede sonder veynsen,
Dat's all dat ick besit, dats al dat ick bejaegh,
(70) Dats myn rust, dats myn lust, myn ooghmerck, myn behaegh.

('My heart, my joy, my wish does not tend into that direction,
The good thing I pursue, I possess when pursuing,
A friendship without sorrow, a love without grief,
Two hearts in one soul, two souls in one heart,

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17 Adopted in Davidson and Weel 1996.

One pair's common will, unanimity of thoughts,
Faithfulness without fear, peace without hypocrisy,
That is all I possess, that is all I pursue
That is my rest, that is my joy, my wit, my pleasure.')

One of the quotations: 'Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur' ('The deity hardly permits to be in love and to be wise at the same time', or: 'Even a god is hardly permitted to be in love and to be wise at the same time') is ascribed to Seneca, both by Vaenius and Huygens, although it comes from the famous *Sententiae* by Publilius Syrus. The quotations that may have been taken from Langius are found in six emblems, all over the book, i.e. nrs 5, 9, 28, 31, 70 and 122. It is premature to claim that *therefore* Huygens took his quotations from Vaenius's book, for we do not know if he possessed a copy of it. We do know that he had a copy of Vaenius's *Quinti Horati Flacci Emblemata* (1607). Also, it was not uncommon for a young man to possess such a book of love emblems and to give it to his beloved lady. Would it be possible that Huygens had given a copy of Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* to Dorothea and now in a kind of farewell poem refers to it? But could she read the Latin lines? Did she actually see them, or are they only in Huygens's own copy of the manuscript? Was it his way of impressing her? Were the same quotations and ideas disseminated through other genres? Questions galore, but it is far too early to integrate these data into Huygens's biography.

Final remarks
In any case, our discussion makes clear that emblems had a function in social and personal life. They were read, used, and adapted. So they acquired a place in the world wide web of literature, either as a genre in its own right, or in a web of other genres. When seventeenth century literate people read them, a set of texts was in their minds, especially when they read the names of the authors or putative authors of the quotations used. Often these intertextualities were part of the process of composition of the emblems. In their turn the emblems became part of a seventeenth century reading experience and therefore played their role in intertextuality. To assess this role of emblems is a challenging task for which the EPU offers wonderful tools. It is not the end of a development, but the start of exploring new horizons. It can be of help to 'reconstruct a seventeenth-century reading experience', or rather to construct an outline of such an experience. It is wonderful when a digital emblem site gives a collection of search tools and indices to a collection of reliable editions so that a scholar may reconstruct some items of such a reading experience. And like the intertexts of the emblems themselves lead the reader to love, be it divine or secular, thus the emblem site leads us to the emblems.

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The *Ambacht van Cupido* from 1615 in Wroclaw (Poland)

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For people knowing the former history of the today's Polish city of Wroclaw (known also under the German name 'Breslau'), the capital of Silesia, it should be not very astonishing that there are till today so many old prints from the seventeenth century about different disciplines of science and culture preserved here which were written – and of course read by the former Silesians – in the Netherlandic language. The inhabitants of Wroclaw and of Silesia were in that time fascinated with the culture of the Low Countries. They went there and saw the flourishing Dutch politics, Dutch science and Dutch culture. Many Silesians had studied at world famous Dutch universities: at Leiden, at Franeker, at Groningen and – of course – also at Utrecht.[1] And when they came back home – to Wroclaw – they brought many books with them. That is why we can find many of these books till today in the University Library of Wroclaw.

Among so many works collected in the Section of Old Prints (Oddział Starych Druków) of this Library in Wroclaw one can find also two copies of the edition of Daniël Heinsius's *Het ambacht van Cupido* ('Trade of Cupid'), published by Jacob Marcussoon in 1615 in Leiden.[2] The full title of this edition (in *quarto oblong*) reads as follows: *Het Ambacht van Cvpido, op een nieuw ouersien ende verbetert*, Door Theocritvm à Ganda. Tot Leyden, by Jacob Marcvssoon, Boeckverkooper, Anno 1615 (Fig. 1).

In this paper we would like to discuss these Wroclaw copies of Heinsius's emblem book. This is especially important since the 1615 edition of this emblem book by Heinsius has so far not been paid much attention to. One of the authors of this paper, Stefan Kiedron, has an interest in emblems ever since the emblematical Congress in Wroclaw in 1995, where the almost mystical Leuven-Wroclaw Emblem Group played such an important role, and the following congresses at Louvain and Munich. The other author, Joanna Skubisz, is making her international debut. She is currently working on a PhD-thesis about emblematical works in the University Library in Wroclaw – which can be seen as one of the fruitful results from the 'emblematical' meetings earlier.

Let us now take a look at the work of Heinsius itself. According to the catalogue of Adam Skura[3] the mentioned edition Leiden 1615 of *Het Ambacht van Cvpido* (with the catalogue number A 177) is – strange enough – *not known* to the catalogues of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag. In other words, it is not

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1 Cf. e.g. Schöffler 1956; Schneppen 1960 and Ingen 1977.
2 About the history of this work see Fontaine Verwey 1973, 302 – 304.
3 Skura 1996, 30.
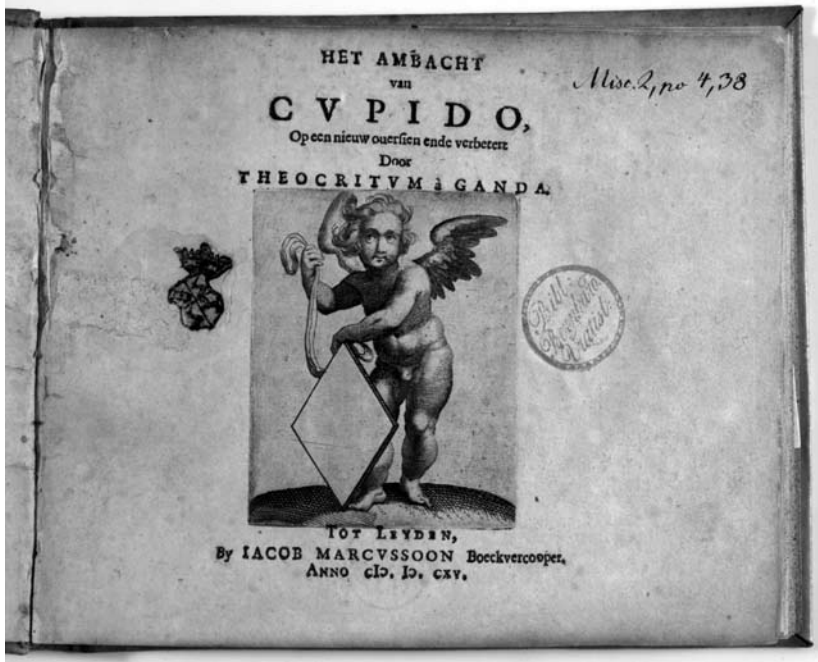
Fig. 1: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 535657, title page

mentioned in the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands (STCN), provided by the KB Den Haag. The fingerprint of this edition (161504 – *b1 O2 p$v: b2 P s) shows this. This could lead us to the conclusion that we have here a unique print of the *Ambacht van Cvpido*. It is also not mentioned in the bibliography of John Landwehr, published in 1962.[4]

One can find this 1615 edition, however, in the edition of Landwehr's bibliography from 1970.[5] And also in Mario Praz's *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* from 1964, where this edition is mentioned, without naming Heinsius as the author *and* with another format: Oblong 8.[6] Praz says, however, that he is not claiming to mention all known editions of *Het Ambacht*.

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4 Cf. Landwehr 1962.

5 Landwehr 1970, nr. 193. The entry reads: [Heinsius, D. and J. Viverius] Leyden 1615, *Het Ambacht van Cvpido, Op een nieuw ouersien en verbetert Door Theocritvm a Ganda*. Tot Leyden, By Iacob Marcvssoon Boeckvercooper. Oblong 4.

6 Praz 1964, 365. Here the entry reads: *Het Ambacht van Cupido, Op een nieuw oversien en verbetert Door Theocritum a Ganda*. Tot Leyden, By Iacob Marcussoon. Anno 1615. It was due to the discussions in the beginning of the seventies of the twentieth c. that the ascription of *Het Ambacht* to Daniel Heinsius has been made definite. John Landwehr in 1970 has the names of just two authors: Daniel Heinsius and Jacobus Viverius and claims the latter to be the author; Sellin 1971, 332–342, writes about Heinsius as the author of *Het Ambacht*; Breugelmans 1973, 281-290, gives the final results of his investigation that proves that Heinsius is the author.

So the Wroclaw edition of Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* is not a unique one.[7] Nevertheless: the two copies of this work collected in the Wroclaw University Library are worth to be described.

The first copy of the *Ambacht van Cupido* is bearing the signature BUWr. OStDr. 535657 and was bound as a single work. The second one bears the signature BUWr. OStDr. 543118 and was bound in one convolute together with the *Emblemata amatoria* of Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft.

We would like to discuss a few points concerning these two copies: their possible owners or readers, their particularities and the differences between these two copies.

As the first we will discuss the 'single' copy of the *Ambacht* (BUWr. OStDr. 535657). Do we know who brought it to Wroclaw? Do we know who has read it? Well, we can find some information on its provenance. The oldest of them is a seal stamp (partially spoiled) with a coat of arms of a noble man. This coat of arms we can find on many other books in our University Library, because the 'man in question' was a great collector of books.

It was Zacharias von Rampusch und Rammenstein (1632–1697), descendent of an important Silesian family. He was patrician and member of the intellectual elite of the 'Respublica Wratislaviensia'; he became 'Regierungsrat' and 'Kanzleidirektor' of the duke Ulrich von Würtemberg-Oels and acquainted high ranks in the Wroclaw hierarchy as 'Ober-Kämmerer' and 'Kriegs-Commissar'. In 1683 he became the Freiherr von Rammenstein.[8] Rampusch was also known among the circle of poets in Wroclaw: when he died in May of 1697, the poet Christian Gryphius (the son of one of the most known German poets from the seventeenth century, Andreas Gryphius), had written for him a poetical epitaph.[9]

Rampusch possessed a rich library with more than 4,000 books. He was mostly interested in theology, history and law. But he had collected also almost two thousands '*miscellanea*'. One can admire his broad interests: he had works about architecture, mathematics, books about foreign countries – and literary works, like Heinsius's emblems in his mother tongue – the Netherlandic. He donated his book collection (together with a sum of 1000 'Schlesisch Taler' (Silesian Rix-dollars)) to the library Church of St. Bernhard's, the *Bibliotheca Bernhardina* in Wroclaw.[10]

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7 We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Karel Porteman who was helping us by the preparation of the definite text of this article. After the November congress in Utrecht Joanna Skubisz had found one more entry from the end of the 19th century: De Vries 1899, XXI – XXII, Nr. 26: 'Het Ambacht van Cvpido, Op een nieuw ouersien en verbetert Door Theocritvm a Ganda. Tot Leyden, By Iacob Marcvssoon Boeckvercooper. Oblong 4.'
8 Cf. Pusch 1988, 295. See also *Selected Rambow Families and Individuals: Rambow Page*, viewed on 28 October 2006, http://www.rambow.de/web/surnames/pafg213.htm.
9 Christian Gryphius, *Deß Hoch=Edelgebohrnen Rittner und Herrn / Herrn Zachariae von Rampusch und Rommenstein [sic!] / Röm. Käyserl. Maytt. Raths / Wie auch Der Käyser= und Königl. Stadt Breßlau Hochansehnlichen Ober=Kämmerers / Ruhmwürdiges Andencken…,* Breßlau [1697], BUWr. OStDr. 557928.
10 Cf. Garber 2005, 576-578.

That is why we find also a stamp of the *Bibliotheca Bernhardina Vratislaviensis* on the title page of the *Ambacht*. And in the right upper corner of the title page we find the signature *Misc. 2, po 4, 38*. The catalogue of this library was started shortly after the death of Rampusch and was finished in 1720 by David Mayer. The signature means 'Miscellanea division 2, poetry in *quarto*, number 38'.

The *Bibliotheca Bernhardina* was later – in the second half of the nineteenth century – incorporated to the newly created *Stadtbibliothek Breslau*. That library used another system of catalogue numbers. Our copy bears (on the inner side of the binding) the old signature 4V515. It means: *quarto*, division V (Language and Literature from *Bernhardina*), book number on the standing place.[11] The *Stadt-bibliothek Breslau* was in turn after 1945 – when the Poles came to Wroclaw – incorporated to the University Library, where we can read it till today.

The second copy of Heinsius's *Ambacht van Cupido* (BUWr. OStDr. 543118) is bound together with Hoofts *Emblemata amatoria*. There are two indications of its provenance: the stamp of the former *Stadtbibliothek Breslau* and the current stamp of the University Library. On the inner side one can still find the former signature of the 'Stadtbibliothek': 4nD.155/1-2. It means: *quarto*, newly bought for the division 'Art' (n = neu; 'D' stands for 'books about art'), place number, two works.[12]

Both copies of the *Ambacht van Cupido* are bound in light pig leather and are in good state. The poetical structure of the two '*Ambachts*' is just the same (48 emblems) and shows no differences. Since there are no differences in the structure, let's have a look at the differences in the emblems. Here we do see some interesting things, especially in the *picturae*.

If we look at the emblems 14 ('*Volvitur assidue*') and 15 ('*Amor cæcus*'), we can observe a printer's mistake. In the 'single' copy the *subscriptio's* are according to the *picturae*. In emblem 14 the text reads: 'Cupido drijft den hoep: dat is het spel der minnen.' and we see indeed Cupid playing with a 'hoola hoop'. In emblem 15 the text reads: 'Al wat de liefde doet, is sot en sonder redden. Aensiet maer eens dit spel. het kind van Venus komt (…) sijn aensicht is vermomt, sijn ooghen sijn ge-stopt.' And we see indeed Cupid playing blindman's buff. (Figs. 2-3).

Not so in the 'convolute' edition. Here the *picturae* are switched. That one of emblem 14 is standing by emblem 15 and that from emblem 15 by emblem 14 (Figs. 4-5).

The second difference between the two copies we can find in emblem 23 ('*Amor eruditus*'). The stanza here begins with the words: 'Cupido vliecht om hooch vasthoudend' in zijn handen / Een ongesloten boeck dat hy beschreven heeft'. But we see no flying Cupid and we see no book in his hands. What we see is Cupid as soldier – with arrows against two lovers (Fig. 6).

We know this *pictura* – it comes from emblem 17 ('*Ferrum est quod amant*'). The printer of the 'single' copy (535657) just repeated it twice. In the 'convolute'

11 Cf. Ożóg 1955, 62.
12 Cf. Ożóg 1955, 62-63.
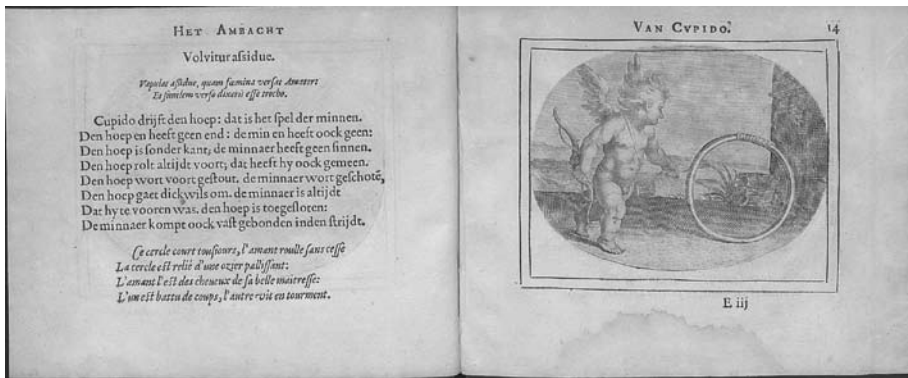
Fig. 2:Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWR. OStDr. 535657, emblem 14 '*Volvitur assidue*', 13v-14r
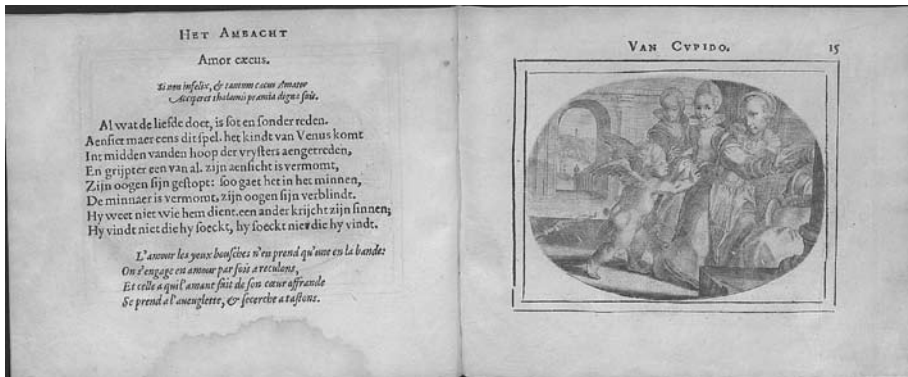
Fig. 3: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 535657, emblem 15 '*Amor cœcus*', 14v-15r
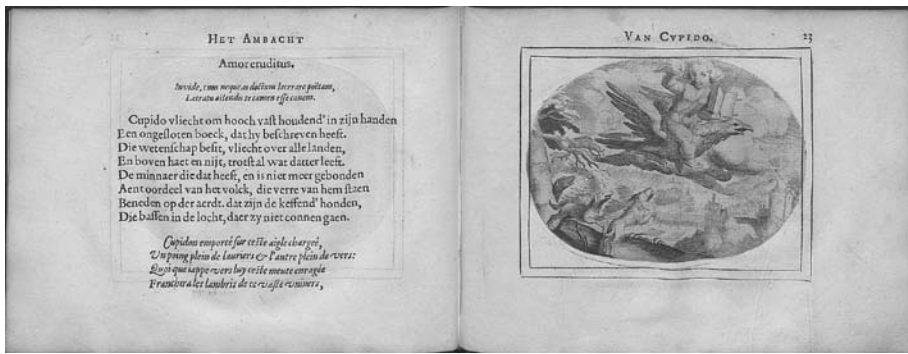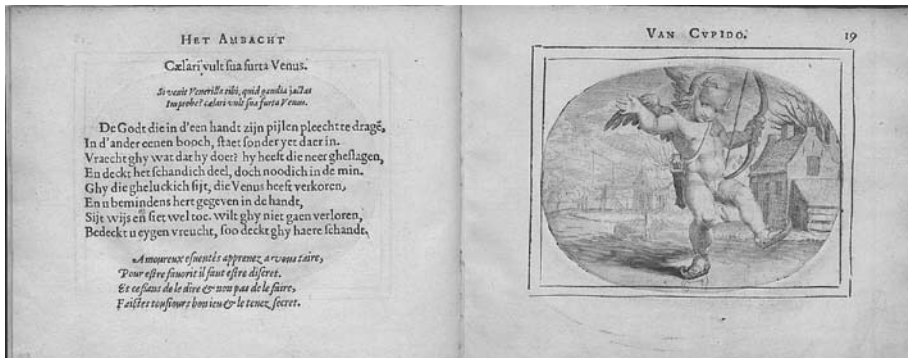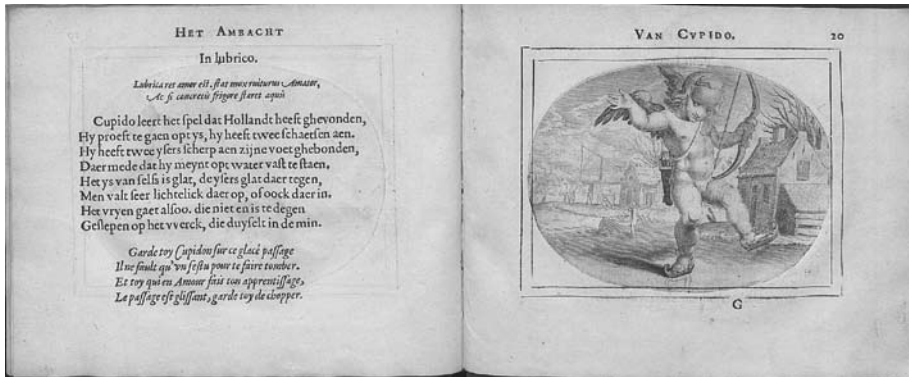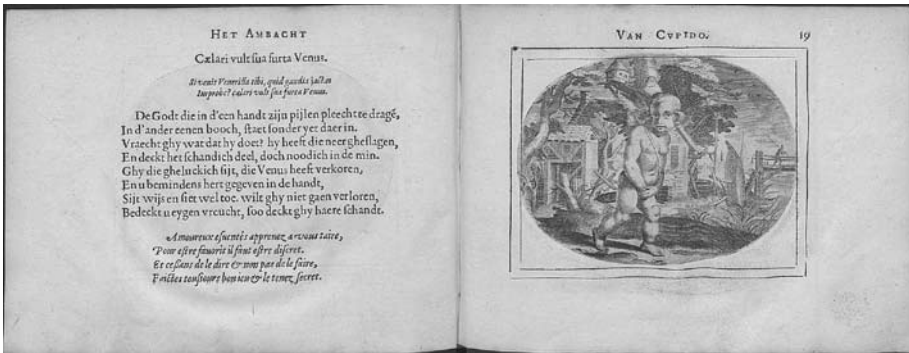

Fig. 4: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 543118, emblem 14 '*Volvitur assidue*', 13v-14r
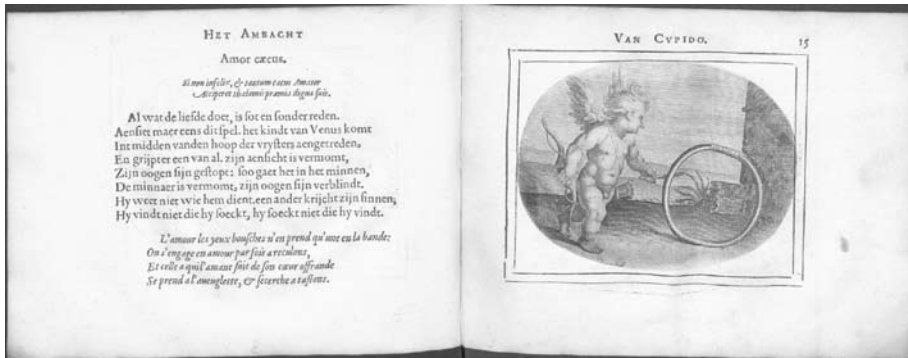
Fig. 5: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 543118, emblem 15 '*Amor cæcus*', 14v-15r

Fig. 6: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 535657, emblem 23 '*Amor eruditus*', 22v-23r

copy (543118) we find the correct emblem 23: with Cupid flying on an eagle with a book in his hands. This means that the two copies of the 1615 edition kept in Wroclaw are not completely the same. Apparently, the printer has made some revisions while working on the book (Fig.7).

The third interesting detail we find in the 'single' copy is connected with the emblems 19 ('*Cælari vult sua furta Venus*') and 20 ('*In lubrico*'). In the 'single' *Ambacht…* there is just one and the same *pictura* in both emblems: that of the 'lubricated' Cupid who is skating on ice (Fig. 8).

But the skating Cupid belongs in fact only to emblem 20 where the *subscriptio* reads:

Cupido leert het spel dat Hollandt heeft ghevonden,
Hy proeft te gaen optys, hy heeft twee schaetsen aen.
Hy heeft twee ysers scherp aen zijne voet ghebonden,

Fig. 7: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 543118, emblem 23 '*Amor eruditus*', 22v-23r

Fig. 8: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 535657, emblem 19 '*Cœlari vulta sua furta Venus*', 18v-19r

> Daer mede dat hy meynt opt water vast te staen.
> Het ys van selfs is glat, de eysers glat daer tegen,
> Men valt seer lichtelick daer op, of oock daer in.
> Het vryen gaet alsoo, die niet en is te degen
> Geslepen op het vverck, die duyselt in de min.[13] (Fig. 9)

A short note on the text of emblem 20: for a love emblem the motto 'In lubrico' is indeed one of the mottoes chosen 'right to the point'. Heinsius thus shows us how complicated love is. On the one hand: lubricants may for sure help in love affairs, one could say. On the other hand: to be on ice is not just 'Holidays on ice' – wet things (he means: ice and water) are dangerous, even in love (or especially in love – Heinsius says).

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13 Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 543118, 19v.

Fig. 9: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 535657, emblem 20 '*In lubrico*', 19v-20r

Fig. 10: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 543118, emblem 19 '*Cœlari vulta sua furta Venus*', 18v-19r

Heinsius is aware of love's ambiguity. As he states already in emblem 19: Cupido 'deckt het schandich deel, doch noodich in de min' – he covers his 'bashful limb' that is still needed in the love. And we see the same on the *pictura* of emblem 19 in the correct version of the 'convolute' copy of the *Ambacht van Cupido* (Fig. 10).

Besides the two copies of *Het ambacht van Cupido* from 1615, the University Library in Wroclaw holds another edition of this emblem collection: Daniël Heinsius's *Nederduytsche poemata* from 1621. It has been prepared by Hermen (Harman) van Westerhuisen, who had used (or: misused) the occasion when the privilege for the *Nederduytsche poemata*, owned since 1616 by Willem Jansz (later known as the famous cartographer Blaeu), lapsed, so that he could print Heinsius's work for his own interests.[14]

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14 Cf. Fontaine Verwey 1973, 306–308.

Fig. 11: Daniël Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata van Cupido*, Leiden 1621,
ex. BUWr. OStDr. 336617, title page.

This small edition bears the signature BUWr. OStDr. 336617 and is not men-
tioned in Adam Skura's *Catalogus*. It is very possible that this edition is the same as
described in the 'Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands' from the KB Den Haag.
As an addition to the STCN, we could state that one copy of this edition is kept in
Wroclaw[15] (Fig. 11).

The 48 emblems of the *Ambacht van Cupido* are in this edition divided in two
parts: one with the original title and one with the title *Emblemata amatoria*. There
are also eight emblems in the division *De Exempelen vande Doorlvchtige Vrovwen*.
There is one great difference between the *Ambacht* and the *Nederduytsche poema-
ta*: the artist's artistry (or – in the other case – the lack of it). This can be the best
observed in emblem 24 *"Omnia conjungo"* (Figs. 12-13).

This paper discusses just a small part of the emblematic treasures preserved in
Wroclaw. The authors of it would like to conclude with an invitation to Wroclaw

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15 STCN data reads as follows: Titel: Nederduytsche poemata. / By Dan. Heinsius. ; Ed. P.S. [=
P. Scriverius], Impressum: Leyden, H. van Westerhuisen, 1621, Annotatie: Complete, Formaat:
16° oblong, Collatie: A-L8 M8(M2+***>4(-***>4)) N8 P-Z8 2A4 (2A4 blank), Vingerafdruk:
162116 – b1 A2 $na : b2 2A3 nus$, Typografische informatie: w (gegraveerde titelpagina), a (il-
lustraties op titelpagina), c (andere illustraties), i (lettertype romein), Auteur: Daniel Heinsius
(1580-1655), Vertaler / Bewerker: Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660), Alternatieve titel: 601#Poetry.
Selection, Jaar: 1621, Drukker / Uitgever: Westerhuysen, Herman van Leiden, 1619-1621, On-
derwerpstrefwoord: Dutch language and literature; Poetry; Drama, Signatuur: Den Haag KB:
174 F 33:1Londen, British Library: 1070.c.21Londen, British Library: 11557.a.63:1Utrecht UB:
LB-KUN: RAR LMY HEINSIUS 4 CONV 1

Fig. 12: Theocritus à Ganda [= Daniël Heinsius], *Het ambacht van Cupido*, Leiden 1615, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 543118, emblem 24 '*Omnia conjungo*', 24ʳ

Fig. 13: Daniël Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata*, Leiden 1622, ex. BUWr. OStDr. 336617, emblem 24 '*Omnia conjungo*', Q4ʳ

to see it by one's own eyes – because (to use the key words of the Utrecht congress) there is so much to see there in emblematical art (and not only) and because Wroclaw is the 'Meeting Place': the city where 'Vrots' meets 'love'.

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Investing in your relationship

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At first sight the title of this contribution, *Investing in your relationship*, does not seem to connect to the first decades of the seventeenth century, the golden age of the Dutch love emblem. It seems more appropriate for modern brochures on the improvement of a couple's emotional life, or for TV programmes concerned with marriage counselling. Nevertheless, I hope to demonstrate that it is a suitable heading for a discussion of love emblems. As an emblematist, I have long been interested in the sudden rise of amorous content matter in Low Countries emblems around and just after 1600. As a user of the EPU site (http://emblems.let.uu.nl), I tried to satisfy this curiosity by launching a set of queries that might bring forward relevant material. In what follows, I will assemble my findings into a hypothesis on the popularity of the Dutch love emblem. Moreover, I am going to pay attention to a distinct subtext in the material I studied.

Why was there a sudden boom in amorous emblematics in the Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century? In informative chapters on the EPU site, three explanations are given.[1] Firstly, Dutch society, which had recently become protestant, needed new and modern instructions for the communication between the sexes, especially regarding marriage. Calvinism had introduced a rather rational concept of matrimony, and traditional Roman-Catholic didactics in this field were no longer adequate. Secondly, Dutch poets and engravers wanted to demonstrate that they too belonged to the refined European culture that celebrated love as the cause of elegance. Not bothered by Freud's ideas on repression, they considered Eros the creator of true civilisation. Freud's critic Herbert Marcuse (*Eros and Civilisation*, 1955) would probably have agreed. Thirdly, the jolly amusement of love emblems was a welcome form of recreation that could relieve the generally felt political and military strain of the war against Spain.

In line with the common European celebration of love that owed so much to Petrarch, Dutch love emblems feature well known Petrarchist motifs, e.g. the cold demeanour of the lady or the vicissitudes of a young man who has fallen in love (Porteman in Hooft 1983, 23). He experiences that his desire is growing by separation whenever his beloved coldly denies access, or that he is spending all his energy by running around in circles, without getting any nearer to her. Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft's *Emblemata amatoria* (1611) contains telling examples: Emblems XXIII (*Frigida accendit*: She kindles by being cold) (Fig. 1), XXI (*Eadem cantilena*: The same old song) (Fig. 2) and XXVII (*Carcer voluntarius*: A voluntary jail) (Fig. 3) elaborate on female distance and the pains of the young man.

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1 http://emblems.let.uu.nl/emblems/educational/toetsedu003_01.php
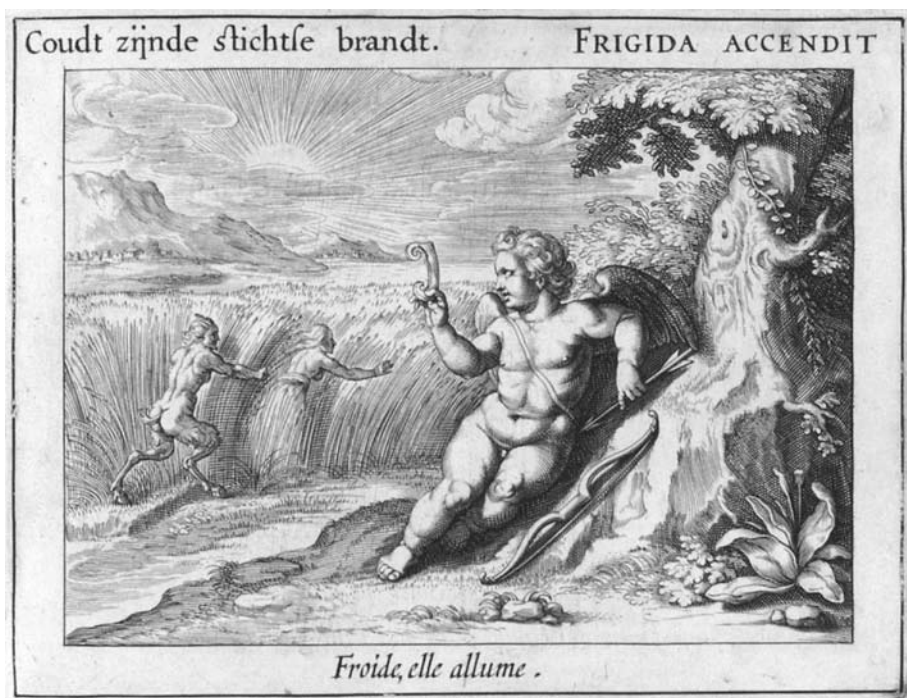
Fig. 1: P.C. Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria*, emblem 23 (EPU site)

The title of Daniël Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit amor?* (1601) suggests this initial ignorance by asking a question: Do you want to know what love is? As a question, it refers to the dialectical situation that was standard in early modern education. The communication between teacher and pupil normally followed the pattern of questions and answers, both in classroom reality and in printed textbooks. Consequently, Heinsius's emblem book sets out to *teach*, as the subtitle seems to corroborate: 'Do you want to know what love is, what it is to love, and what it is to follow Cupid and his encampments? Read this book and you will be learned (*doctus*).[2] Heinsius thus teaches the science of love. Although *Quaeris*'s engraved title shows Cupid pointing his arrow at a young woman, Heinsius and many other emblematists seem to address the emotional conditions of young *men* in particular. Thus it seems not too far-fetched to suppose that the amorous information in their emblem books was sought as a guideline for young men who were falling in love.

We should not forget the practical circumstances of place, time and person. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, life in the commercial towns of the Netherlands was rather secluded and self-centered. There surely were networks of national and international transportation, but in general the outside world was

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2 http://emblems.let.uu.nl/he1601front1.html

Fig. 2: P.C. Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria*, emblem 21 (EPU site)

Fig. 3: P.C. Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria*, emblem 27 (EPU site)

far away. Within the communities, the merchant class prevailed. In their families, marriages were often arranged, so that local harmony could flourish and preservation and maybe growth of the family assets were guaranteed. A young couple probably had a say in its own future, but long term family interests weighed heavily. By 1600, the situation had changed. Family interests were as important as ever, but local isolation was rapidly vanishing: the world had suddenly opened up. Not only by the convulsions of the Spanish war and the huge influx of immigrants, but also by the beginnings of the country's colonial expansion. Moreover, now that wealth was on the rise, young men went away from home for longer periods, studying at universities or travelling south on a Grand Tour (Frank-van Westrienen 1976). No longer in their parents' immediate surroundings, meeting new and often exciting people, how were they to control their emotions if they were hit by Cupid's arrow? The poet and emblematist Hooft (born 1581) offers a fine example of this quandary. In 1599, on Grand Tour in Italy, he stays in Venice for a few months and meets a Flemish merchant's family. Later on, when the young traveller is in Rome, he receives a letter from their daughter Isabelle, regretting that her plans to follow him have failed. She is very much looking forward to his second visit to Venice 'when we will make the decisions that will please you'. Circumstantial evidence suggests that his hopeful return to Venice in 1601 turned into a deception when on second thoughts Isabelle rejected him. In distress, Hooft wrote a sad poem on his loneliness, but – a proof of his deep-felt emotions – he never destroyed Isabelle's love letter. It still exists and is now in the collections of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam (Hooft 1976, 65-69).

This little story can serve as a real life background to love emblems. To venture a hypothesis by way of a fourth explanation: love emblems were so popular because they addressed the things young people actually felt and experienced. Emblems taught youngsters what falling in love meant and which stages there were in the development of an emotional relationship; they also brought comfort by explaining the transience of sadness. How unpleasant the experience and how bitter the rejection might be, these were Cupid's common attacks on all human beings. On the other hand the prospects of a happy, harmonious relationship were never far away. It is not difficult to see the ultimate goal of these teachings: the awareness of Cupid's whims and the creation of a stable mind, which should not too easily become depressed or elated. The thing called love exerted a huge fascination, but it was potentially dangerous for young people, especially when they were away from home and could not seek immediate advice from their relatives. Only in equanimity young men (and women?) would be able to make the right choice. Uninformed, their love was unsafe. They might become disheartened by misfortune, or jump to rash conclusions when meeting good luck. In both cases this could lead to the wrong choice of a partner. Seen from an economic point of view, a wrong choice could easily endanger their finances and in the worst case even the prosperity of whole families.

The use of love emblem books, as Karel Porteman has pointed out, was to be found in circles of the young and wealthy (Porteman in Hooft 1983, 25-29). The beautifully printed and sometimes sumptuously bound little volumes served privately as gifts to a beloved and socially as conversation pieces. One of their important functions, and that of the amorous discussions they were intended to provoke, can now be seen in close connection with these amorous, social and economic teachings. Inspired by Judith Butler's terminology (Butler 1987), I tend to see them as serving *the organisation of desire.* Love, lust, desire, disappointment are not just individual experiences. On the contrary, they fit into a time-honoured format of amorous discourse and can thus be *managed*. Thus the individual is supported in organizing his/her emotions along socially accepted lines.

I surmise that those who could commission, buy and read these emblem books, and discuss and practice their contents, must have had the leisure to do so. They must have had ample time and money at their command. I therefore decided to run a series of queries in the EPU site to find out more. Besides, I was inspired by Bernhard Scholz's readings of *Sinnepoppen* by Roemer Visscher (1614). Scholz discovered an economic subtext in Visscher's emblems, and a strong tendency towards rational social behaviour (Scholz 1985 and 1990). I was curious if this would apply to love emblems as well, and thus I let the EPU search engine explore the semantic fields of *time* (time, clock, hour, hourglass) and *money* (money, pecunia, purse, profit, fortune) in the emblem books on the site.

Evidently, not all emblem books on the site yielded results, and if they did, some were more prolific than others. Nevertheless, the harvest was richer than I expected. For *time*, apart from well-known *topoi* like 'time flies' or 'nothing escapes destruction by time' (Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria*, 'Van't leven comt de doodt') (Fig. 4), love emblems also teach their users not to waste one's time on trifles and keep

Fig. 4: P.C. Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria*, emblem 30 (EPU site)

Fig. 5: J. Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, emblem 30 (EPU site)

Fig. 6: O. Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, emblem 106 (EPU site)

their goal in mind (Cats, *Sinne- en* minnebeelden, 'Fugat, non capit') (Fig. 5), to wait patiently for the right moment (O. Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, 'Durate' (Fig. 6)) as a rapid, heedless attack could spoil the beauty of its object in no time, and to grasp one's opportunities when time is there. As a lover in Cats's *Sinne- en min-nebeelden* (1627, emblem 30) puts it, when he learns that his beloved is available: 'Then was the tyme for mee to learne, my business how to guide', for ladies tend to dislike hesitant lovers.

Curiously enough, these bits of advice can also be read within an economic code. They play a key role in early modern economies, especially staple markets like Am-

Fig. 7: anonymous, *Nieuwen Ieught Spiegel*, emblem 41 (EPU site)

sterdam. Amsterdam traders, who held European near-monopolies in products like Baltic wheat and Asian spices, specialized in purchasing commodities when supply was ample and prices were low. They would then take the goods from the market, keep them in storage and wait for scarcity, growing demand and rising rates, in order to sell at a considerable profit. Contemporary ethical discussions indicate that this practice was being frowned upon, but it remained a dominant kind of business (Spies 1990). Apparently, in commerce and in love the same guidelines applied: make profitable use of your time, wait for the right moment to gain what you desire, don't rush, but do not hesitate either when your opportunity is there.

Searching for *money* brought up more evidence than expected. Especially the anonymous *Nieuwen Ieught Spiegel* (A New Mirror of Youth, 1617) produces some rich examples of emblems that combine love and money. Emblems 41 (Fig. 7) and 42 (Fig. 8) warn against unequal love, i.e. love between partners of different generations. The subject matter was very popular at the time and was also treated on stage and in songbooks. An old man cannot seduce a young girl by offering money and showing his purse; neither can an old woman tempt a young man with her open jewel box. A moralistic reading of the theme tends to interpret it as a plea for decency and social harmony. From a point of view both medical and ethical, elderly people were supposed to have given up their sexual interests. Acting otherwise was deemed improper. Even the rich could not escape this law of nature.

Yet one could think of another analysis. One can imagine that some elderly people needed a warning against silly behaviour. But why then are these emblems

Fig. 8: anonymous, *Nieuwen Ieught Spiegel*, emblem 42 (EPU site)

addressing youngsters ('*Ieught*') in particular? Did they really need the instruction that someone of their own age was more fun? Why did they have to learn that an unfulfilling relationship could not be counterbalanced by money? The old wife's open treasure casket and the old man's purse (the typical Renaissance drawstring pouch with a stick-like handle) allude to the female and male reproductive organs and therefore to sex. There might be a very tangible background to this plea for sexual behaviour according to one's age. In reality there may indeed have been affluent older men and women (widowers, widows) on the marriage market. In spite of their riches their availability was felt as something inappropriate.

Let us apply a little conceptual twist, and look at this from an economic angle. What these emblems also show is the choice between two investments. A younger partner is recommended as a better investment. For what reason? Because only two *young* lovers (and of course love implies marriage implies sex implies procreation) will produce offspring. Elderly partners tend to be infertile. Emblematists like Heinsius (*Ambacht van Cupido*, 'Amoris semen mirabile') (Fig. 9) and poets invariably hail the productivity of wedlock. Children are necessary links in the chain of generations; only they will be able to secure and hopefully enlarge the family capital and continue the family business into the future. In this light, virility stands out as an economic asset. *Nieuwen Ieught Spiegel* 44 (*Or danse maintenant*: Dance now) shows a masked man, whose purse is being stroked by an eager woman. (Fig.10) Now that she witnesses its full quality, she gives up her initial reluctance. The sexual connotations in the image of the pouch merge the erotic and

Fig. 9: D. Heinsius, *Ambacht van Cupido*, emblem 8 (EPU site)

Fig. 10: anonymous, *Nieuwen Ieught Spiegel*, emblem 44 (EPU site)

economic spheres: potency equals economic potential. In general, allusions to the reproductive organs (purse, money-casket) in these emblems should not be played down as jocular allusions to the practicalities of sex and the facts of the body; instead, they may well be understood as expressions of the notion that desire is an economic category.

Love is war. The overlap of the semantic fields of lovemaking and warfare is a common feature of Western cultural discourse. Seventeenth-century Dutch love

Fig. 12: anonymous, *Antipathia […]*,
1628, emblem 3 (EPU site)

Fig. 11: W. den Elger, *Zinne-beelden der liefde*,
emblem 33 (EPU site)

Fig. 13: anonymous, *Typus mundi*, emblem 9
(EPU site)

Fig. 14: J. Cats, *Proteus*, emblem 20
(EPU site)

emblems highlight another important semantic overlap: love is economy. Apart
from the evidence mentioned above, one can think of a common terminology
of fortune and luck (both amorous and economic) and of the need to negotiate
(W. den Elger, *Zinne-beelden der liefde*, 'De liefde ziet na geen rykdommen') (Fig.
11). 'Lust, honour and possessions' belong together, as they are all temporary and
transient (*Antipathia*, 'Negotiatio amoris') (Fig. 12). Even the assertion that divine
love does *not* take money into consideration, suggests the opposite on the part
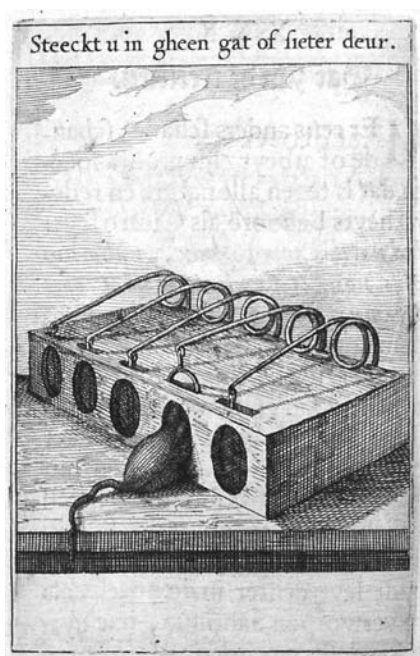
Fig. 15: R. Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* 2, emblem 31 http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/ Renaissance/Facsimiles/VisscherSinnepoppen1614/source/96.htm

of worldly love (*Typus mundi*, 'Frustrà: quis stabilem figat in orbe gradum?' and Cats, *Proteus*, 'Reperire, perire est') (Figs. 13 and 14). Anyone looking for Biblical support of this semantic parallel can think of Matthew VI, 21 or Luke XII, 34: 'For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also'. An Iconclass-based search in the EPU material (purse, money bag, 41D267) brings forth several specimens of the close connection between money and love.

A final example illustrates the easy crossover of images from the economic into the erotic sphere. Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* 2, XXXI (Fig. 15) shows a mouse or rat, hesitating which entry of five-hole mousetrap to take. *Motto* and *subscriptio* offer purely economic advice: 'Steeckt u in gheen gat of sieter deur': do not enter a hole when you cannot see through (Visscher 1949, 92). In other words: do not embark on any economic venture when the outcome is uncertain. In 1696, the second volume of an anonymous Dutch pornographic novel was published: *De doorluchtige daden van Jan Stront, opgedragen aan het kakhuis* (The illustrious adventures of John Sh*t, dedicated to the sh*thouse). In the course of the story a simpleton is taken to a brothel. In bed with a prostitute, he takes a close look at her intimate quarters; she cannot convince him, however, to do what he should do. He remains hesitant and then retorts: 'My parents taught me never to enter a hole without seeing through. Whichever way I am looking in, I cannot discern any daylight' (Anon. 2000, 96).

For a wider exploration of this conceptual field much more research needs to be done. Fortunately, digitised emblem sites with search facilities like EPU can facilitate investigations, speed up research and thus stimulate the rise of new insights. EPU helped me to observe that the amorous discourse of early seventeenth century Dutch love emblems features a strong subtext that conceptualizes love and sex in economic terms. One of their functions was to organize desire along the lines of the early modern staple market economy.

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The love emblem applied

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Introduction

What could be a more fitting environment for love emblems than the bedroom walls in a Renaissance family castle? A bedroom redecorated on the occasion of a wedding in the highest circles of French nobility? Where a series of emblems was rearranged to tell the story of a love, ending in an embrace that even death cannot undo?

This seems to be the case in the castle of Coulon, in Graçay (Cher) in central France. The Emblem Project Utrecht was recently contacted by the owner of the castle. On the EPU site she had found in Heinsius's emblems a possible source for the wall paintings that had been discovered behind the nineteenth-century wallpaper of her castle. The art historians she consulted since the discovery in 1994 had not been able to identify the subjects of the paintings.

If we place a short account of these wall paintings in the proceedings of the EPU conference 'Learned Love' (November 6-7, 2006), it is because it shows not only the wide influence of the Dutch love emblem in its day, but also the effects of emblem digitisation and the internet.[1] The discovery of the wall paintings was a nice present that almost coincided with the completion of the Emblem Project Utrecht's initial mission, the digitisation of 25 canonical works in the Dutch love emblem tradition.

To tell the truth, we do not know for sure whether the room that contains the emblematic wall paintings was a bedroom. We are not sure whether the wall paintings were commissioned because of a wedding. What we do know is this: in the north room on the main floor of the Chateau de Coulon, on the upper part of the walls, someone has painted frescoes that contain the pictures of eight love emblems. The scenes are apparently taken from the *picturae* of *Théâtre d'Amour*, an anonymous early seventeenth-century adaptation of Heinsius's collection *Quaeris quid sit amor*. I will elaborate on this in the next paragraph of this paper. The castle was declared a historic monument in 1994. Experts from the Administration des Monuments Historiques have estimated the wall paintings were executed somewhere between 1600 and 1610. At the time, the castle was owned by François de Bourbon, prince de Conti (1558-1614), who had inherited it from his first wife, Jeanne de Coeme (†1601). In 1605, the prince de Conti remarried. His second wife was Louise Marguerite de Lorraine-Guise (1574-1631). It is certainly tempting to speculate the prince ordered the wall paintings as a surprise for his new wife.

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1 It is clear the EPU does not specialise in French emblems or French art history. We are happy to give a brief initial report, but welcome investigations by other researchers.
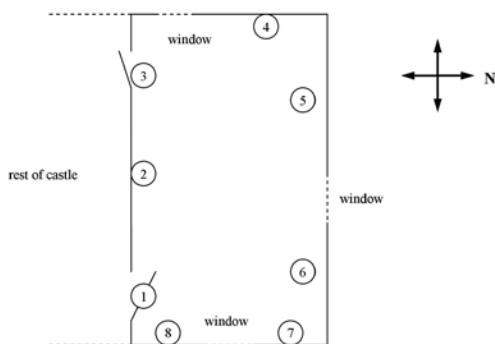
Fig. 1: Floor-plan of the north room and the location of the wall paintings

The arrangment and sources of the wall paintings

In the north room, the entire surface of walls and ceiling is painted. The upper sections of the walls contain the emblematical pictures and mottoes – from here-on I will refer to them simply as 'emblems'. Grotesques fill the space between the emblems. The floor-plan (Fig. 1) shows the location of the emblems. We show the emblems in Figs. 2-9. Many of the paintings are badly damaged. A restoration in 1997 respected the present state of the paintings, but some apparently show traces of earlier and incompetent restoration.

The *Théâtre d'Amour* is undated and anonymous. It reproduces the pictures, mottoes and Latin distichs of *Quaeris*. It replaces, however, *Quaeris*'s Dutch epigrams by French epigrams unrelated to the French texts appearing in later *Quaeris* printings. See F.162 in the *Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, (Adams et al. 1999, 2002). Its year of appearance was estimated to be 1606 by Sayles (in Praz and Sayles 1974).There exists a modern facsimile of the *Théâtre*, bound in a larger collection (see Warncke and Steinbrecher 2004). The main reason to assume that the *Théâtre* provided the model for the Coulon wall paintings is the fact that in the castle the emblems' right-left orientation has been reversed (with respect to *Quaeris*) in exactly the six cases where this is also the case in the *Théâtre*.

Table 1 lists the emblems, their state, and the main changes with respect to the *Théâtre*. All paintings are provided with a motto. The mottoes are text fragments taken, with some modifications, from the Latin distichs that frame the engravings. Table 2 lists the original *Quaeris/Théâtre* mottoes and those used on the castle walls. It also lists the fragments of the epigram that correspond with the castle's motto. As is readily apparent, the text on the castle walls shows traces of corruption. This may be evidence of later restoration by people without knowledge of Latin.[2] In one case, however, the texts provide extra proof that the *Théâtre* is indeed the source for the wall paintings: in Heinsius's emblem 'Ni mesme la mort'

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2 In a document attributed to a nineteenth-century owner of the castle, in possession of the present owner, the mottoes are given without the corruptions.

Fig. 2-9: The castle's emblems (See also colour plates 7-14)

Fig. 10 (See also colour plate 15) and 11: The castle's grotesques

the subscription contains the words 'nec tollet amorem nostrum' (neither will [death] take away our love'), which in the *Théâtre* have become 'nec *tollit* amorem nostrum' (present tense). The castle has: 'nec tollit amorem'.

The grotesques that fill the space between the emblems (Figs. 10 and 11) are usually symmetric: the panel to the right of the emblem mirrors the one to the left. The last emblem has asymmetric grotesques surrounding it. One emblem ('Ni spirat immota', 2) has no grotesques of its own. However, the grotesques surrounding the next emblem (Fig. 10) contains a clear reference to emblem 2: the grotesques depict a winged Cupid on a chariot, using a bellows to set a mill in motion.

Discussion

It is not immediately clear why these 8 emblems were selected out of the 24 emblems in the *Théâtre*. On the assumption that the room served as a conjugal bedchamber, it would seem appropriate that the emblems show a positive attitude towards love. This indeed seems to be the case.[3] One possible way of reading the series of emblems, starting with 1, in clockwise direction, would be: she is the most beautiful among her companions (1, 'Inter omnes'), and her beauty is what has set him in motion (2, 'Ni spirat immota'), even though he knows that love, once submitted to, is hard to escape (3, 'Serò detrectat onus qui subijt'). Love is indeed both bitter and sweet (4, 'De douceur amertume'), and it may feel like a fire from the outside (5, 'Au dedans je me consume'), but still, as the falcon to the falconer, he freely returns to his mistress (6, 'Je reviens de mon gré …'), and cannot hide his love (7, 'je ne puis celer'), which is so strong as to last beyond death (8, 'ni même la mort').

This is a positive story indeed. Other emblems might have fitted in quite as well, such as 'Les deux sont un', with the grafting motif, or 'Omnia vincit amor', where Cupid bridles a lion. Others would not be suitable for a positive collection, such as 'Cosi de ben amar porto tormento', where the moths die in the candle's

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3 Ranked on a subjective scale of 1 (negative towards love) to 5 (positive), the *Théâtre* emblems scored an average of 2.6, the castle emblems 3.2.

flame and the lover holds a dagger to his breast. Especially unsuitable would have been 'Noctua ut in tumulis, super utque cadavera bubo', warning as it does against marriages with a big age difference.

A look at the secondary motifs on the pictures may reinforce our reading: they include a man and a woman, keeping their distance, on 'Nec spirat immota' (2); a couple and a solitary lover, on 'De douceur amertume' (4), and a man that has taken off his hat and may be kneeling for a woman, on 'Je reviens de mon gré' (6). That is to say: from distance through doubt to surrender.

In the absence of more definitive information on the situation surrounding the creation of the paintings, much of this must remain speculation. We would want to know more, for instance, about the reason for using mottoes in Latin, rather than the original ones (most of which were in French). Were the Petrarchist conceits used in the emblems sufficiently well-known for the emblems to be understood?

Other questions suggest themselves. If this was indeed the bedroom of a married couple, should the use of the *Quaeris* emblems make us rethink the Petrarchist

Table 1 The emblems

Nr	Motto in Heinsius	State	Reversed	Changes in picture	Grotesques
1	Inter omnes	Serious damage	yes	No major changes visible	Symmetrical
2	Ni spirat, immota	Some damage	no	Woman no longer in profile but viewed from the front; Cupid uses bellows towards the mill rather than arrow towards people	(none)
3	Serò detrectat onus qui subijt	Some damage	yes	No major changes visible	Symmetrical
4	De douceur amertume	Some damage	yes	Couple no longer sitting and embracing but standing arm in arm; possibly a noble couple. Cupid pointing or throwing arrow rather than shooting with bow.	Symmetrical
5	Au dedans je me consume	Serious damage	no	No major changes visible	Symmetrical
6	Je reviens de mon gré aux doulx lacqs qui me serrent	Some damage	yes	Couple's faces turned towards the public	Symmetrical
7	Je ne le puis celer	Almost nothing left	yes	No major changes visible	Symmetrical
8	Ni mesme la mort	Some damage	yes	Non-symmetrical	Non-symmetrical

Table 2 Mottoes in emblem book and on walls, plus the books's version of the text used as motto on the walls

Nr	Motto in Heinsius/Théâtre	Motto in castle	Corresponding text in Théâtre distich
1	Inter omnes	Pulcrae essent aliae tu nisi pulcra fores	Idem
2	Ni spirat, immota	Sic tua ni spiret gratia transus ero	Sic tua ni spiret gratia truncus ero
3	Serò detrectat onus qui subijt	Iam iugum detrectant quae subiere boves	Idem
4	De douceur amertume	Sie specie dulci torquet amarus amor	Sic specie dulci torquet amarus amor
5	Au dedans je me consume	Et mea cunsumit viscera caecus amor	Et mea consumit viscera caecus amor
6	Je reviens de mon gré aux doulx lacqs qui me serrent	Sic mihi servitio blando	Sic mihi servitio blandior ipse meo
7	Je ne le puis celer	Extinguerit ignem	(quis enim) caelaverit ignem
8	Ni mesme la mort	Nec tollit amorem	Nec tollit amorem

attitude conventionally attributed to Heinsius? If this room was painted in 1605, that also suggests a very early dating for the *Théâtre*. Is it reasonable to assume that *Quaeris* should have been adapted for the French market, and have become sufficiently well-known for the engravings to inspire paintings in a provincial castle? Questions abound.

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Part 2 The digitisation of the emblem

The Emblem Project Utrecht as a knowledge site

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During the last decades, the role of digital resources in the humanities has been debated extensively. Different aspects of this role have been discussed. The specific features of digital editions have been debated in studies by for instance Peter Robinson, Martha Nell Smith and Edward Vanhoutte.[1] In 2002, Stephen Greenblatt and John Unsworth initiated a discussion on the importance of 'digital scholarship', pleading for the electronic publication of secondary resources such as articles and monographs. Paul Eggert discussed important criteria for the infrastructure of digital scholarship in 2005. And recently, Peter Schillingsburg reviewed the effects of the re-presentation of print texts as electronic texts in *From Gutenberg to Google*.

In this article, I am presenting the experiences gained during the making of the Emblem Project Utrecht site within the wider context of this debate about the role of digital resources for the humanities. In an attempt to outline a program for a 'knowledge site', the type of digital resource the EPU site aims to be, I am seeking for connections between the various debates. The leading question is: what have we learned while working on the EPU site, and what do these experiences tell us about the possibilities to enhance the role of digital resources in the humanities?

From digital editions to a knowledge site

When the work on the EPU first started in 2003, the project's focus was the production of digital editions of the selected emblem books. Clearly, there were a number of editorial problems to be solved and decisions to be made. These editorial issues were our first concern, but not our only challenges. The aim was to publish scholarly digital editions which would also help to provide answers to questions such as: 'In what way are the profane and religious emblems in the corpus intertwined?', 'What changes did occur in the use of motives and imagery in Dutch love emblems during the seventeenth century?' and 'What was the relationship between the Protestant and Catholic parts of the corpus?'. We were, in short, trying to build digital editions that would also facilitate literary studies. In order to create such editions, the digital output of the EPU needed to be digital, readable books as well as platforms for activities such as searching, comparing and listing. Given the limited amount of time and money, we had to prioritize between editorial demands and the development of features and tools needed for literary research.

While progressing in both directions, we developed the ideal of creating a site that might be characterized as a 'work-site' – a term introduced by Paul Eggert in 2005. Within Eggert's 'work-site', the word 'work' not only refers to the origi-

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1 Vanhoutte's contribution to this volume is another contribution to this particular debate and also for instance Vanhoutte 1999.

nal work of the author (the primary work), but also to the work done by editors, researchers, reviewers and readers (the secondary work, so to speak). The consequences of building a work-site like this lie beyond the actual construction of the site. The way we conduct research is changed by it, in the sense that editions once published are no longer the fixed results of years of work, but the ever changing contribution of groups of scholars to work in progress. As Eggert states: 'The work-site is text-construction site for the editor and expert reader; and it is the site of study of the work (of its finished textual versions and their annotation) for the first-time reader, as well as any position in between. Because the building of such textual and interpretative work-sites will be piece by piece, collaborative and ongoing, we are starting to look at a future for humanities, work-oriented research that is, if not scientific exactly, then more *wissenschaftlich,* in the German sense, than what literary critics, historians, and others are used to.' (Eggert 2005).

In line with the idea of a 'work-site', we have experimented within the EPU context with the option of conducting quantitative literary studies. In for instance 'Ingrediënten voor een succesformule? Experimenten met een digitale editie van Cats' *Sinne- en minnebeelden*' (Boot and Stronks 2002) we attempted to explain the success of Cats's love emblems by demonstrating – through a systematically performed and rhetorical analysis, the detailed findings of which were made accessible to the reader/user – how Cats changes his approach of the reader every time he addresses a different part of his audience. The 'secondary work' on a work-site thus not only consists of traditional editorial tasks such as transcribing, collating and annotating, but also includes activities such as analyzing and comparing – tasks traditionally located within the field of literary studies. Although not all of these features are yet fully incorporated in the EPU site, the project aims to present digital editions supported by tools for literary analysis. Digital developments seem to offer a unique chance to integrate textual and literary studies, to their mutual benefit.[2] Providing digital editions have searchable indexes and concordances that facilitate searching through, and non-linear reading of the digitised text, editions can be research instruments as well as electronic representations of printed texts, sources, links, bibliographies etc. The indexes and concordances should be flanked by tools to annotate the digitised text – as Eggert already suggested – as well as tools that help to make literary (quantitative) analyses.[3] Visitors as well as project members should thus be facilitated to search the texts and incorporate the results and conclusions based on these results in the digital editions, allowing everyone to illustrate arguments with the specific location of certain elements in the texts. To be useful to the emblem, as well as to other bimedial genres, this system needs to cover not only textual, but also pictorial and musical elements.

Since the introduction of the concept of a work-site, new ideals have arisen.

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2 Of course, there is also textual analysis involved in the making of an (digital) edition. As Siemens 2005 states: 'textual analysis lies at the hearth of the electronic scholarly edition'.
3 As Smith 2004 states: through electronic publication texts become largely available, while literary research can be more quantative based and results can be more easily checked.

One of these ideals is of particular interest to us, now that the EPU has official-ly ended. In 2006, Schillingsburg introduced the concept of the 'knowledge site', partly referring to Eggert's idea of a work-site. Along with Eggert, Schillingsburg believes that digital edition should be flanked by research tools, and should be in constant motion: 'It seems logical now, when undertaking a scholarly edition to plan to produce it as an electronic knowledge site with a variety of tools for ac-cessing its materials and taking advantage of its incorporated scholarship' (Schil-lingsburg 2006, 97). The knowledge site should have textual foundations, should show contexts and progressions and interpretive interactions and should be open for user enhancements (Schillingsburg 2006, 101-102). Besides and beyond this, in Schillingsburg's view, these sites will form the infrastructure for future devel-opments in research. He states a knowledge site 'requires a community with a life beyond the lives of the originators of scholarly projects to maintain and continue such projects' (Schillingsburg 2006, 95).

Ideally, we now think, the EPU site should become a part of the larger knowl-edge site on the European emblem. Some movements in this direction have been made of the course of the project – resulting for instance in the OpenEmblem Portal – but what more do we need to create a community that will support and develop a knowledge site on the European emblem in the future? Schillingsburg is confident these communities will be formed, 'just has communities have arisen to support libraries, scholarly journals, and specialized research institutes that outlast their founders' (Schillingsburg 2006, 95).

Problems and challenges

There is ample reason, however, to doubt whether so much optimism is in place. In his article 'Current issues in making digital editions of medieval texts – or, do electronic scholarly editions have a future?', Robinson recently inspected the poor state of affairs in the production of digital editions. If anything, there is a decline in the number of scholarly editions published on an internet site or as CDrom. Pu-blishers are hesitant, scholars unequipped. Robinson suggests that a solution for this problem could be found in the development of tools such as an online publi-cation system (Robinson 2005, par. 30). The EPU experiences have taught us that more fundamental and profound changes are in order. Scholars in the humani-ties cannot solely depend on the development of tools like an online publication system by others. In the current situation, only programmers or ICT-specialists among the textual scholars are capable enough to develop such tools. To become equal partners, all scholars in the humanities as well as the students within the hu-manities departments need to educate themselves to obtain a certain level of ICT-expertise. Researchers within the humanities should not only be able to work with digital tools; they should be skilled enough to create the ideas for the development of new tools. Greenblatt and Unsworth stated in 2002 that 'humanists need to em-

brace the new technologies'.[4] I think this change, wanted not only by Greenblatt and Unsworth, can only occur when humanists start working on their computer skills. How can we be partners in a discussion on the future of digital resources in the humanities if we are unaware of technical options, costs, problems and developments?

In this model, scholars working on a knowledge site – editors, bibliographers, librarians, programmers – should know enough of the expertise of the others in their community to be able to solve problems together. A basic understanding of the other's expertise, combined with one's own expertise is needed to create a community, and a sense of urgency and responsibility.

The EPU experiences have also made clear that there is a need – at least in the Netherlands, but the situation elsewhere does not seem to be much different – for more extensive sharing of knowledge on the production and use of digital resources. The EPU site is embedded in (research) programs of the Digital Library of Dutch Literature (DBNL), the Royal Dutch Library (KB), the Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS) and the Huygens Institute. Techniques and standards used in the EPU match the philosophies and practices of these institutions. Still, despite the connections with these institutions and their particular areas of expertise, an immense local investment was made at the Utrecht University to create the EPU site. Programmers, translators, art historians, literary experts and research assistants worked together, logistically supported by computer software. Clearly, the EPU site could not have been made without the work of programmers combining experience in computer science and literary studies. These programmers are rare. Also, at this point of time, most of them work at institutions such as libraries and centers for scholarly editing. The dissemination of their knowledge from these institutions towards the humanity departments at universities is not an organized process – at least not in the Netherlands. In order to educate all scholars in the humanities, we need to organize summer schools for university students and teachers, taught by programmers that are willing – and allowed to – support the communities within universities that have the ambition to become the center of a knowledge site.

One of the other issues the community of scholars creating and supporting knowledge sites has to discuss is the matter of standardization. A discussion on the criteria for digital resources is necessary to set standards for their quality and durability. Initiatives such as TEI are based on mutual respect among scholars, but they have – as of yet – not resulted in a list of crucial features of digital editions. The TEI guidelines for instance do restrict researchers in their encoding, in the sense that they limit the number of tags that can be used. But almost none of these tags are mandatory. Tags labeling the physical appearance of the original texts is for instance optional. This means that editors can ignore typographical aspects

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4 Greenblatt 2002, started a discussion on this issue in an open letter to the MLA, Unsworth 2002 replied to that.

of the original texts. Why do we not have a standardized, mandatory method to encode certain aspects of 'der materiellen Unterlage' (Gabler 2006, par. 6) in the digitisation process? And why is the principle of the sharing of (meta)data still not widely accepted and established? Should digitisation efforts (scanning, transcribing) not be a one-time investment for the scholarly community? It seems that the humanities could profit immensely from some firm decisions taken by scholars who dare to set standards of quality. The EPU is not claiming to be the blueprint for these standards, but we are committed to using this project, as well as our contribution to the OpenEmblem portal, to plead for a change in the way scholars in the humanities conduct their research.[5]

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5 More ideas about the changes for the humanities can be found in the Surfshare-programma 2007-2010 (2007).

Traditional editorial standards and the digital edition

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Typology

The practices of editing texts from different periods are governed by different sets of dominant and challenging theoretical paradigms. This seems to be corroborated by a recent study on textual multiplicity and radical philology in editing classics by Sean Alexander Gurd (Gurd 2005). In *Iphigenias at Aulis. Textual Multiplicity, Radical Philology* Gurd focuses on the central question: how should a classical literary scholar approach a text characterized not by stability, but by variation and flux? Although this important theoretical question has been in the centre of many debates on modern textual scholarship applied to modern texts over the last decades, very few of the theorists who, say, publish in *Studies in Bibliography*, *Variants*, *Text*, *Genesis*, or *Editio* – yearbooks and journals that are mainly concerned with textual scholarship of modern and early modern texts – and in the anthologies that have appeared since the mid-1980s, are quoted in Gurd's bibliography. On the other hand, Dirk Van Hulle's *Textual Awareness*, a genetic study of late manuscripts by Joyce, Proust, and Mann, includes a seminal part on traditions in editorial theory but hardly mentions any theorist of classical textual criticism (Van Hulle, 2004a). The same absence of cross-fertilization can be observed in studies concerning the edition of texts from other periods such as, for instance, the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.

Given the central aim of textual scholarship, that is providing the humanities with the foundational data for any sensible statement about texts, it is not surprising that these different theoretical paradigms correspond more or less with the conventional organisation of the literature departments at our universities. From the point of view of the analysis and the interpretation of the text, scholarly editing is an auxiliary discipline to literary scholarship and thus follows the latter's specializations with their own theoretical and methodological evolutions. However, the intensity of contacts between literary and textual critics can hardly be underestimated (Van Hulle 2004a, 2).

Textual scholarship is further fragmented by the development of different theories and methods based on author-, language-, audience-, and text-specific criteria. As a consequence, there is no single theoretical paradigm for textual scholarship across all traditions, periods, languages, and authors. Also, there is no universally applicable taxonomy of editorial types. This issue that is discussed in the first part of this essay leads to a discussion about the nature of the digital edition later on.

As Heinrich Meyer has argued in his study on *Edition und Ausgabentypologie* the 'ausgabentypologische Terminologiewirrwarr' (Meyer 1992, 17) is the result of a methodological pluralism both inside and across editorial traditions. In

this book, Meyer surveyed the literature on textual scholarship in Germany in the twentieth century and listed more than forty names for different types of editions that were used.

The perception in the Dutch school that German editorial theory, apart from the archive edition, is concerned with a neat three-part hierarchic typology consisting of the (1) historical-critical edition, (2) the study edition, and (3) the reading edition is an opportunistic reduction of the reality of German editorial theory and practice. This selective perspective has been firmly established by Marita Mathijsen's *Naar de letter. Handboek editiewetenschap* (Mathijsen 1997) to which editors in the Dutch speaking countries often refer. In this book, which has been used as a textbook in university courses on textual scholarship, the author presents a deliberate simplification of several types of scholarly editions and proposes a simple and unified terminology for Dutch speaking academics that is mainly based on the writings of only two theoreticians, namely the German Klaus Kanzog (Kanzog 1970) and the Swiss Hans Zeller (Zeller 1985). This handbook also speaks briefly of the Anglo-American editions that are produced in compliance with the copy-text theory and presents them as a virtual unified type which carries the approval of the Committee on Scholarly Editions of the Modern Language Association of America (Mathijsen 1997, 73-74). The reality is, again, much richer – and much more complex – than represented by Mathijsen's book. David Greetham, for instance, describes nine possible types of scholarly editions in his book *Textual Scholarship. An Introduction* (Greetham 1994, 347-372).

The negative comment another Dutch textual scholar, Fabian Stolk, made on the typical Flemish 'text-critical edition' may serve as an illustration of the impact of Mathijsen's handbook in the Netherlands. The *text-critical edition* presents itself explicitly as a reading edition, but contains elements which are traditionally found in a study edition, for instance concise annotations and the textual essay containing chapters on the genetic history of the text, on the transmission of the text and the bibliographic description of the extant witnesses, and on the editorial principles. The textual essay is written from the perspective of the reader who wants to be informed about the reading text rather than from the perspective of the textual scholar who wants to demonstrate the results of his research. The editor who prepares a text-critical edition makes eclectic use of Anglo-American theories for the theory and concept of the critical text which is the reconstruction of the historical state of a document, German theories for the establishment of the text and the genetic component of the justification of the emendations from the sources, and French theories for the genetic study of the textual history.[1] According to Stolk there is no such thing as a text-critical edition because, he argues, neither Marita Mathijsen nor Gerrit Dorleijn (another Dutch theorist) nor Hans Zeller

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1. Again, see Van Hulle (2004a, 15-47) for a concise overview of these three traditional schools.

mention this edition type in their writings.[2] But others do. Waltraud Hagen in his *Handbuch der Editionen*, for instance, defines the critical edition as a light version of the historical-critical edition and calls it one of the four 'Grundtypen' (Hagen 1979, 8) of editorial praxis. The text-critical edition in use in Flanders from the late 1990s onwards, however, more closely approximates the 'Textkritische Leseausgabe' mentioned in Heinrich Meyer's study as one of the types in use in German editorial praxis.[3]

A further problem with the typologies in use in editorial theory is the mixing of several perspectives in one taxonomy.[4] Historical-critical, for instance, refers both to the method used to create the edition as to the format in which that edition comes before the user. The study-edition and reading edition, on the other hand, address the intended audience in their naming. Whereas the copy-text edition refers to a specific theory of establishing a text, the types of scholarly editions Greetham mentions mainly refer to the format or appearance of the edition, such as 'parallel print edition', 'variorum edition', or 'type facsimile edition', or to a combination of format and method such as 'Eclectic Clear-Text Edition with Multiple Apparatus' (Greetham 1994, 383). Further possible typologies can be drawn from the extension of treatment of the material (complete works, regest edition, archive edition) or from the publication medium. The latter results in the least useful typology of scholarly editions. Here we have print edition, hybrid edition, and electronic edition.

Especially this last one – the electronic edition – is often presented as a meaningful class. In *Editionen zu deutschsprachigen Autoren als Spiegel der Editionsgeschichte* (Nutt-Kofoth and Plachta 2005), for instance, Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth and Bodo Plachta as editors of this volume arrange twenty discussions of editions of different authors alphabetically and conclude the book with a chapter on electronic editions. Although this essay on electronic editions by Fotis Jannidis (Jannidis 2005) presents a useful overview of the history of electronic editions in Germany, its function in the structure of the book is nonsensical. Moreover, electronic edition as a type is widely used to name almost anything which is available in electronic format. It is true that '[t]exts on screen look remarkably alike, despite profound differences in quality' (Shillingsburg 2006, 87). A sad example is the *édition électronique* of the correspondence of René Descartes which is nothing more than a 35 page MSWord file which has been made available online.[5]

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2. Stolk (2005) and my personal communication with Fabian Stolk.
3. The text-critical edition is mainly practised by the Royal Academy of Dutch Language and Literature's Centre for Scholarly Editing and Document Studies. Published examples are the text-critical editions of Stijn Streuvels *De teleurgang van den Waterhoek* (1999); Hendrik Conscience *De leeuw van Vlaenderen* (2002); Stijn Streuvels *Levensbloesem* (2003); and Johan Daisne *De trein der traagheid* (2004).
4. See also Göttsche (2000) on this issue.
5. http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Descartes/correspondance/descartes_correspondance.doc

Method or tool?

The danger of a normative typology and hence a rigid theoretical frame for textual scholarship is that it establishes its principles firmly without allowing the advancement of its theories, methodologies, and practices. However, as a scholarly discipline, scholarly editing should be interested in both its own establishment and its continuous advancement. This seemingly paradoxical attitude may lead to the perception and treatment of the use of computational techniques in scholarly editing as a mere application of a specific methodology involving the digital paradigm to the established foundations of the discipline. In other words, this may lead to the assessment of electronic scholarly editing as offering just another publication medium to textual scholarship. It is in this sense that we should read Roland Kamzelak's rejection of some years ago of a new theoretical framework for scholarly editing in view of the digital edition and his suggestion that the use of computers in the production and publication of a scholarly edition only requires an adapted editorial practice:

> Die Frage, ob wir eine neue Editionswissenschaft angesichts von Hypermedia brauchen, kann man verneinen, wenn man das Edieren von Hypertexten ausschließt. Doch angesichts von Hypermedia ist eine neue Editionspraxis gefordert, die sich den neuen Präsentationsmöglichkeiten stellt und die damit verbundenen Probleme löst. (Kamzelak 1999, 125)

This stance suggests that electronic or digital scholarly editions are simply electronic appearances of scholarly editions and that the changed medium needs to be addressed only in terms of publication technology from the side of the editor – Kamzelak says 'Präsentationsart' (Kamzelak 2000, 65) – and probably reading technology from the side of the user. G. Thomas Tanselle, in his recent introduction to the MLA volume *Electronic Textual Editing,* agrees with Kamzelak's belief that printed and electronic scholarly editions are not ontologically different. This stance is in fact an extrapolation of his conception of text whose '[p]rinted and electronic renderings are thus not ontologically different; they may be made of different physical materials, but the conceptual status of the texts in each case is identical.' (Tanselle 2006, 6).

What must be considered in the ontological question, however, is not the rendering of the author's text or the edited work, but the text of the edition as scholarly product. Therefore, Tanselle's claim that '[p]rocedures and routines will be different; concepts and issues will not.' (Tanselle 2006, 6), or in other words that editorial theories will maintain the same even if the electronic future of scholarly editing will change the editorial practices is dubious. This is true, surely, when the electronic edition as rendered pixels (*Präsentationsart*) is compared to the printed edition and as long as these procedures and routines obey the conventional editorial theories and their rigid taxonomies of types of editions.

In what follows, I explain why I believe Roland Kamzelak and Thomas Tanselle are fundamentally wrong in their analysis of electronic scholarly editing and I illustrate my points with a couple of examples from my past and my ongoing editorial research and products.

Modelling

From the point of view of humanities computing, scholarly editing constitutes an interesting case in which a cluster of interdisciplinary computational methods and tools is developed and used to further the traditional goals of textual scholarship and to rethink textual scholarship from a digital reality. In the application of computational techniques to the humanities, the computer is not *just* a tool but a modelling and communication device that incorporates many tools (McCarty 1994, 275-276; 1999; 2001, 2; 2005, 26-27; Unsworth 2000; 2002). Overemphasizing the computational aspect of using the computer in textual scholarship 'Computergestützte Text-Edition' (Kamzelak 1999a) developed at the end of the 1990s as a neutral term for both the computer assisted edition that appears in print and on screen (Kamzelak 1999a, 2). What is interesting, however, is not the degree to which the computer can assist the editor in creating and publishing an edition, but the intentional artefacts which are built by using the computer as a modelling tool. They are instrumental in two crucial activities of humanities research, that is, the discovery of meaning and the making of meaning.

Willard McCarty defines modelling as 'the heuristic process of constructing and manipulating models'. A model, McCarty takes to be either 'a representation of something for purposes of study' (denotative model) or 'a design for realizing something new' (exemplary model).[6] (McCarty 2003c; 2004, 255; 2005, 24). The purpose of modelling is never to establish the truth directly, but it 'is to achieve failure so as to raise and point the question of how we know what we know' (McCarty 1999), 'what we do not know', and 'to give us what we do not yet have.' (McCarthy 2004, 255): for instance, a theory of electronic scholarly editing.

Before we elaborate on the function of the computer as a modelling tool in scholarly editing and its theoretical implications, I first need to introduce what I believe are the three possible ways to produce an electronic scholarly edition:

– *Digitizing* an existing print edition.

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6. The relationship between the two kinds of models is circular, as McCarty (2003c) observes: 'Thus the model *of* something [*denotative model, EV*] becomes a model *for* a new form of it [*exemplary model, EV*], when exploration of the modelled object leads to an altered understanding of what it is, hence toward a new object for exploration. Similarly, the model *for* becomes a model *of* when the thing is realized.' On modelling in humanities computing, see especially McCarty's recent contributions on the subject which reference and discuss much of the available literature (McCarty 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2004; 2005, 20-72), and Beynon *et al.* (2006) for an elaboration on McCarty's writings. For the original concept of *models of* and *for*, see Geertz (1973, 87-125, esp. 93-94).

- *Creating* an electronic edition e.g. by recording some or all of the known variations among different witnesses to the text in a critical apparatus of variants.
- *Generating* electronic editions from encoded transcriptions of the documentary source material.

Digitizing

When *digitizing* an existing print edition, the digital product will indeed only establish a digital appearance of the printed edition, as Kamzelak and Tanselle argue, and apart from the added hypertext functionality there will be no difference between the two products except in materiality. Here, the electronic edition is a denotative model, not of the documentary textual material presented by the printed edition, but of the corresponding printed edition itself, that is the presentation of the documentary material. As such it alienates us of what the real object of study in textual scholarship should be, namely the text(s). This is problematic when the digitised edition boasts its scholarly status.

Creating

When *creating* an electronic edition, however, the editor or creator of the edition can opt for one of two choices. The first choice is the digitisation of the *virtual* print edition that only exists in the mind of the creator. This virtual edition often mimics an existing type of scholarly edition and obeys the governing editorial theories. The second choice exploits the electronic medium as an experimental modelling device that can challenge and combine conventional theories and create something which could not have existed outside the electronic context. The first choice again results in a denotative model, the second in a much more interesting exemplary model that does not need to correspond with any conventional type of scholarly edition.

With the electronic-critical edition of Stijn Streuvels's *De teleurgang van den Waterhoek* published in 2000 (De Smedt and Vanhoutte 2000), Marcel De Smedt and I chose to do the latter. In this edition, we combined two critical texts – a sociological choice (Vanhoutte 2000) – with an archive of six versions of the text, three of which were presented in full text, and the other three were presented in digital facsimiles. According to the Anglo-American theorists of that time such as Jerome McGann, Peter Shillingsburg, or Thomas Tanselle, this could have been called an electronic archive or a documentary edition.[7]

However, we included not one but two critical reading texts. For their constitution we did not follow the Anglo-American copy-text theory, but introduced the

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7. Whereas Tanselle in 1991 still argued that editors always have to make a choice for a critical or a documentary edition (Tanselle, 1991, 143), the technological possibilities for scholarly editing made him revisit this statement in 1995 when he pleaded in favour of the 'inseparability' of both supposedly excluding choices (Tanselle, 1995, 581). This evolution in Tanselle's thinking is also noticed by Van Hulle (2004a, 43).

German theory that only allows justified corrections of manifest mistakes in the edited text. But we diverted from this tradition by not including an electronic version of a traditional apparatus variorum that presents and orders the archive from the point of view of one text only. Instead, each paragraph of all of the versions of the text included in the edition, whether represented in full text or in digital facsimile, could be consulted on their own or in any combination with what we called 'the orientation text'. By doing so, we offered the users the possibility to organise their own visual collations of the versions they were interested in from an orientation text of their own choice.[8] The underlying rationale was to enable the reading and study of multiple texts and corroborate the case for textual qualifications such as variation, instability, and genetic (ontologic/teleologic) dynamism.

Further, with this edition, we aimed to put together a *dossier génétique* by including the digital facsimiles of the complete manuscript, and the author's copies of the prepublication and the first print edition with lots of authorial alterations, plus an edition of 71 letters from Streuvels's correspondence about the writing and publishing history of this novel. This material was supplemented by a detailed genetic reconstruction of the novel's history, bibliographical descriptions of all of the extant sources in the textual tradition, and a glossary list to the text.

This edition presented itself to the user as a convenient package to which they could add and exchange user-controlled hypertext links and annotations to and across all of the material included in the edition. Together with the publication of the electronic edition on CD-Rom which aimed at students and academics, a text-critical reading edition in print was published in order to reach a larger readership and make this classical title of Flemish literature available again.

Confronted with the theoretical eclecticism we had employed to build our model of another kind of edition and with new concepts such as 'orientation text' and 'linkeme' the reviewers of our edition ran against the limitations of the rigid theories and typologies of scholarly editions (De Bruijn 2001; Stolk 2001; Verkruijsse 2001; O'Donnel 2002; Van der Weel 2002). They lamented, for instance, the fact that it was not a historical-critical edition because it lacked an apparatus variorum, or they 'degraded' our edition to a reading edition because some of the typical constituent parts of a study-edition as described by the Dutch handbook by Mathijsen were absent.

In parallel with the unease the reviewers feel with the term 'text-critical' the critics of this 'electronic-critical edition' felt this was a nonsensical term in the light of the contemporary editorial theories. Also, according to these critics, it could not qualify as an electronic scholarly edition for which they called upon the writings of Peter Shillingsburg and Thomas Tanselle. In a couple of descriptive essays and guidelines for electronic scholarly editing which were based on utopic ideals or visionary insights rather than on real editorial practice, these theorists required such an edition to provide both a full accurate transcription and a full digital image of

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8. In creating this edition we opted for a single collation unit (i.e. the paragraph) instead of doing multiple collations at different levels of granularity.

each source text (Tanselle 1995, 591; 1996, 54; Shillingsburg 1996, 27-28). Our edition did not do this exhaustively.

What our edition did do, however, was challenging the conventional frame of mind with which the reviewers, all of whom had a traditional editorial background, perceived the edition. The edition was far from perfect, but I still believe it was the closest approximation to an exemplary model of an electronic edition we could create, given the budget, the time, and the available technology back in the late 1990s. By provoking the reviews mentioned here, the model succeeded in demonstrating its failures and it served us well in pointing at what we did not know, both about the text and about the electronic edition.

As an intentionally created product of experimental modelling, this edition allowed us to liberate ourselves from the yoke of conventional theories and it offered us the opportunity to explore *creating* an electronic edition as a step towards *generating* one.

Generating

When *generating* an edition, the editor can again choose between two options. In the first choice, the editor explores the possibilities of the computer as an experimental modelling device in the research phase preceding the publication of the edition. The content, format, and interface of that edition is not deliberately created by the editor, but generated from the source data by procedures[9] that model the editor's theory of the text and the edition. The difference between these two modes – creating and generating – is not purely a technological one, but has some theoretical implications for textual scholarship that I address further on. This kind of pre-generated edition is clearly a denotative model.

The second choice provides *the user* of the edition with the opportunity to explore the computer as an experimental modelling device after the publication of the edition. The scholarly status of such an edition is not its specific function, form of appearance, method, or compliance with one conventionally defined type, but the scholarly status of its text for which the encoding and procedures are responsible together with the publishing environment used. This means that the technical documentation of the DTD, schemata, transformations, stylesheets, and software become essential parts of the scholarly edition.[10] This also means that the scholarly status of such an electronic edition is independent of whether it is arrived at by critical or non-critical editing or transcription, or whether it is presented as a sequential or a non-sequential text.[11] A further consequence is that the editors,

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9. By procedures I mean the set of instructions formalized as XSLT and XQuery scripts that drive the generation process of the scholarly edition.

10. The latest version of the MLA's 'Guiding questions for vetters of scholarly editions' includes questions on the presence of such documentation (questions 23.2; 26.1; 26.3; 26.4; 27.3) (CSE-MLA, 2006, 23 - 34).

11. It is tempting to take Kanzog's basic criterion – whether the text is critically established or not – as the real distinctive feature of a scholarly edition but this is in contradiction with my

although they remain responsible for the scholarly content of the whole edition, cannot claim anymore that they checked everything the user will generate, read, and use.

With respect to this latter consequence, a brief discussion of the electronic edition of Johan Daisne's *De trein der traagheid* (The train of inertia) (Van den Branden *et al.* 2007) may serve as an illustration. Just as the characters of this surrealist novella experience the consequences of the weird application of the law of inertia to life by living on in a setting where time has stopped, the users of the edition can go on experimenting and generating their own perspective on the textual history after the editors have stopped doing so.

The edition presents a critically established reading text and nineteen versions of the novella from its print history. The result of the collation of all versions is documented according to the TEI parallel segmentation method inside a master XML file that also contains all editorial annotations. This guarantees the completely equal treatment of each version of the text in the generating processes invoked by the user. Through the interface of the edition, the user can exploit the underlying TEI encoding by selecting any version and generate three possible views of the texts: XML for analysis, XHTML for consultation on the screen, and pdf for printing out as a reading edition. Any version can also be combined with any combination of any number of witnesses. The variation can be displayed in a lemmatized apparatus variorum which can be reoriented from the point of view of any included witness.

This allows the user to generate 10,485,760 possible editions of the complete text of the novella and when taken into account that editions for each separate chapter can be generated as well, this figure is multiplied by 35 which gives a total of 367,001,600 possible editions.[12] These editions can again be exported to XML, XHTML, or pdf. Any number of versions can also be displayed in parallel with each other[13] and the respective lists of variants can be generated on the fly.[14] The editions are fully searchable, and the search results can be displayed in multiple renderings amongst which a KWIC concordance format. One does not need to be a nuclear scientist to understand that maintaining in control of each and every possible edition, view, or perspective the user can generate, becomes an impossible task for the editor.

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views on non-critical editing as explained elsewhere. Whether the edition presents additional con-text-ualizing materials gathered and researched according to articulated methodological principles and presented in one or other typological model are in my opinion not decisive. Neither is its orientation towards a scholarly or a non-scholarly audience.

12. The formula to calculate the possible editions one can generate from n number of witnesses given that there is always one witness that functions as the orientation text and that the orientation text can never be collated against itself, is $n \times 2^{n-1}$.

13. This technological possibility is constrained by the limited dimensions of the screen.

14. The edition is powered by MORKEL, a dedicated suite of open source XML-aware parsers, processors, and engines combined with appropriate XSLT and XSLFO scripts.

Theoretical implications

The electronic edition of *De trein der traagheid* deliberately puts some central concepts and issues of conventional textual scholarship in crisis. Amongst them the base text, the edited text, the textual apparatus, and the variant. All of these concepts are dependent on the static perception of the scholarly edition.

As Dirk Van Hulle explains in his essay 'Compositional Variants in Modern Manuscripts': 'Traditional scholarly editing focused on a text's afterlife, choosing a copy-text in order to edit and use it as the 'invariant' against which all other versions could be compared; the variants were presented in an apparatus variorum' (Van Hulle 2004b, 514). This traditional perspective is still present in the recently published *Guidelines for Editors of Scholarly Editions* of the MLA's Committee on Scholarly Editions. According to these guidelines, the basic task is 'to present a reliable text' and the edition commonly includes 'appropriate textual apparatus or notes documenting alterations and variant readings of the text' (CSE-MLA 2006, 23-24). In this general perspective, the 'reliable text' as invariant preconditions the textual apparatus.

To overcome the argument in mainly genetic criticism that one cannot use the term 'variant' when there is no 'invariant' to differ from, Van Hulle introduces the idea of *relative calibration* by which 'one does not need an invariant to compare a variant with another variant.' (Van Hulle 2004b, 514) This new concept of relative calibration frees the scholarly edition from stringent formal expectations considering the textual apparatus and creates the opportunity to explore generation as a valid production mode of electronic scholarly editions.

In the edition of *De trein der traagheid*, the master TEI compliant XML file results from a collation procedure and documents all readings from all transmissional versions using the parallel segmentation method.[15] This allows us to consider all variants equally as location variants on a vertical axis. As can be observed from the quoted markup fragment, there is no preferred reading documented in this encoding as the critical text (*leestekst*) proposed by the editors is treated as yet another transmissional variant.

```
<app id="d0e601">
<rdg wit="61D 63P 63Pm 63D 64D 68P 68D 70D 72D 74D 75D 76D 77D lees
tekst ">ik er een hele tijd alleen</rdg>
<rdg wit="48P 48Pm 48T ">ik een hele tijd alleen er</rdg>
<rdg wit="50P 50Pm 50D ">in een hele tijd alleen er</rdg>
</app>
```

---

15. See chapter 19 'Critical Apparatus' in Sperberg-McQueen and Burnard (2002) (esp. '19.2.3 The Parallel Segmentation Method').

This critical text is included in order to provide the readers and users with a reliable and quotable text, not to provide the edition with an invariant text around which all possible variants could be organised by the editor. The decision of the invariant is completely left to the user who can select any historical state of the text as orientation text and any combination of versions of the text for inclusion in the dynamic collation. As a result of this request, the MORKEL system that drives the electronic edition generates the chosen orientation text and renders it as a palimpsest hiding all other selected versions and unveiling them on request through the generated linkemes which are the location variants. From this rendering, an apparatus variorum including only the selected witnesses can be generated on request. The orientation of the generated electronic edition can be changed from within this apparatus. Therefore, a variant version in this apparatus is selected to become the invariant orientation text around which the other witnesses, including the former invariant, are organised as variants.

This dynamic feature challenges the concept of the scholarly edition as a stable documentation of variation and undermines any conventional typology of absolute classes of variation such as punctuation, orthographic, semantic, typographic, or case variants. A variant in the textual apparatus of one selection disappears or changes classes in the textual apparatus of another selection or in a reorientation of the text-apparatus paradigm. Consider, for example, the following variant lines of text:

A: Here are the bells ringing.
B: Hear are the bells ringing.
C: Hear are the bells singing.
D: hear are the bells singing.
E: here are the bells ringing.

When A is the invariant, then 'Hear' in B and C are two orthographic and semantic variants, 'hear' in D is an orthographic, semantic, and case variant, and 'here' in E is a case variant. When the invariant is B, however, 'Here' in A is an orthographic and semantic variant, 'Hear' in C is not a variant anymore, 'hear' in D is a case variant, and 'here' in E is an orthographic, a semantic, and a case variant. In the case of the last word ('ringing' or 'singing'), when A is the invariant, B and E do not have variant readings, whereas C and D have an orthographic and semantic variant. When D becomes the invariant, A and B have an orthographic and semantic variant, and C does not have a variant reading.

In order to be useful, the conventional absolute classification of variants has to be replaced by a relative classification which depends on the specific moment of calibration. This means that the class to which a variant belongs is no property of the variant proper, but of the orientation of the set of witnesses in the collation. When this orientation and/or the set of witnesses change, the relative classification

changes as well. Recording each class for each possible relationship each location variant can have with all corresponding location variants from the other witnesses is therefore the closest approximation to an explicit classification one can aim for.

As noted before, in the edition of *De trein der traagheid* the function of the supplied edited text is not to provide the invariant that determines the orientation of the apparatus variorum. The apparatus changes dynamically according to the choice of the orientation text which is no fixed base anymore, but a temporary peg on which to hang the variants. The variants are calibrated relatively depending on the choices of the user.

This also has implications for the contents and organisation of the textual essay accompanying the electronic edition. According to conventional editorial theories, this edition would at least need twenty editorial statements, one for each possible orientation text with its maximal textual apparatus. Instead, it gives editorial principles for the critical text and for the non-critical texts which can be generated by the edition.

Classification

Considering all this, is it correct to assume that the advent of the computer in scholarly editing has just altered the ways textual data are processed and do not have any influence on the governing theories of scholarly editing and textual scholarship? Or by extrapolation, is it true that humanities computing, to which electronic scholarly editing belongs, is a mere application of the computer as a tool to traditional scholarly disciplines and their problems? I have argued here on the contrary that the computer as an experimental modelling device *has* altered editorial theories and modes, even for non-digital scholarly editing.

Accepting this does not impose a threat on traditional disciplines. On the contrary, it reaffirms these disciplines in their importance, but calls for a modernization and adjustment from new theoretical insights. This is best illustrated by the gradual shift in interest in textual scholarship over the last decades from bibliographical authority and editorial control to dynamic concepts of creation, production, process, and collaboration, and from the 'definitive' edition to the socialized textual multiplicity demonstrated by current products of textual scholarship. Further, as a condition for an interest in variation, the invariants have to be defined and studied meticulously, which results in a renewed interest in the material manifestations of texts and works and in an increase of the importance of book history and historical reception studies as we experience it nowadays. Eventually we will see a return to analytical bibliography as a means to both describe the sources on which an electronic edition is built and the electronic edition proper (Lavagnino, 1996; Dahlström, 2002; Kirschenbaum, 2002; Van der Weel, 2005). The latter application of analytical bibliography could profit, as John Lavagnino (1996) and Matthew Kirschenbaum (2005) have suggested, from computer forensics.

As Marilyn Deegan has argued, 'the electronic edition is itself another version of the text [...] it is merely another witness in the life of a text, not the final witness, and must be preserved in some form as that witness.' (Deegan, 2006, 358). If the electronic edition wants to fulfil the central aim of textual scholarship cited at the beginning of this essay, then it should provide stability of citation over time or reproducibility which is fundamental for scholarship. This has two further implications. First, the libraries and memory institutions entrusted with the care for our cultural heritage should find operable solutions for the preservation and useful classification of these electronic editions, so that access to them is guaranteed over time. If we consider the electronic edition a cultural artefact consisting of data, metadata, links, programs, and interface, as Deegan proposes (Deegan, 2006, 366), we can imagine the complexity of the procedures involved in this preservation, for instance in the case of constantly updated on-line or networked editions or when Shillingsburg's idea of 'knowledge sites' (Shillingsburg, 2006) would become the default mode for electronic editions. Second, the editor or publisher should find a system to validate the authenticity of every publication or (re-)release of an electronic edition. For that purpose there is a need for some integrated scheme by which editors of electronic editions can describe their edition according to several parameters.

Consider an on-line tool which allows the publishing authority – being the editor, the publisher, the supervising scholar or someone else – to input details of the electronic edition by means of filling out a form that atomizes the characteristics of the electronic edition in five classes of infrastructural, functional, social, structural, and technical subclasses.[16] This way, a description of the electronic edition can be constructed with information on Deegan's five constituent parts of an electronic edition next to a documentation of the edition's method, intended audience, content, format, encoding, technology, function, and functionality. Once the edition is described according to these parameters, two results are displayed. First a descriptive classification code is generated that can be included in the published edition. This classification code is an alphanumerical string that exactly describes the electronic edition from multiple perspectives. Second, metacode is generated which can be used for inclusion in the edition. The metacode is a well-formed XML instance in a dedicated namespace. Alternatively, a given notation can be input and decoded to a representation of its contents in the form of a filled out form. This way, it is possible for users of an electronic edition to know exactly what kind of edition they are dealing with and what they may expect from the edition.

The classification generator can be accessed freely for the decoding of notation schemes. For the coding of notation schemes, however, there is a registration procedure which attributes an authority code to the registrant. This is a unique authority ID which identifies the authority in the system. Upon logging in, the

16 These classes are based on a taxonomy and controlled vocabulary that has to be agreed on by a wide community.

registrant sees an overview of their registered editions and has the option to revisit registered editions' descriptive notations, or to register a new edition. Upon the latter choice, the bibliographical details of the electronic edition must be submitted. On submission of these details, an accumulated number based on the amount of registered editions by this authority is added to the bibliographical description. The authority ID and the accumulated number together form the authority code that identifies the edition's title description and publishing authority. Users of the classification generator can then look up the corresponding authority and bibliographical description of the edition from the database.

Since current bibliographic classification schemes are suited for the classification of electronic editions, and since the descriptive classification proposed here does not deal with the subject of the text, an existing bibliographic classification notation can be added to the full notation. This notation is, however, not interpreted by the classification generator. Bliss Classification (BL), Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC), Library of Congress Classification (LCC), or Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) notations can be used and are preceded by their respective abbreviation in the full notation which then includes the authority code, an existing bibliographic classification code, and a descriptive classification code.

The classification generator serves at least five goals. First, it liberates the field of electronic scholarly editing from the conventional text-editorial theories with their rigid and inconsistent prescriptive typologies. Instead the classification generator atomizes the different facets of the electronic edition and presents the sum total of this documentation as a description of the product. Second, the user confronted with an electronic edition gets a detailed description of the kind of electronic edition they are using on inputting the classification code in the classification generator. Third, the generated metacode can be inserted in the electronic edition and may serve data harvesting enterprises when input in on-line editions. Fourth, the codes derived from the classification generator can be of use for an (analytical) bibliography of electronic editions. The description of an improved re-release of an electronic edition will generate a different classification code which could be collated against the codes of other releases of the same edition. Fifth, an analysis of the database will not only allow theorists of electronic scholarship and bibliographers of new media to perform interesting forms of analysis on its contents, it will also provide the field with data about what they are about.

Conclusion

With respect to electronic scholarly editing, there is a need for well-described and diverse new theories, for instance concerning generated editions. Over the last decade or so, editorial theorists have started to generate theoretical insights from case studies and production processes in the digital world that concern digitisation and creation, not generation, as a way to produce electronic scholarly editions. This leads to the unbalanced situation in which conventional editorial theory,

which is primarily designed as prescriptive theory for print editions, is used as a theoretical basis for electronic editions, which then form case studies for descriptive analyses of editorial practices in the electronic paradigm.

These new editorial theories must move away from the far too static concept of absolute calibration in the organisation of the edited text and the record of variation, and instead embrace concepts such as relative calibration, orientation text, location variants, and linkemes.

Together with the development of these new editorial theories, we have to think about ways to preserve the cultural and scholarly function of the electronic edition as a digital-born artefact. This implies the development of strategies for the preservation, maintenance of access, bibliographical description, and validation of its authenticity, for which this essay describes some proposals.

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The technical backbone of the Emblem Project Utrecht

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This paper is concerned with the technical backbone of the Emblem Project Utrecht (EPU). The backbone – the computer hardware and software – allows for the realisation of the basic aim of the project: the digitisation of about 25 Dutch love emblem books, from Daniël Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit amor* (circa 1601) to Jan Suderman's *De godlievende ziel* (1724). The second aim of this project is no less important than the first: to reflect, based on practical experience, on the consequences of the digitisation of historical literary material. These consequences range from changes in how this material can be made accessible to, presumably, fundamental changes in scholarly research.

In a digitisation project like the EPU, the technical details of the digitisation process are tightly intertwined with the consequences of that process for the scholar using the digitised editions of the emblem books. These consequences in particular, and the broader consequences of digitisation of historical material in general, cannot be surveyed without a certain insight into the technical details behind digitisation projects. In this paper I will go into the technical setup used for the EPU, trying to explain some of the design choices made and elaborate on the practical and scholarly consequences of those choices.

Encoding seventeenth-century emblem books

At the start of the project, Peter Boot (co-creator of the project) argued for the use of public standards in order to ensure the long-term accessibility and usability of the digital material created by the EPU. In 'Accessing emblems using XML: Digitisation Practice at the Emblems Project Utrecht' (Boot 2004), Boot elaborates on the encoding techniques used for the EPU: XML for the syntax of the encoding of tags, and the *TEI Guidelines* for the vocabulary of the tags and their implementation. Using a few well-chosen examples, Boot describes how in a plain-text file, containing the transcription of one emblem in one of the emblem books of the EPU corpus, specific labels are added to specific pieces of information. These labels, or 'tags', follow the XML-syntax. They are therefore enclosed by angle brackets ('<' and '>'), have a specific, descriptive name and may contain so-called 'attributes'. A single piece of information enclosed by such tags constitutes a single XML-element, as shown below:

```
<title>Amoris divini et humani antipathia</title>
```

XML supports the nesting of elements. Consider the line group (starting with

the **`<lg>`**-tag and ending with the **`</lg>`**-tag) consisting of multiple lines (enclosed by the **`<l>`**- and **`</l>`**-tags), and the XML encoding of the emblem text will look like this:

```
<lg>
<l>Petits pescheurs, que ie vois à l'enuie</l>
<l>Pescher tous deux, dites-moi, ie vous prie,</l>
<l>Quel est l'appas pour prendre ces pois-sons?</l>
<l>Le seul Amour est leur vnique amorce,</l>
<l>Qui les contraint d'vne amoureuse force</l>
<l>A s'engager dedans nos hameçons.</l>
</lg>
```

What the encoding looks like – e.g. the angle brackets, the opening and closing tag combination – is governed by the XML specification. What is not specified by XML, is *which* particular tags can be used. This choice is up to the user. This is why XML is called a metalanguage: it is a language for describing nothing more than the syntax of an encoding language – the *vocabulary* of the encoding language is outside of its scope.

One can easily see that in that freedom there is potential chaos. In the example above, for the encoding of a group of lines there is no real argument for using the `<lg>`-tag over, for instance, the (hypothetical) `<linegroup>`-tag. And, while we are at it, why not come up with the better readable `<LineGroup>`-tag? Indeed, one could devise a complete set of custom tags, designed specifically for a single, one-time-only digitisation project. However, such a set probably would not be of much use for anything or anyone else, and would thus raise all sorts of compatibility issues.

This is where the *Guidelines* from the Text Encoding Initiative Consortium (TEI-C)[1] come in place. The TEI-C proposes a vocabulary for the digitisation of literary and linguistic material, together with extensive guidelines on how to use and implement it. The TEI-C's goals are to provide a vocabulary that is extensive enough to be of use to the majority – if not all – of digitisation projects in the humanities. In other words: with the TEI vocabulary, we are able to use the same 'words' to designate our segments of transcribed textual material – we are able to speak the same language. With such a common language across multiple humanities digitisation projects, we have passed the first hurdle (isolation), and are moving towards interoperability and interconnectivity.

Splitting the emblem

In digitisation projects the systematical approach that the computer demands bestows a certain level of rigidity or formality on the age-old practice of text annota-

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1 http://www.tei-c.org/

tion – enriching text by adding 'metatext'. In *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, Allen H. Renear provides a clear overview of the emergence and the advantages of the practice of adding tags to the constituents of a text – the so-called 'descriptive markup approach'. These advantages are so many and so diverse (Renear provides an extensive list) that some people have suggested that, as Renear writes, 'it was not simply a handy way of working with text, but that it was rather in some sense deeply, profoundly, *correct*'. It leads to the particularly cogent model of text as an 'Ordered Hierarchy of Content Objects':

The model in question postulates that text consists of objects of a certain sort, structured in a certain way. The nature of the objects is best suggested by example and contrast. They are chapters, sections, paragraphs, titles, extracts, equations, examples, acts, scenes, stage directions, stanzas, (verse) lines, and so on. But they are not things like pages, columns, (typographical) lines, font shifts, vertical spacing, horizontal spacing, and so on.[2]

Equal pragmatism was needed for the digitisation of the EPU emblems: what details form an integral part of an emblem (according to current emblem theory, that is), and thus need to be encoded? What details, on the other hand, are of less or even no interest to emblem scholars? Renear continues, providing a provisional, practical standpoint:

'The objects indicated by descriptive markup have an intrinsic direct connection with the intellectual content of the text; they are the underlying 'logical' objects, components that get their identity directly from their role in carrying out and organizing communicative intention. The structural arrangement of these 'content objects' seems to be hierarchical – they nest in one another without overlap. Finally, they obviously also have a linear order as well: if a section contains three paragraphs, the first paragraph precedes the second, which in turn precedes the third'.[3] (Renear 2004)

The EPU more or less followed this practice. All of the emblem books in its corpus are encoded using XML and the TEI vocabulary. The XML/TEI-combination provides for independence of the underlying technical platform used. Its widespread use and active user base combine the greatest number of possible uses with the best chances of having the encoded data survive the inevitable technological advances that time will bring. With the 'descriptive markup approach' also comes the perspective of texts – emblem books, in the case of the EPU – as the above mentioned 'ordered hierarchies of content objects'. Each emblem book is divided into texts (marked by 'text'-tags) – one text for each emblem. Further refinement of the tagging is done by classifying all discernible emblem elements (its *motto*, *pictura*, *subscriptio*, quotations, et cetera) and tagging each element as such ('div', for 'division'). The TEI guidelines provide the universal vocabulary for these specific elements. The data file that follows from the tagging process contains the

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2 Renear 2004.
3 Renear 2004.

original transcription of the emblem book, enhanced with the XML-tags that surround the pieces of text that form the individual emblems and its mottoes, *picturae*, et cetera. Thus, eventually it contains a hierarchy of XML-elements that represents our classification of the structural elements of the emblems in the original emblem book.

Though the perspective of emblem books as hierarchical structured codices does closely relate to the technical handling of the data in the EPU, it still remains to be seen whether emblem books are really only ordered hierarchies of content objects, and emblems are not more than just 'objects of a certain sort, structured in a certain way'. Nevertheless, the strict standard for the XML-tags and, following from that, the separation from the 'language' of the emblem book (the text) and the 'metalanguage' (the XML-tags), allows for a certain level of machine readability of the encoded books. Without the XML-encoding, to a computer the sequence of characters in the transcribed text would be nothing more than just that. Having a computer to 'understand' that sequence of characters would require highly specialised artificial intelligence trying to make sense of the text – more or less like a human being would. With the XML-encoding, we are providing the computer with information on our (human) understanding, interpretation and classification of the structural elements – the hierarchy of content objects – of the emblem books and emblems. Clearly, this further opens the door to computer assisted emblem research.

Separating content from presentation

In day-to-day life, the data files containing the transcribed and encoded emblem books – in short, the XML-files – form the technical core of the EPU. Together, they are nothing more than just a set of files on a web server, one for each emblem book. These files are hosted on a server at the Utrecht University. From the beginning of the project up to the present day, work has been done – and still is being done – by the EPU editors to update, correct, revise, and enhance this core set of data files. Over time, transcription errors have been corrected and metadata like explanations, translations, links to parallels and sources and bibliographical references have been added. In their current state, the data files allow us – among other things – to present on the project's website[4] faithful representations of all emblem books in the projects corpus.

The website is, of now, the most manifest presentation of the proceedings of the EPU. It is built using a so-called 'web development framework' that allows us, in abstract wording, to 'separate content from presentation'. In practice, it boils down to a rather simple setup. The web pages that make up the website are not simple HTML-pages stored on the server and waiting to be sent to a user requesting them. Instead, the HTML that a visitor of the EPU website is presented with in his/her web browser, is generated dynamically out of the central set of XML-files.

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4 http://emblems.let.uu.nl/

This means that upon a request for a certain web page, specific XML-elements (the elements that are needed for the web page the user requested) are retrieved from the central data files, and transformed into HTML 'in real time'.

The software facilitating this setup is the web development framework Cocoon[5], an open source software project from the Apache Software Foundation.[6] The transformation from XML to HTML is done using so-called XSL-stylesheets. These stylesheets describe, in detail and under the governance of Cocoon, the process of extracting specific XML-elements, bundling them and subsequently transforming them into HTML.

Dynamically creating the web pages that visitors of the EPU website see has a number of advantages. The first is that changes to the underlying XML-files – fixing a transcription error, adding a hyperlink, et cetera – are immediately visible on the website. This alleviates the editors of the burden of constantly having to update the website trough technical procedures. The editors can immediately check every change. Every improvement can immediately be seen by the users of the website.

A second advantage is that the technical difficulties with current presentation formats like HTML (think about the differences between the browsers Mozilla Firefox and Microsoft Internet Explorer in the rendering of it), will not trickle down to the level of the encoding of the emblem books. Whereas the XML-standard is open and, at this moment, the best possible guarantee for ensuring the durability and persistence of digital data, every HTML-website that hopes to attract an audience suffers from Microsoft's woefully inadequate adherence to standards. Every website that wishes to be of service to web browsers that handle HTML in a well-ordered and predictable way, as well as to Microsoft Internet Explorer, has to deal with numerous banal, technical incompatibilities. With the setup used in the EPU the 'data layer' (the content: the transcribed emblem books, encoded in XML) is separated from the 'presentational layer' (the HTML website). These issues are strictly confined to the transformation process from the former into the latter.

More perspectives

The separation of the actual content from the presentation provides us with another advantage. With Cocoon, it is easy to create multiple, parallel transformation paths. Up till now, the EPU website is the most manifest presentation of the XML-encoded emblem books. It will probably stay that way for a long time to come. However, Cocoon is perfectly able to serve not only HTML, but other formats as well. The transformation from XML to HTML (executed, as we have seen, upon a user requesting a certain page from the website) can be augmented by more, parallel 'transformation paths'. Without too much effort, Cocoon can be set up to transform the underlying XML into, for instance, pdf-files; upon a user request, and in real time.

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5 http://cocoon.apache.org
6 http://www.apache.org/

As pdf-documents are generally better suited for printing than HTML-pages, work is currently being done to add downloadable pdf-documents to every emblem on the website, as well as allowing users to download each of the emblem books in the corpus in pdf-format. Before the actual download, users will be able to specify what the pdf-document should look like; for instance, whether the original or the modernised spelling should be used. The request is being generated on the server and downloaded to the user's computer, where it can be viewed, stored and/or printed out.

Though allowing users to download pdf-files for each emblem is useful enough, the setup that the EPU website uses – employing Cocoon, thus allowing the above mentioned multiple, parallel transformation paths – provides a fundamental 'openness' of the underlying data. The website should be understood as only one of many possible 'perspectives' on the underlying data. Many more are possible and, indeed, currently in place or under development. The Open Archive Initiative[7] will be able to query the EPU files for its own 'metadata harvesting' function, while Mnemosyne,[8] a semantic web company that has contributed to the indexing of pictorial motives in the emblems, already extracts data on those motives from the EPU. All these methods of accessing the EPU data run in parallel, each without disturbing or interfering with the other. While the website is and probably will remain the most used method of 'accessing' the data files of the EPU, it will be clear by now that access to the emblems is not restricted to what is shown in HTML.

Future developments

The EPU was specifically set up to allow for yet unrecognized uses of the encoded data. Through the use of open source software and the open standard that XML is, it is hoped (though, of course, not guaranteed) that the encoded material will remain – at the very least – accessible in one form or another even after the project as it is now might have ended. Open access to the underlying data gives emblem (and other) scholars the possibilities to pursue research not yet thought of. Furthermore, the setup of the EPU is particularly suited for the incorporation of new tools like EDITOR and SANE[9] that promise to allow users to add their own annotations to the encoded material. Although allowing users to enhance and perhaps even modify the original 'tagging' presents a myriad of security and integrity issues, it is a logical next step in the opening up of the underlying data.

Reflecting on these future developments would not have been possible without the actual hands-on experience the EPU provided us with. Clearly, the initial project goals have been met. The practice of digitising a corpus of 25 emblem books allowed us to reflect on the consequences of the digitisation of historical

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7 http://www.openarchives.org/
8 http://mnemosyne.org/
9 EDITOR and its successor SANE are being developed at the Huygens Institute, http://www.huygensinstituut.knaw.nl

material. Furthermore, the EPU's digitised material forms a valuable addition to the evergrowing body of digitised historical material. Finally, the EPU promises to be a persuasive catalyst for further digitisation projects.

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Digitising Dutch love emblems

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Perhaps I should explain at the outset that I was invited to evaluate the website The Emblem Project Utrecht (EPU), with its 26 editions of Dutch love emblems. I have said it before, and I have no difficulty in saying it again: digitising emblems is certainly the way to go in the present and the immediate future. With the thousands of printed emblem books known to bibliography – forgetting for the moment the presence of emblematic configurations in the material culture – we are not likely ever to see a sufficient number of facsimiles, or even microform editions, in spite of the valiant efforts of IDC, to make enough of the books accessible for scholarship. But that is not to say there are no problems in the digitisation of emblems. Who said beginnings would always be easy?

The most recent results of such digitising is the Emblem Project Utrecht that will make accessible a substantial corpus of Dutch love emblems. There are good reasons why this should be so. It appears that the Dutch were the originators of the love emblem, and again it was here that ICONCLASS was born.

One of the joys of the internet is that it is interactive. But that very interactivity can be a hazard for the user. In a sense each website is a work in progress. It may be in a state of flux. That very interactivity brings with it certain obligations. Users or visitors, as we are often called, need to know that what we read today may not be the same tomorrow. The website can be corrected or expanded or updated by the creators at will. Users are well advised to give the date of their visit for any reference or quotation they may want to make. I visited the EPU site in late August and again in mid September, and what I wrote for the November 2006 conference was correct at that time, but changes have been made since, and I have updated my evaluation accordingly on January 24, 2007.

But which love emblems books were in fact Dutch? I suppose it depends what the label means. Was Alciato's emblem book, as first published, Italian, German or perhaps Latin? Andrea Alciato wrote the texts and he was Italian. The language of the texts was Latin. The place of publication was German, as was the publisher and the assumed illustrator. Does it much matter? How have bibliographers decided? Praz and bibliographies of library holdings tend to proceed alphabetically, and so the problem does not arise. Landwehr, and those like him, attributes a title to the place of publication or to the language of the texts. Illustrations do not count in such a taxonomy. Thus in Landwehr's *German Emblem Books 1531-1888* (1972, 23-25) Alciato's Augsburg 1531 editions are German (Fig. 1) (based on place of publication) as are the Paris 1542 German translation by Wolfgang Hunger (based on the language of the texts), and Jeremias Held's German translation, Frankfurt am Main 1567 (Fig. 2), 1580, and 1583 editions (based on language of texts, and place of publication). When Alciato's emblems have French texts or were published in France (Fig. 3), Landwehr

QVAE SVPRA NOS NI=
bil ad nos.
B 4

Caucasia æternū pendens in rupe Prometheus
Dirripitur sacri præpetis ungue iecus
Et nollet fecisse hominem, figulosq́; posus
Accensa rapto dammat ab igne facem
Roduntur varijs prudentum pectora curis
Qui cœli affectant scire deumq; uices

Fig. 1: Andrea Alciato's Prometheus emblem with the motto 'Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos'. Augsburg 1531 ed. fol. B4 & B4v. Reproduction from the facsimile edition by Olms

Was vber vns ist geht vns nicht an.

Auff dem hohen Berg Caucaso
    Ligt angeschmidt Prometheus do
Dem zerreist vnd frist die Leber
    On vnderlaß der schnell Adler
Der wölt jetzt daß er gemacht hett nie
    Kein Bild vnd wer müssig gweßn je
Hett auch das Feuwr nie gerürt an
    Hetts oben im Himmel lon stahn
Der Klugen Hertzen so da wölln
    Ins Himmels lauff seyn Gotts Geselln
Werden mit vil angst sorg vnd müh
    Teglich on vnderlaß gplagt hie.

Fig. 2: German text from Jeremias Held. Reproduction from the Henkel/Schöne *Handbuch*

Fig. 3: Lyons 1551 ed., page 112. The decorative border has been removed. Reproduction from the facsimile edition by Klincksieck

includes them in his *French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Books of Devices and Emblems 1534-1827* (1976, 25-40). That leads Landwehr to include Wolfgang Hunger's German translation in both bibliographies.

There will, of course, be critics of any attempt to digitise emblem books. Dietmar Peil embodied in the title of a recent discussion of emblem digitisation the phrase 'Nobody's perfect.'[1] *Pace* Dietmar, the point is not perfection, but scholarly procedures, and availability. And in fairness to Dietmar, I should say that he did address many of the issues and problems that beset digitisation. He did so from his considerable experience with the Munich project, but the problems that he discussed are also endemic to the process of digitisation. Hopefully, we can get a better idea about what we should be doing, and again, hopefully, we can learn from some of the imperfections of earlier attempts.

What I have to say will have a lot to do with the use of the internet and digital editions. In other words, what is offered, and how available is it for immediate and future research?

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1 See Peil 2004. The book was reviewed by Antonio Bernat Vistarini in *Emblematica* 14 (2005), 357-367.

What we all need as we enter this brave new world of digital editions, in addition to gratitude, is a little healthy scepticism. There is no reason to give greater credence to digital information than we give to printed information. Furthermore, you are likely to find just as many errors in internet or CD-ROM sources as you will find in printed sources, if not more. The internet at best provides information, not knowledge. Can you even imagine the Age of the Enlightenment wanting to be known as the Age of Information? Even if we find sophisticated digital editions, our work of analysis and interpretation is probably only beginning. After all, even when we have a printed critical edition of a writer or of one work, even if that critical edition has an array of notes in addition to variants, our work of analysis and interpretation is not usually already done for us. How could it be?

Many emblem scholars are only interested in one or two books, or the production of one emblematist. For such a purpose, the bibliographical information can probably be found already in existing printed bibliographies,[2] not that they will ever be final or complete. Emblem books devoted to a theme, such as love, or salvation, are a different kettle of fish. But we now have the Utrecht Project devoted to Dutch love emblems. Such a specialisation is unusual. And we are grateful to our colleagues who made the site possible. But what if one needs accurate information on library holdings?[3] Or if one is interested in, say, the production of a linguistic community, perhaps the Italians, or the French, or the Jesuits, during a certain period, or we desire information on all emblem books in all languages of a specific period, such as 1531-1600, then printed bibliographies will be of limited help. One needs a computerized bibliography to customize such a search.

As I said, as long as you only need limited bibliographic information, you are likely to find it via the internet. But if you want more, if you want a complete text, and you find it, either on the internet or in a CD-ROM, can you use it in a manner that is consistent with computer capabilities? That is a big question, which can only be answered in small pieces. Suffice it to say that there are digital editions of, for example, Goethe, and if you need names or concepts you can probably find them. But even here you must be prepared to search with singulars and plurals, and geni-

2 For general bibliographies, see Praz 1964 and 1974. See also Kolb and Sulzer 1976, 33-176 (containing some 2,338 bibliographic entries). For English emblem books, see Freeman 1948/1967; Daly and Silcox 1989, 333-76; Daly and Silcox 1990; Daly and Silcox 1991; Daly and Silcox 1990 and 2002. For French emblem books, see Landwehr 1976; Adams, Rawles, and Saunders 1999 and 2002. For German emblem books, see Landwehr1972. For emblem books of the Low Countries, see Landwehr 1962; Landwehr 1970; Landwehr 1988. For Italian emblem books, see Landwehr 1976. For Polish emblem books, see Buchwald-Pelcova 1981. For Spanish emblem books, see Landwehr 1976; Campa 1990; Campa 2001. For Alciato, see Green 1872/1964. For Jesuit emblem books, see Daly and Dimler 1997; thereafter parts 2 to 4 were published in Toronto by the University of Toronto Press; Part Five, which completes the series, is in press at the University of Toronto Press.
3 There is a handful of library catalogues. See Black and Weston 1988; Warncke 1982; Cieslack 1993; McGeary and Nash 1993; Heckscher and Sherman, 1984; Kemp and Schilling 1978; Visser, Hoftijzer and Westerweel 1999.

tive singulars and genitive plurals. Otherwise, inflected or conjugated forms may slip though the net of your search. Concretely, I can search a Goethe CD-ROM for such key concepts as *Allegorie, Symbol,* and *Emblem*, or for names such as Alciato, Camerarius, and Reusner, but I must remember also to name synonyms such as *Sinnbild*, and *Bild,* and I must remember that Alciato was also known as Alciat, Alciati and Alciatus. I should not forget to use genitives and plurals, or use a kind of truncated word search.

I should note that this contribution is based in part on my book that AMS Press (New York) published in 2002, and which I do not expect everyone to have consulted, let alone read. I have also presented some of my general reflections at conferences in Spain, Italy, and Canada. I may be a voice in the wilderness, but someone has to sound the note of caution and scepticism, in the midst of all the enthusiasm about digitisation.[4] Not that I am a Luddite. I started using computers for more than word processing decades ago. But those involved in computing applications tend to exhibit boundless enthusiasm for what the computer can accomplish. There is often an element of *Zukunftsmusik* in their enthusiasm. What has actually been accomplished tends to be modest, apart from the creation of concordances and indexes. So much by way of introduction and disclaimers.

Before assessing The Emblem Project Utrecht, I should make some general observations on digitising emblems. I want to suggest some reasons for scepticism about computerization by looking at some earlier attempts to digitise emblems. First of all, the emblem book – and I will not be concerned with the emblem in the material culture – was big business. We know of at least 6,400 books of or about emblems and *imprese*, printed from 1531 to last week, not all with illustrations. That is a lot of books. No one knows how many examples of emblems and *imprese* still exist in the material culture, understood as the significant decoration of buildings, as well as the many decorative arts. Modernisation, fire, and warfare have obliterated most of the manifestations of the emblem in the material culture that were likely still in place in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

As colleagues will know, there are several large digitising projects underway: two in Spain, Germany, and the U.S., one each in Canada, Holland, Hungary, and Scotland. The number of emblematic books that are, or will be, available in digital form

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4   I recently examined a doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at McGill which reviewed the archaeological discussion of rock images in the Lake of the Woods area of Canada. The author, Alicia Colson, had used various digital tools to enhance the images, such as Photoshop 6.0, and it became clear to me that emblem scholars have it somewhat easier. Our images are in printed books or tend to be on the walls and ceilings of buildings. There is little, if any, deterioration of image, so that naming the pictorial motif is not a problem. Problems may arise when we ascribe a meaning to the motif, when used emblematically. This is not to say that there is never deterioration of a motif. Tapestry and embroidery can present problems because colors can change over time, and threads can disappear. I recall advising restorers at Hatfield House that the tapestry motif of a female figure on a tapestry was probably not a Boticelli Venus on a sea shell, but an Occasio figure on a wheel on the sea. I was convinced because I knew the source in Alciato. The restorers were guided by their knowledge of art history, which in this case would have led them astray.

is impressive: over 600, including the Emblem Project Utrecht, which is the subject of this volume. Current estimates suggest that there were over 6,400 printings of emblematic books, with or without pictures, in all languages following the publication of the first emblem book by Andrea Alciato in 1531. My aim here is to review some the issues involved in digitising the emblem, because it combines text and picture.

What should be digitised?

Ideally everything should be digitised. But at what cost, how, and by whom? Duplication may or may not be an issue. Even with the projects known to exist at the beginning of this millennium, there appeared to be a rather substantial amount of duplication (Daly 2002, xii, 261). And should one digitise everything, including works that have appeared in facsimile reprints and microforms, which often lack indexes to some or all of the parts of the emblems reproduced? It would be naive to assume that there is agreement on what constitutes an emblem, or even on the genre of emblem books. For bibliographic purposes, I disregarded the distinction of emblem book and books with emblems because I would not wish to lose emblems from books that are not considered canonical emblem books.

What is the emblem and how does the emblem communicate?

Emblem scholars know that the emblem usually communicates through three parts, *inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*. The texts can indicate the direction of meaning of the whole emblem; they can interpret the picture, they can also extend or subvert the meaning of the picture. The emblem should not be equated with the symbolic picture, thereby devaluing textual components. The texts should not be given primacy, thereby devaluing the picture. Emblems cannot usually be decoded to 'mean' something easy to state.

Who made the digital edition?

Few websites and few CD-ROMs actually provide bibliographical information on the editors or compilers of digital editions while most published books give a brief blurb on the author. There may be good reasons for this absence of information: personal modesty, or the assumption that we all know the names of the individuals who did the scholarly work. However, not every visitor to a website or every user of a CD-ROM can be expected to know the scholarly credentials of the editors. A particle physicist will check the source, as well as review the new information. I would suggest that basic bibliographic information should always be included such as position, current place of employment, and perhaps the ten most important publications on emblematic topics. While that information will not preclude poor design of a website or the inaccurate description of an individual emblem, it will tell the user who created the edition. That information may help to explain the choice of emblem writer or emblem book.

Let it be noted that the Emblem Project Utrecht always names the editor of each book edited. Usually it is simply EPU, but some emblem scholars are also named, such as Peter Boot, Hans Luijten, and Karel Porteman, although even there we will read that 'adaptations' were made by EPU.

For whom is the digital edition intended?

That is not a silly question. The answer will determine how much and what kind of analysis, if any, is included. For example, it is likely that library conservationists would be satisfied with digitised books with no analysis. General readers would probably like more information than an emblem specialist. But then again, which member of our emblem guild is likely to consider him- or herself equally conversant with the products of the different national traditions, which may span centuries, to say nothing of the wealth of Neo-Latin material? Put simply, the digitisation of emblematic books can perform two functions: 1. preserve these rare books, and 2. increase our understanding.

Digitisation as preservation

In itself digitising the pages of emblem books is neither a mystery, nor a hugely expensive undertaking. All one needs is a digital camera or a scanner, assuming that libraries cooperate. Of course, the copy chosen may be incomplete or defective, requiring additions. Such digitising will look after preservation. But the results are not amenable to computer searching.

Digitisation as enrichment

The texts of early modern books can be scanned as images, but they will resist the OCR functions of the computer because of the vagaries of typesetting. Early modern printing will always present problems with its broken fonts, uneven spacing and inking, erratic use of uppercase, and idiosyncratic abbreviations. When we add to this the problem of early modern orthography, it is clear that in itself the scanned image of a page of text and picture is no more amenable to research than was the original page.

Pictures themselves cannot be queried by words – unless a picture description is added, nor by visual icons. You may recognise the picture of a lion, but no visual icon of a lion can be produced to allow the computer to recognise the emblematic lion, which may be large or small, sitting, standing, running, rampant, stylized, looking left or right. A human fingerprint is unique, and can be matched against a database with millions of fingerprints. The same is not true of an emblematic lion.

We can have hyperlinks until we hyperventilate, but they will only be as useful as the information added by the editor. That's the rub. Ideally, scholars would wish to see emblem books scanned, and enriched with analytical information. Each picture needs a brief description, not just a few key words. But in which language? It is obvious that when Spanish scholars describe pictures, they tend to use Spanish. German scholars tend to use German. British, Canadian and American scholars tend to use

English. French and Quebecois scholars tend to use French. Frequently, scholars in Scandinavia, in the Low Countries, and in eastern European countries use English. But knowledge of modern and ancient languages can no longer be assumed of all emblem scholars. If we want to introduce emblem studies to a new generation, more conversant with the computer than with a second or third natural language, then some accommodations must be made. But which? I notice that this Emblem Project Utrecht is available in either Dutch or English.

At the very least, picture description should record accurately the symbolic motifs in the picture. If a scanned emblem is enriched with additional information, the user has virtually unlimited freedom to query. The only limit is the knowledge of the user, and the information provided by the editor.

If *increased understanding* is the goal, then we need to ask ourselves what kinds of analysis are required. And we need to see that question in the context of the study of literature and art history. In the last hundred years we have seen the rise and fall of positivism, structuralism, political relevance, and new historicism to name but a few. All analyses make assumptions about classifications, but theoretical paradigms shift. And classifications are usually not identical with the words or pictorial motifs of books. Full text searching only provides access to the words, not necessarily to the concepts, of an emblem text. A search may provide access to pictorial motifs, but not to concepts, assuming the visual images have been correctly identified and named. Classifications have to be added and these classifications change as the purposes of analysis change.

The notion of classification may sound foreign to some, but most of us read emblems for their topics or concepts. Reducing emblems to 'meaning' is almost unavoidable. But those concepts are rarely identical with words in an emblem, and seldom identical with visual motifs. We may say that the Brutus who falls on his sword in an emblem 'means' suicide, or fickle fortune, or something else, depending on the *scriptura* of the emblem. But what is pictured is Brutus, not a concept.

'Meaning' is not a simple matter. That is why I argue for 'identification of motif' rather than for the 'meaning of motif.' When talking of meaning, are we referring to the 'meaning of a complete emblem,' the 'meaning of motif in an emblem,' or perhaps the sense of the words of an emblem *subscriptio*? The attribution of meaning or signification to an individual emblem can be a hazardous business, because most emblems cannot be decoded to mean something easy to name. Scholars can offer different 'meanings' of one and the same emblem. De Soto's first emblem is glossed as 'war' or 'human life' on the López Poza website, but for Bernat and Cull it signifies 'Glory in Danger / Temerity / Honor / Fame / Life as Warfare', while for Henkel and Schöne, it is fame ('Ruhm').

Consistency is important. In an emblem picture should an eagle carrying a human male figure on its back, always be identified as Jupiter's eagle with Ganymede? What if the text does not make that identification? The *Enciclopedia de Emblemas Españoles Ilustrados* (Madrid 1999) identifies such a picture as 'Eagle soars in air

with child; 2 men watch' (no. 49, 49). Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozoco, who was responsible for the emblem, does not name the figure, nor the provenance of the eagle. The same encyclopedia identifies a similar picture in Alciato as 'Ganymedes is swept up by eagle of Jupiter . . .' (no. 731, 365), and no. 732 (366) as 'Ganymedes kidnapped by the eagle of Jupiter . . . .' This is not so much a matter of 'meaning' as it is of identification. The user is better served by the addition of the names 'Jupiter' and 'Ganymede,' even if the texts do not provide those names.

'Meaning' as related to emblem texts is quite another matter. Some words change their meanings over time and some become obsolete.

It is my hope that digitised emblem books will enable me to do better what I already do fairly well. But that will depend on the quality of the input. Who is editing the digital editions? Do they know emblems? It will also depend on the availability of the website or CD information to other scholars. Can we download the material and work with it?

The choice of the emblematist

The choice of the emblematist is often accidental. Even when institutions have substantial collections, the direction of digitisation is frequently serendipitous. Illinois has an enviable collection of emblem books, but the decision to focus on the 67 German books has more to do with Professor Wade's initiative than it is a reflection of the university library's holdings.

The choice of edition

The decision which emblem edition to select is usually based on the library collection; in other words, it also tends to be accidental. Whereas there are critical editions of canonical authors, there are virtually no such editions of emblem books. Should the edition be the first, the largest, or the last one with the author's approval? Projects based on library collections use whatever editions the library possesses. *Studiolum* tends to use first editions.

If enriched digitisation can provide the kind of scanned and analyzed emblem books that scholars would prefer, then the people adding the information need to understand the emblem genre and the nature of the early modern language of the textual parts of the emblems.

The issue of picture description

I suggest that it is enough to identify the symbolic images that contribute to the communication of the emblem. This requires identification of motif, rather than interpretation of meaning. However, I do not think it is sufficient to list key motifs in emblem pictures. Making a fuller description forces the editor to look more closely at the picture. For example, the Illinois project offered brief picture descriptions called 'descriptors.' In my view they are somewhat primitive, consisting only of separate nouns. For example, Pfann no. 7 depicts a burial. Why does the list of descriptors not contain 'grave'? A mattock is depicted next to the shovel, but not

named. I see no skeleton, but rather a death's head. Fault can often be found with the description of an emblem picture. But in a digitised emblem book we can no longer speak of WYSIWYG (what you see is what you get). What you get is what someone else saw.

Picture description, in my view, must be primarily a matter of identification rather than interpretation of 'meaning.' I admit that identification cannot always be divorced from interpretation, and the correct identification of pictorial motifs is not always easy. My expectation that picture description provide identification rather than interpretation is something of a simplification, even if it points in the right direction. A square is always a 'square'. A palm tree is recognizable. But at some point certainty becomes clouded. When is a snake a viper, rather than a generic snake? Should modern scholars use early modern terms to identify the pictorial motifs provided by early modern artists, who were guided by the texts they illustrated, or perhaps by instructions provided by writers or publishers? We know that emblems derive from the pre-Linnean period.

When we use words today to identify pictorial motifs, we can hardly help using language that is in some regards conditioned by our own culture. When is the female figure in a *pictura* a virgin, a woman, a wife, a whore, perhaps the Virgin Mary? The texts will sometimes help. In dealing with the texts we have no choice; we must translate as accurately as possible. But in some pictures we find only a female figure.

Language is not innocent. Language is always conditioned by social convention, although that does not necessarily vitiate the attempt to describe what we see. This concern also applies to the modern attempt to name picture motifs, and to digitise the emblem.

The issue of the treatment of texts

The texts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century emblem books are written in the languages of the early modern period. That means their orthography is not always identical with modern practice. Also some words have gone through a change of meaning, and others have become obsolete. Then there is the problem of word forms. Should the texts be normalized, i.e., modernized and lemmatized? Should semantic changes be signalled?

Standardizing usually means modernizing the spelling of an early modern text. It is no great feat, and it does not falsify the original text, provided the original text is displayed, perhaps together with the modernized version. Important as this is, it deals only with the form, not the meaning, of words. Lemmatization is another issue. A lemma could be added to each conjugated and inflected word form. Or, if existing software is reliable for the languages required, it could provide the lemma for search. The lemma then becomes the object of search, and the computer displays the original word.

I regard simple scanning as a valuable if limited undertaking that will fulfil only library needs to preserve materials, and to protect books from readers. Scans can be

sent to scholars far away, while libraries are understandably reluctant to entrust rare material to the postal service. Ironically, the books most at risk are not the products of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century presses, which used rag paper, but the mass-produced printings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with their cheap, acidic, and now brittle paper. Preservation is important. But simple scanning does nothing to make the information more accessible.

One problem in the enriched digitisation of emblems has to do with words that have changed their meanings. Words can become obsolete. Words can lose one or more of the meanings available in the early modern period. Finally, words can remain but mean something different.

Obsolete words are not a problem to the modern reader, who will not understand the obsolete words, and will look them up in a historical dictionary. But if they are not tagged, obsolete words are lost to the computer-based search. Those who know their Shakespeare will know that 'stewes' is an obsolete term for brothel; George Wither (1:27) uses it, too.

More dangerous are words that continue to exist, but which have lost one or more of their early modern meanings. We all know what a chameleon looks like, and that it changes colour with its environment. But no one today can be expected to 'know' that the chameleon feeds on air. Yet this 'fact of nature' was believed in the early modern period. Alciato refers to this in emblem no. 53 (Padua, 1621), and Shakespeare has Hamlet make an emblematic argument with the chameleon and capon in the Play Scene.

Judging the effectiveness of enriched digitisation

The main goal of any digitisation project is, or should be, to create a research tool that should not only serve literary and art historians. Databases will eventually make available a vast body of source material, hitherto largely inaccessible, on such subjects as botany, medicine, and zoology; the occult; folklore; philosophy and theology; education and the history of language.

ICONCLASS could be chosen as the iconographic classification system, since it provides a standardized access to the contents of visual documents. By using Iconclass, emblem research would share a common access with such institutions as the Library of the Courtauld Institute (London), the Index of Christian Art (Princeton), the Dutch Royal Library (The Hague), the Bildarchiv (Foto Marburg), the Getty Provenance Index, and Iconclass projects at the Universities of Utrecht and Leiden. Members of the Iconclass research group at Utrecht and Leiden are not only involved in the translation of Iconclass into various vernacular languages, but have computerized Iconclass. Iconclass is now multi-lingual and available on a Windows platform as Iconclass2000 Browser. The book *Image and Belief* (Hourihane 1999) contains four useful papers by Peter van Huisstede, Carol Tognari, Hans Brandhorst, and by Jörgen van den Berg and Gerda G.J. Duijfjes-Vellekoop. Huisstede and Brandhorst developed techniques to analyse and access the verbal and visual information con-

tained in Dutch printers' marks. Such printers' marks are, of course, in form and content closely related to imprese and emblems.[5] But, for some, Iconclass is not without its drawbacks. One wonders whether the Iconclass system, which was developed as a descriptive system for identifying with single terms pictorial images, is fully adaptable to the emblem, where the pictorial function of the epigram, which is text not image, can expand, or even run counter to the *pictura*. Iconclass would appear to privilege the *pictura*, and that can be a disservice to the emblem, which comprises text and image.

Availability

Even assuming that the scans are enriched in my sense, are the results available for me to work with? Allow me to be pedantically precise here. I mean, can I download to my computer the enriched, analysed data or metadata if the term is preferred? Some members of the *Studiolum* team attended the 2006 meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in San Francisco where in one session discussion centred on what I call availability.[6] One of the 'very pertinent questions' asked was 'whether we would allow the copying of our texts for free use.' The answer thus far is 'no.' *Studiolum* is correct in observing that 'the value of the work we are doing lies precisely in the presentation of a text that is fully *transcribed, linked and annotated . . . .*' It is understandable that *Studiolum* wants to protect its work, although protection can mean different things. No one wants his or her research work altered, but 'pilfering' is another matter, covered already by laws governing plagiarism. Protecting analyzed texts in CDs and internet editions is doable. For the moment I fail to see how working with a shadow file (*Studiolum*'s term) is much help, if one cannot export one's annotated and edited version to another programme. I would want to do just that: work on the scanned and edited emblems, and copy the results to Word or WordPerfect for further work. In a print one gives credit to earlier scholars and the editions used, surely one will continue to do so when the edition is an analysed digital version. If a scholar fails to do that, then he or she may be guilty of plagiarism.

The question of critical mass

Thus far I have been largely concerned with the manner in which an individual emblem is digitised. But if one seeks to answer larger questions such as the nature of emblems in *castra doloris*, or the direction of German political emblems, then questions of critical mass arise. A few emblems or even emblem books will not suffice. This question of critical mass was addressed recently in the final draft report of the American Council of Learned Societies' Commission on Cyber-infrastructure for Humanities and Social Sciences (26 July, 2006).[7] The report notes that '. . . a critical mass of

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5   See Van Huisstede and Brandhorst 1999. This three volume set is accompanied by a CD-ROM.
6   See http://www.emblematica.com/blog2006/04/rsa-recapitulation.html
7   The draft report was authored by P. Courant, S. Fraser, M. Goodchild, M. Hedstrom, P.B.

information is often necessary for understanding both the context and the specifics of an artefact or event, and this may include large collections of multimedia content – images, text, moving images, audio.' The authors of the report rightly observe that 'Humanities scholars are often concerned with how meaning is created, communicated, manipulated, and perceived. Recent trends in scholarship have broadened the sense of what falls within a given academic discipline: for example, scholars who in the past might have worked only with texts now turn to architecture and urban planning, art, music, videogames, film and television, fashion illustrations, billboards, dance videos, graffiti, and blogs.' Oddly missing in this long list is the illustrated advertisement, which not infrequently has emblematic qualities. The report stresses 'the value of a critical mass of data' (p. 25). Shoah archives have special authenticity in large part because they are so comprehensive.

Anyone writing in more general terms about emblems has difficulty making generalisations. 'What is an emblem?' seems to be a reasonable question, but demands a generalised answer. Such generalisations are difficult because over the five hundred years of the existence of books of emblems and imprese – not even to mention the presence of emblematic decoration in the material culture – well over six thousand emblematic books have been published. No one really knows how large was the average print-run, and as we all know emblematic books could contain anywhere from a handful to hundreds of individual emblems. My conservative estimate is that anywhere from fifty million to one hundred million emblems must have been printed, and presumably read. That is a lot of emblems.

The visitor to the website on Dutch love emblems has a critical mass, since the site contains digitised Dutch love emblems from some 26 books. It will be possible to make general statements regarding this group of emblem books, but obviously not all such generalisations can be applied elsewhere.

An evaluation of the Emblem Project Utrecht

The most recent results of digitising emblem books is this Utrecht Project that will make accessible a corpus of Dutch love emblems. Listed chronologically below are the 26 books:

Heinsius, *Quaeris quid sit Amor* (1601)
Heinsius, *Emblemata amatoria* (1607-8)
Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata* (1608)
Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria* (1611)
Vaenius, *Horatiana emblemata* (1612)
[Anonymous], *Cupido's lusthof* (1613)
De Montenay / Roemer Visscher, *Emblemes* (ca. 1615)

Kaufman, J. McGann, R. Rosenzweig, J. Unsworth, and B. Zuckerman. The final draft report can be read as a pdf file at: http://www.acls.org/cyberinfrastructure I read the report on August 26, 2006.

Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615)

Heinsius, *Ambacht van Cupido* (1616)

[Anonymous], *Niewen leucht spieghel* (1617)

Vaenius, *Emblemata aliquot selectiora amatoria* (1618)

Cats, *Proteus* [partial] (1618)

[Anonymous], *Thronus Cupidinis* (1620)

Cats, *Sinne-en minnebeelden* (1627)

[Anonymous], *Typus mundi* (1627)

[Anonymous], *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* (1628)

Van Leuven, *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* (1629)

De Harduwjin, *Goddelycke wenschen* (1629)

Luyken, *Duytse lier* (1671)

Luyken, *Jezus en de ziel* (1685)

Huygen, *Beginselen van Gods Koninkrijk* (1689)

[Anonymous], *Emblemata amatoria* (1690)

De la Feuille, *Devises et emblemes* (1691)

Den Elger, *Zinne-beelden der liefde* (1703)

Hoogstraten, *Zegepraal der goddelyke liefde* (1709)

Suderman, *De godlievende ziel* (1724).

This is an impressive site, viewable on both Apple and Windows computers, which I last viewed January 24, 2007. A great deal of thought as well as work and effort have gone into preparing it. And it has an unusual educational purpose. The Home Page has a section for teachers and one for students. The site includes information on the love emblem in general, including roots in Alciato's emblems; a history of the development of love emblems; explanations for the development of love emblems; marriage ethics; male-female relations; the market for the love emblem, and the game of love. This information will be very helpful to the newcomer to emblems, and to the Dutch love emblem.

The visitor may call up any of the 26 books, and explore it in one or more of several modes. For instance, the first emblem book is by Heinsius, *Quaeris quid sit amor* (1601), and one finds that it can be considered under the following headings on the left of the screen: Introduction, Concordance, All Picturae (This Book) [three thumbnails per line], All Facsimile Images (This Book) [Three thumbnails per line], and Petrarchist Motives [sic] based on Leonard Forster's *Icy Fire*. Most of us will want to browse the edition, which means looking at one emblem at a time. You will find that the texts (*inscriptio* and *subscriptio*) have been newly entered making them easily readable, which they may be less so in the original. The *pictura*, which may have an engraved *motto*, has been scanned in. Translations into modern Dutch and English are added. 'Literature' meaning bibliographic references are added. The pictorial motifs are named, briefly using only keywords. That Cupid or Eros have been omitted is a moot point. And I for one believe in the value

of making a full description of the *pictura*, although how inclusive 'full' should be is perhaps a matter of debate. Does it matter how large the lion is, whether it looks like a natural lion, and whether the lion is looking to the left or right? The browsed page continues with sources and parallels, and notes.

Each digital edition is or in the future will be provided with a full introduction, concordance, *picturae*, and facsimile images (both text and illustrations). Each page of each book has been digitised, and the pictures are available separately.

In some cases the Introduction is not yet 'full' and it is intended to 'add a full introduction' in the future. None the less, readers will be grateful for the brief biography of the emblem writer, the account of the book itself, its influence, and details of the copy used for the edition, transcription, editorial additions, and a brief bibliography, here called 'literature.'

The Home Page has five centred headings: Emblem Books, Search, Compare, Bibliography, and Project. 'Emblem Books' provides a list of the books digitised. 'Search' offers a global search, which means of all the 26 books. One can search for a given term in all elements, or *motto*, or emblem text, or note text, or Iconclass. The result can be displayed showing *picturae*, sorted by book, showing *picturae*, sorted by relevance, by motto only. This is a refined search capability. From Heinsius, *Quaeris quid sit amor* (1601) I entered 'amor' in all elements, perhaps not very cleverly, and was rewarded with 710 hits in all of the 26 books. When I refined the search, this time for 'amor' and 'anvil,' I had 193 hits. Then I tried again with 'anvil' alone, and I received 10 hits. 'Compare' will allow one to compare any two distinct books. The 'bibliography' has two categories: a list of authors/editors, which lumps together the names of emblem writers, poets and philophers with modern scholars so that Alison Adams rubs shoulders alphabetically with Académie Royale ... de Belgie. This could be improved by listing separately modern scholars. The second category 'items by title / author/ year' is a massive listing of titles organized by the very first word of the title, which may be an article such as 'A.' 'Project' has four sections: 'Project info,' 'Editorial Procedures and Techniques,' 'Help,' and 'What's Next.'

Having accessed a particular emblem book, one finds that the site is organized with two columns on the left: Edition, Emblem Book: Content.

Conclusions and prospects

Much is being done to digitise emblems. But the digitisation of emblem books is still in its infancy, although the Emblem Project Utrecht is more sophisticated and advanced than many. If some projects appear unsatisfactory, this has to do with the apparent unwillingness of some scholars to provide the information necessary to render the digitised pages accessible to research. And then there is the issue of tagging with SGML, XML, or what have you.

It comes as no surprise that there is little international agreement on the language of access, when it comes to enriched digitisation. Picture descriptions and

editorial interventions are for the most part in Spanish, German, French or English, depending on who is leading the project. But what if one is not fully competent in one or more of those languages? The very fact that the EPU provides not only translations in English but also into modern Dutch of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch texts suggests that the creators of EPU do not assume that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch is a readily accessible language.

It is possible to make emblem books truly searchable. But we should never forget that an emblem is composed of texts and graphics. It is no great feat to describe in words the picture, which then makes the symbolic image accessible. Newly keying in text will take more time, but is doable. Tagging is more time-consuming. Standardizing and lemmatizing language is a larger issue, because it calls for greater expenditures of time and expertise. But it is also doable. However, the needs of scholarship are sometimes not compatible with career paths. Will universities that encourage, allow, or condone tenured staff when they publish on emblems, give job security to younger scholars who devote time to computer projects? Rendering printed emblems accessible through enriched digitisation is possible. I, for one, look forward to these digital editions.

Perhaps I may return to the matter of the availability for further computer-based research of internet and CD-ROM editions. It is obvious that when I read an original emblem book, or any printed edition, I must make notes on paper or enter those notes immediately into my computer. But why should I have to resort to this antediluvian procedure if I have before me a digital edition?

I recently read a news release indicating that Google is about to collaborate with a number of world-class libraries (Oxford University, New York Public Library, Stanford, Michigan, and Harvard), to scan millions of pages of books to create a virtual library. It appears that some 15 million books and documents are covered in the agreement. Just how much of that digitised material will be available to readers, at what cost, and in what form (enriched analyses or not) is not yet clear. It is more important than ever to think about the needs of scholarship in this brave new world of virtual libraries.

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Setting the emblem schema to work

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Research on emblem books and emblems has profited greatly from the digitisation and web presentation of source materials. The University of Illinois[1] (hosting the OpenEmblem Portal[2]), the University of Glasgow[3], the University of Munich[4], the Emblem Project Utrecht of the University of Utrecht[5], the Mnemosyne Project[6], the University of A Coruña[7], the Duke August Library[8], to name just a few, have put selections from emblem collections online, meaning that they can be searched and accessed much easily than before.

Although digitisation and presentation of substantial parts of digitised emblems on the web has made great progress and tremendously enlarged the scope and range of material available at our fingertips, the user and researcher still cannot be satisfied with the fact that resources are scattered all over the web. Obviously, one of the great challenges of future digital emblem research and digital humanities in general is to achieve more integrated systems which group resources together, making them available through uniformly designed graphical interfaces and allowing searches on standardized fields and vocabulary. This process can be long and tedious as there are not only technical obstacles to be overcome but also content-related, political, institutional and funding issues to be solved. After the recent completion of new emblem projects such as those in Glasgow and Utrecht the question of integration once again comes to the fore. Would it not be helpful if one could search all the data available simultaneously and check what books or other emblematic material has already been digitised? Or would it not be advantageous to have a joint index list of mottoes, subscriptions or a common browser for Iconclass notations describing all *picturae* available on the web? No doubt, this would be a very welcome prospect. However, since each project in the field serves its own particular requirements and styles its particular rules to suit its own needs best, accumulating data is made very difficult. The OpenEmblem Group, therefore, agreed on the development of a shared standard to exchange data. Stephen Rawles's so-called 'spine of information' (Rawles 2004), an abstract description of the components an emblem metadata record should contain, laid the foundation for further development of technical tools allowing for more integrated accesses

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1 http://images.library.uiuc.edu/projects/emblems/ (All URL's last viewed at the end of 2006)
2 http://media.library.uiuc.edu/projects/oebp/
3 http://www.ces.arts.gla.ac.uk/html/AHRBProject.htm
4 http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~emblem/
5 http://emblems.let.uu.nl/emblems/html/index.html
6 http://www.mnemosyne.org/about/projects/emblems
7 http://rosalia.dc.fi.udc.es/emblematica/
8 http://www.hab.de/forschung/projekte/emblematica-e.htm

```
-- <emblem citeNo="1" xlink:href="http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-6550/start.htm?image=00027" page="8v">
   - <motti>
      -
           Das Jungste Gericht.
            <normalisation xml:lang="de">Das jüngste Gericht</normalisation>

nich Nicolaus Reusner: Nicolai Reusneri Leorini *Aureolorum emblematum liber singularis*. Straßburg 1587, from Utrecht Otto Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata*, Antwerp 1615, and from Wolfenbüttel Johann Theodor de Bry, *Proscenium vitæ humanæ*, Frankfurt 1627, and attempted to convert them to a minimal set valid within the emblem schema.

The minimum standard of the schema contains a bibliographic container, either <biblDesc> or <inventory>, together with minimal information about the copy. The <copyID> and the <owner> are mandatory, in order to be able to identify the owner and provenance of the file. Optionally, a <teiHeader>[11] may be added to accommodate more comprehensive bibliographic information. Within the bibliographic container there should be at least an emblem, a motto and a transcription element containing the transcription or transcriptions of the motto. An URL is also mandatory in the emblem *link:href* attribute. Otherwise no reference to the digitised item would be possible.

Except Munich, where the data is stored in an ACCESS database, all the metadata was available in XML. Glasgow, Utrecht and Wolfenbüttel used TEI P-3, Illinois styled an application profile for Dublin Core. While Glasgow and Utrecht focused on the description of emblems, Wolfenbüttel encoded the book rather than the emblem structure, and even though Glasgow and Utrecht employed a pretty similar encoding scheme, the overall structure varies considerably. For example, Glasgow did not use the technique to group <text> sections, Utrecht used unnumbered <div> tags and so forth. In short, none of the project's encodings matches the others, let alone conforms to any more rigid standard or agreement other than TEI. Despite the variety, we should be expecting that mappings are possible, as the underlying concepts of what an emblem is are presumably very close to one another. Indeed, the basic structural components are simple, at least, if the aim is to create an index of mottoes as can be seen in the following conversion examples.

The Munich emblem data compiled by Dietmar Peil are stored in an ACCESS database the structure of which can be viewed on illustration 3 (Fig. 3). The export of the data as XML, a format offered by ACCESS, resulted in the following listing: (Fig. 4). By means of a XSLT script the relevant data could be extracted and converted to a file that conforms to the schema (Fig. 5). I took the conversion of the Munich data as a case study and attempted to convert all information in the source to a schema-compliant format in order to prove that the schema can accommodate all categories of a given format containing metadata of emblems. Of course, mapping of categories always leads to ambiguities and, in fact, at one point I was uncertain about the range of the function of the 'theme' category. Here it is used for Dietmar Peil's commentaries on the meaning of the emblem, which may be debatable. Accordingly, even though the mapping process worked well in general, it is apparent that more discussion is needed on how particular parts of an emblem book-description are to be assigned to schema entities. The development of a comprehensive documentation seems highly advisable.

---

11  http://www.tei-c.org

Fig. 3: Demonstration of the ACCESS database structure

```xml
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="UTF-8"?>
<dataroot xmlns:od="urn:schemas-microsoft-com:officedata"
<Embleme>
<Intern_ID>49</Intern_ID>
<Embl_ID>emb_gemue_augsbu02001</Embl_ID>
<EmblBand_ID>3</EmblBand_ID>
<EmblBand_Kurztitel>Gemütsvergnügung</EmblBand_Kurztitel>
<Fundstelle>Taf. 02-01</Fundstelle>
<Pictura>Schiff</Pictura>
<Stichwort1>Schiff</Stichwort1>
<M-lat1>Non dormit, qui custodit</M-lat1>
<M-dt>Der Hüter schläffet nicht</M-dt>
<M-frz>Qui le gouverne, ne dort pas</M-frz>
<M-it>Chi là custodisce, non dorme</M-it>
<Quelle1>Typotius, 3,125e</Quelle1>
<Bild>img_gemue_augsbu00002</Bild>
</Embleme>
<Embleme>
<Intern_ID>50</Intern_ID>
<Embl_ID>emb_gemue_augsbu02002</Embl_ID>
<EmblBand_ID>3</EmblBand_ID>
<EmblBand_Kurztitel>Gemütsvergnügung</EmblBand_Kurztitel>
<Fundstelle>Taf. 02-02</Fundstelle>
<Pictura>Sonne und Eule</Pictura>
<Stichwort1>Sonne (und Eule)</Stichwort1>
<Stichwort2>Eule (und Sonne)</Stichwort2>
<M-lat1>Potius mori, quam abstinere</M-lat1>
<M-dt>Lieber sterben/ dann ablassen</M-dt>
<M-frz>Plûtôt mourir, que s&apos;abstenir</M-frz>
<M-it>Più presto morire, che astenersi</M-it>
<Quelle1>Typotius, 3,90d</Quelle1>
<Bild>img_gemue_augsbu00002</Bild>
</Embleme>
```
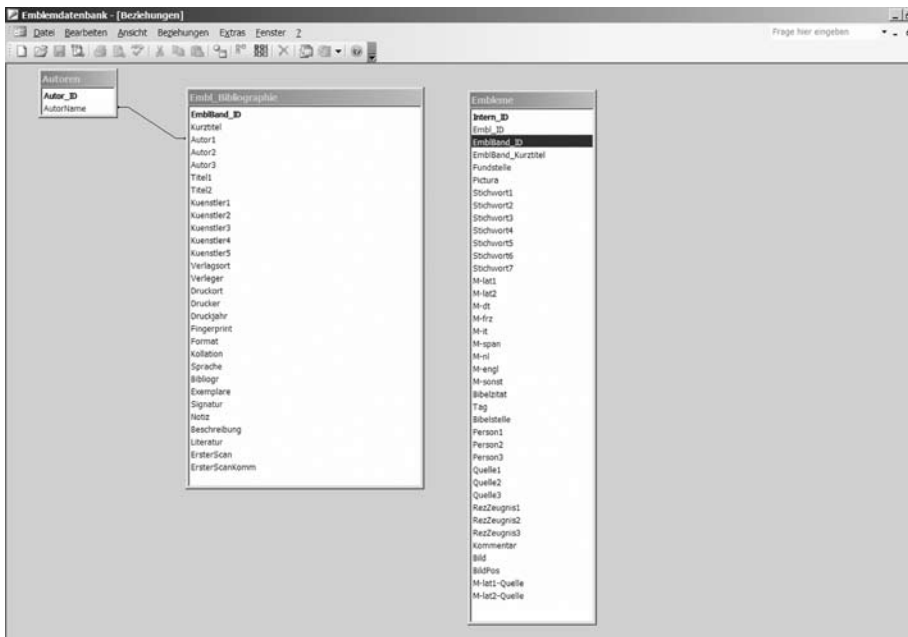
Fig. 4: Demonstration of the XML-export of the ACCESS database structure

```
-<corpus xsl:schemaLocation="http://diglib.hab.de/rules/schema/emblem http://diglib.hab.de/rules/schema/emblem/emblem.xsd">
  - <biblioDesc workID="reusn_aureol">
      + <tei:teiHeader></tei:teiHeader>
    - <copyDesc xlink:href="http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~emblem/loadframe.html?toc_name=reusn_aureol.html&img_id=img_reusn_
aureol00001">
        <copyID>BSB: Rar. 4593</copyID>
        <owner countryCode="GE">Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Germany</owner>
        <digDesc comp="complete" scope="all">digital facsimile in grayscale 8 bit</digDesc>
    </copyDesc>
    - <emblem id="aaIntern_ID3246" xlink:href="http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~emblem/loadframe.html?toc_name=reusn_aureol.html&img_
id=img_reusn_aureol00016" page="A 1 r">
      - <motto>
        -
            Maiestas principis divina
            <normalisation xml:lang=»de»>normaliertere Text Maisestas</normalisation>

the understanding, there is no emblem. In the case of *La Perrière* this rule is contradicted, as it is without doubt an emblem book, but its emblems have no mottoes. Changing the schema by making the motto optional would mean allowing a certain amount of arbitrariness in an emblem description, as it will no longer contain any compulsory elements. A solution may be to introduce a sort of 'virtual motto' for the transcription element.

The Utrecht encoding is slightly different from the Glasgow one. Emblems are grouped by <text> sections (Fig. 7). For my purpose it was very helpful to have the XML source files and an excellent documentation readily available on the web. The extraction and conversion of the motto divisions therefore worked smoothly.

The Wolfenbüttel XML data are a structurally different from the others in that the encoding follows the book structure rather than the sequence of emblems. In some cases emblem parts had to be retrieved from different parts of the book. While merely extracting the motto this caused no difficulty. If one seeks to accomplish a more sophisticated mapping, the XSLT might become more complex. At all events, a complete conversion is feasible, since the connection of the various emblem parts is secured by 'next'-attributes (Fig. 8). The mapping of the UIUC data was quite easy, which are encoded in Dublin Core (Fig. 9). After having converted all of these metadata to a format that complies with the emblem schema, I applied a script which is able to convert the resulting normalized XML to SQL statements, as can be seen in figure 10 (Fig. 10). To ensure a high degree of consistency the extraction was restricted to 4 fields, i.e. ID, transcription of the motto, URL and language. It should be emphasized that this last conversion to SQL is a standardized one. While all the other scripts and conversion routines were proprietary and had to be developed for each of the projects, the converted XML version is compliant to the schema, and it allowed the application of standardized scripts, e.g. a transformation into SQL. The SQL data, in turn, may be uploaded into any SQL database. The result of this process can be viewed at http://diglib.hab.de/?db=emblem_unioncat. The overall process of converting the various input formats and the final integration of mottoes in an union catalogue can be visualized (Fig. 11). Thus it becomes clear how the schema can be set to work. The various transformations and, above all, the Munich example have shown that it should not be too difficult to convert all the information contained in the records and fill in the corresponding fields in the emblem schema. The advantage is self-evident. Using standardized XML allows for standardized processing of data such as a conversion into SQL, PDF, simple text, D.C., easy delivery via OAI etc. In addition, if all or most of our data can be exported in a schema-compliant form, a centralized access to more than a motto index can be achieved. Most promising at the moment seems to be a central index for Iconclass notations, if applicable.[12]

---

12  See the Iconclass browser developed by the Mnemosyne project (http://www.mnemosyne.org/emblems/) and applied successfully in Glasgow (http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/).

```
      </back>
</text>
<text type="emblem" id="v161503" ana="ip020119" TEIform="text">
   <ana refers="ip030102"/>
   <ana refers="ip030176"/>
   <ana refers="ip030185"/>
   <body TEIform="body">
      <pb id="pb12" n="12" docthumb="pb12thumb" doc="v1615pb12" TEIform="pb"/>
      <div id="v1615031" status="ready" lang="lat" type="motto" org="uniform" sample="complete" part="N
         <p id="v1615031p" TEIform="p">EX AMORE ADOPTIO. </p>
      </div>
      <div id="v1615032" status="ready" lang="lat" type="subscriptio" org="uniform" sample="complete" pa
         <div id="v16150321" status="ready" org="uniform" sample="complete" part="N" TEIform="div">
```

Fig. 7: Demonstration of the EPU XML data

```
   <p/>
</div>
<!-- 1 -->
<div type="motto" corresp="i00027" lang="de" next="e00001">
   <lg lang="de">
      <l>
         <pb corresp="i00027"/>Das Jungste Gericht.<index corresp="i00027" level1="Jüngste Gericht" index="stw"/>
      </l>
   </lg>
</div>
<div type="subscriptio" corresp="i00027" lang="de" next="e00001">
   <lg lang="de">
      <l>O Mensch bedenck das letzt Gericht/</l>
      <l>Wie dasselb werd außbleiben nicht/</l>
```

Fig. 8: Demonstration of the Wolfenbüttel XML data

```
<rec>
      <ID>1</ID>
      <Author>Pfann, Johann</Author>
      <Emblem_ID>Pfann, No. 1, [p.1]</Emblem_ID>
      <Title>Aigentlicher Abriß / der Neuen im Spital Vfgehengt= / ten Tafeln, neben Specifirung der=
      <Emblem_record_no>245</Emblem_record_no>
      <Motto lang="la">Vix ubi natus homo, hunc circumdant mille pericla.</Motto>
      <Motto lang="emg">Sobald ein Mensch kompt auf die Welt, Es ihm itzt da dann dorten fehlt, Mit
      <Motto lang="de"/>
      <Descriptors>Woman</Descriptors>
      <Descriptors>Table</Descriptors>
      <Descriptors>Newborn</Descriptors>
      <Descriptors>Cup</Descriptors>
      <Descriptors>Man</Descriptors>
      <Iconclass>31D15 adult woman</Iconclass>
      <Iconclass>41A711 table</Iconclass>
      <Iconclass>42A212 the new-born child</Iconclass>
      <Iconclass>41C321 cup</Iconclass>
      <Iconclass>31D14 adult man</Iconclass>
      <Topos>Consolation for the sick</Topos>
      <Theme/>
      <Artist>Pfann, Johann</Artist>
      <Book_Identifier>B14</Book_Identifier>
```

Fig. 9: Demonstration of the UIUC data in Dublin Core

There are, however, some drawbacks in simply putting the data together. One of the major obstacles for getting consistent searches is the transcription itself. As one can gather from the *Unioncat* database, all of the mottoes are transcribed according to the original spelling. In order to obtain consistent searches on the data the search for 'v' and 'u', for 'i' and 'j' has to be regularized and the ligatures such as

```
INSERT INTO `motto` (`id` , `transcription` , `lang` , `url` )
VALUES (NULL ,'Vix ubi natus homo, hunc circumdant mille pericla.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/im
VALUES (NULL ,'Sobald ein Mensch kompt auf die Welt, Es ihm itzt da dann dorten fehlt, Mit Unglück, Trübsal vnd Kranc
VALUES (NULL ,'Ferre crucem discas, confidas: IOVA iuvabit.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/image/14
VALUES (NULL ,'Schick dich nur drein, geh nit beseitz Trag mit Sanfftmut willig dein Creutz. Den graden Weg thus mit be
VALUES (NULL ,'Pauper es: Ad dominum fuge. Nil sors dura nocebit.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/ir
VALUES (NULL ,'Armut regiert um allem Lannd. Dem Frommen ists nie gwesen schannd. Die zeitlich armut willig trag De
VALUES (NULL ,'Terminus instat, adest mors, crede, patebit Olympus.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/i
VALUES (NULL ,'Der Todt mit seiner Uhr wart auff Der zeigt an das vollendt dein lauff. Im glauben ergreif Jesum Christ. L
VALUES (NULL ,'Si sanus fueris, fer summo vota Jehovae.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/image/2033
VALUES (NULL ,'Wann dir Gott hilfft, dz du wirst gsunt So dancke ihm von hertzen grundt. Hab' acht vnd Sündige nicht f
VALUES (NULL ,'Munde, mihi in coelis sunt gaudia vera, valeto.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/image,
VALUES (NULL ,'Hie acht man nicht der gantzen Welt. Gantz nichts ist alles gold vnd gelt. Nie hat ein end all unser leid G
VALUES (NULL ,'Hoc mage castigat DEUS hunc, quo charior ipsi.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/imag
VALUES (NULL ,'So machts daß Herz, der nichts den gut. Je lieber Kindt, ie stercker Ruth. Sein Zuchtigung nicht gring du
VALUES (NULL ,'Imprimis doleas peccasse, petasque remitti.','la','http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/emblems/image/51
VALUES (NULL ,'All deine Sund hertzlich berey Bitt Gott daß er dir gnedig sey. Und wiß er thu keim mehr auslegen Dann
```
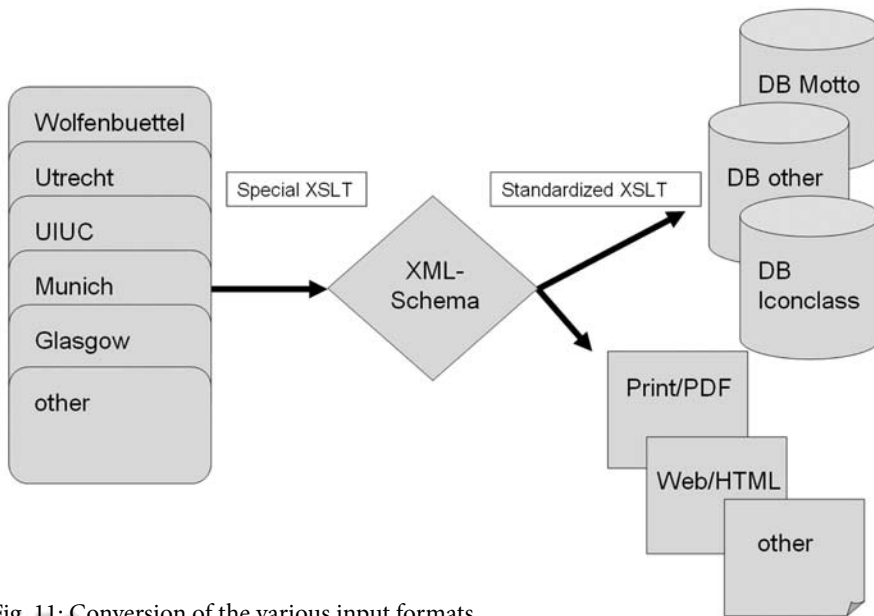
Fig. 10: XML normalized to SQL statements

Fig. 11: Conversion of the various input formats

'ae' have to be dissolved. These are technical problems that we can – theoretically - overcome by automatically transforming data into normalized forms. The search for mottoes in vernacular languages with their inherent great variety of spellings from the sixteenth up to the eighteenth century is, however, extremely difficult. These would have to be carefully harmonized i.e. transcribed according to modern spelling in order to be able to achieve consistent results. I doubt, however, that the projects in the field have the resources for providing such time-consuming tran- scriptions.

What I intended to demonstrate in this case study is how emblem metada- ta derived from various sources can be aggregated without much effort, how the

schema can help us to standardize transformation and conversion procedures and how the advantages of the schema can be successfully exploited. Of course, more data than these some hundred mottoes are necessary to create at an efficient search tool, but the goal is clear, and, despite the obstacles we encountered when attempting to normalize transcriptions of texts from the early modern period, I am confident that setting up not only a central index of mottoes or Iconclass notations, but also of complete emblems is feasible. Setting the schema to work will allow us to share data much more easily and make use of the various projects in the field in a much more efficient way than before. From this future emblem research will be able to profit considerably.

Bibliography

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Mesotext. Framing and exploring annotations

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Introduction

Annotation is an important item on the wish list for digital scholarly tools. It is one of John Unsworth's primitives of scholarship (Unsworth 2000). Especially in linguistics, a number of tools have been developed that facilitate the creation of annotations to source material (Bird and Liberman 1999; Carletta et al. 2003). In edition studies, Peter Robinson expressed the need for it to be included in the future digital edition (Robinson 2003). At Brown University's Virtual Humanities Lab work on annotation facilities for its Boccaccio editions is in progress (Zafrin and Armstrong 2005). Wittgenstein students are working on the integration of annotation into a digital edition (Hrachovec and Köhler 2002). The present author has worked on the annotation tool EDITOR (Boot 2005).

When we set out on what was to become the Emblem Project Utrecht, Els Stronks and I wrote a paper on the kinds of analysis we wanted to be possible on our emblem collections (Boot and Stronks 2002). Subsequently, we have researched Petrarchist imagery in Heinsius (in collaboration with Jan de Boer), and rhetorical elements in Jacob Cats (Boot and Stronks 2003), and Els Stronks has analysed the presence of churches in our material (cf. her paper in these proceedings). The ultimate justification for digitisation efforts is not, I still believe, mere electronic availability of the texts, however important that is. The wider issue is to make the content of the works available as potential nodes in a larger digital network that will include not just the sources but also the tools, the output and the intermediate products of scholarship.

Willard McCarty notes that annotation and the commentary have much in common (McCarty 2005, 93). Annotations are the 'morsels' a commentary may bring together, the commentary consists of morsels that might live as individual annotations. Annotation, however, is a much wider phenomenon than that which would fit in a commentary. Annotation is not about the clarification of obscure passages or perhaps commentary to larger text units alone, though that too, but really about anything that can be said with regard to a text: categorisation, illustration, hyperlinking, modelling, etc. This essay explores the concept of annotation, and more specifically it explores what annotations can do. The word I will use for a body of annotations is *mesotext*. 'Mesotext' because it is text that can be located somewhere in between the primary texts of scholarship (the sources that scholarship is based on), and its secondary texts, the books and articles that it produces. Mesotext is metatext, in the sense of Gérard Genette, it is text that talks about another text. But unlike the ordinary secondary scholarly text, mesotext in a sense is data. It has no explicit point of view, there is no thesis that it explicitly argues for – though it may be used to argue for one, clearly. As the word mesotext indicates,

mesotext is framed by other texts: the texts it is about, the texts it supports, and, as we will see, the models that instruct it. The concept of mesotext may help allay fears that the fragmented nature of the web will strip scholarship (and perhaps life) of some of its coherence and thus of meaning.

Mesotext

The basic ideas of mesotext may be formulated as follows: (1) the business of (our area of) scholarship is the creation of theories about or on the basis of texts; (2) to a large extent, scholarship consists of taking notes; (3) notes refer to texts or fragments of texts; (4) the notes consist of statements that apply theoretical notions to these texts or text fragments; (5) these notes can provide the micro-arguments that validate the theoretical notions and their application; (6) in the digital era, if properly realised, the notes define a hypertext structure that seamlessly connects the primary texts, the notes themselves, the concepts that they instantiate, and the secondary texts that explain these concepts to the public.

We can conceive of mesotext in a number of different ways. We can view mesotext as primarily a reaction to a primary work. John Bradley's Pliny annotation tool sets out to do just that: 'the addition of annotations or the creation of notes to record one's initial reactions to what one has read' – though it also does considerably more (Bradley 2006). The annotations that I am interested in are created in the process of studying the work. We can also move our attention away from the primary text and view mesotext as a body of supporting evidence for a scholarly argument. And lastly, we can try to bracket out both primary text and secondary text and look at mesotext as merely a collection of data, or observations.

From the first perspective, mesotext consists of notes, scribblings, lists and tables that are created in coming to grips with the sources that are the subject of scholarship. When the writing is done, the mesotext tends to be discarded. If considered at all, it is seen as preliminary, unripe, chaotic material. What I am arguing, however, is that in a digital context mesotext can enrich scholarship. Mesotext contains the statements that support a scholarly article's argument – it is the material that underpins our secondary texts. The underpinning consists of, to some extent at least, observations on the primary text(s). In a digital environment, the mesotext can be made accessible from and provide an entrance into the primary text that it is about, as well as the secondary text it supports.

Mesotext is not limited to running text. As mentioned before, it can contain lists and tables. It may also contain categorizations and hyperlinks. Moreover, it need not even be just text (depending on how wide our concept of text is). It may include statistical computations, diagrams, graphs, even pictures. It may also consist of word processor documents, spreadsheets, databases, or output of annotation programmes.

Mesotext is nothing new. The creation of notes to text has been a scholarly practice since time immemorial. There have been periods when nearly all schol-

arship consisted in note-taking and -making, in the creation of brief glosses or longer commentaries on ancient or sacred texts. In modern editorial practice, annotation and commentary are still valuable end products of scholarly activities. In other branches of scholarship, however, annotation has been relegated to a subordinate, preliminary status. Scholars write notes in order to write articles; the notes are thrown away when the article has been completed.

In our second perspective, the view from the scholarly text, the notes are not necessarily thrown away. At least not all of them. Rather, they should be systematised and made to conform to the theoretic notions that have grown out of reading and studying the primary text, and that inform the secondary text. Inevitably, this will prompt further revisions of these notions, as any new contact with a primary text is bound to do. In addition, revised theoretical notions may prompt new rounds of systematisation of the notes. If we are fortunate, and if we have limited our subject wisely, these repeated revisions will end in a body of notes that provides the supporting argument for the scholarly text and details the application of the theoretical notions to the primary text. Following e.g. Leggett and Shipman (2004), I will call the scholarly text, as opposed to the underlying data, the 'narrative'. The narrative explains and contextualises the data.

By 'theoretical notions' I do not necessarily mean anything very grand or abstract, such as Marxism or deconstruction. However, a note about a fragment of a primary work is never just a statement of fact. It is a statement that applies an idea, an aspect of a model, to that work. The note validates the model, extends its scope, or perhaps refutes it.

A successful model in humanities computing should, according to McCarty, be computationally tractable, i.e. be explicit and consistent, and it should be manipulable (McCarty 2005, 25). A model that is explicit in the aspects, or fields, or variables, or categories that it describes, thereby structures the observations that result from its application. That structure defines filtering and navigation facilities on these observations. For example: if a model for narrative characters includes sex and age, and explicitly describes these traits, one can list the characters or their actions by sex and age and maybe even cross-tabulate behavioural aspects against these parameters.

From our third perspective, we can look at mesotext as being just data – not in the sense of being merely an unorganised collection of crude facts, but rather as a collection of observations, that may be more or less interpretive, but is not embedded within a narrative that organises the observations. Outside of the emblem or humanities realm, an atlas may be a good example of what I mean: it is purely factual, nevertheless its maps are organised according to a model. Its facts are not there however to support a specific argument. In this context, I will also speak of mesodata. Mesotext is mesodata, seen through a model. Mesodata is made accessible by the existence of the model.

In emblem studies, what comes to mind when thinking of a collection of observations is the emblem index, and we may want to think in this light about the Henkel and Schöne *Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst* (Henkel and Schöne 1976). Emblem scholars know this book indexes emblems by their main iconographical motif and provides, for each of the indexed emblems, a very condensed description of the meaning. It contains a number of supplementary indices, by motto and by meaning. If only in dimension, it is a monumental feat of scholarship in itself. But it is also a text that provides underlying argumentation for many actual and potential emblem studies.

Let us imagine for a moment that a far-sighted publisher would create a digitised, searchable version of the *Handbuch*. Furthermore, imagine that a publisher or learned society or anyone else should decide to create an online emblem journal. Then, try to envisage that with each mentioning of an iconographical motif in this journal, there would be a popup menu, and one item on this menu would be 'look up in digitised Henkel and Schöne'. And let us imagine one more thing: that the emblems in the digitised *Handbuch* should be hyperlinked to their display on one or more of our digital emblem sites; and lastly, that the digitised *Handbuch* should create a reverse link to the places where it is linked from, and thus probably to where it is referred to or quoted. There is nothing very revolutionary or even difficult or sophisticated about these imaginings.

What we would have then would be a perfect, if straightforward, example of mesotext. A large amount of raw (meso-)data, helpful in exploring the primary works that have been indexed; accessible from the scholarship that is partially based upon the data; helpful in investigating the claims that the scholarship makes; referring back to the scholarship that quotes it. The index of the *Handbuch* would in this case provide the model of the visual world that the observations are based on. The reason why I call this hypothetical example of mesotext straightforward, is that such an index is not a very sophisticated model.

In fact, this is not that far from reality. Hans Brandhorst and his Mnemosyne are working on a cumulative Iconclass index on the emblems Utrecht, Wolfenbüttel and Glasgow (Brandhorst 2004). Researchers will be able to link to that index, to find emblems by iconographical motif, and the index will refer visitors to the site that displays them.

Now I am not going to suggest the Henkel and Schöne *Handbuch* or the Mnemosyne Image Index are the kinds of works that come into existence as the by-product of an article, saving scrap paper from the waste bucket. However, I do believe the *Handbuch* and the scholar's notes share some important characteristics: with some degree of precision they refer to one or more primary texts, to some extent they conform to a model and they can support an argument.
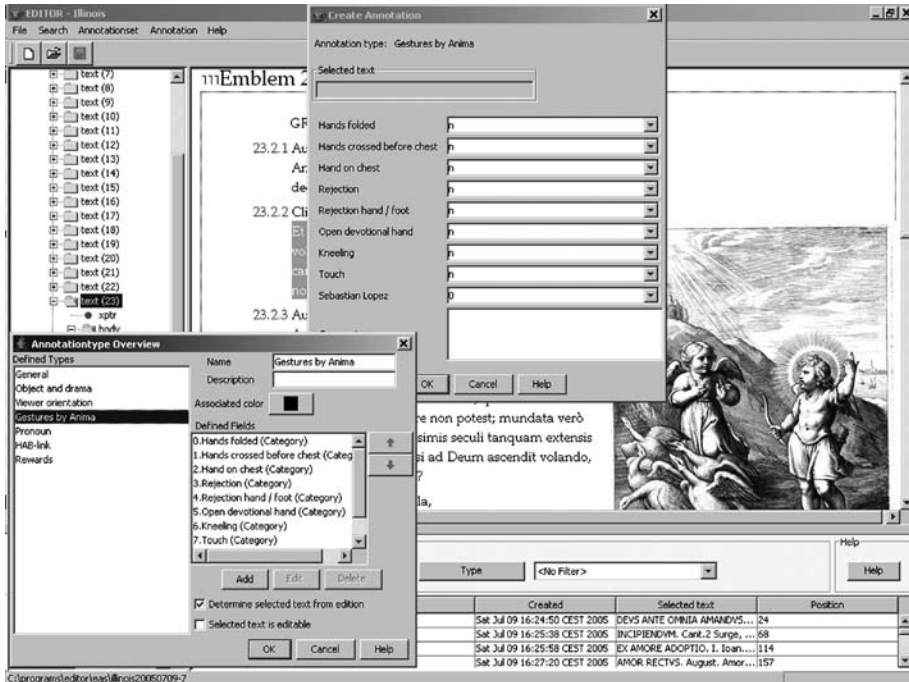
Fig. 1: EDITOR annotation creation

Two examples

I will discuss two examples that can illustrate what mesotext may look like. The first example comes from the EDITOR annotation toolset that we are working on at the Huygens Institute (Boot 2005, forthcoming-a). It should be possible to feed back the annotations created with EDITOR into a digital edition. I have been working recently on what I have named SANE, for Scholarly Annotation Exchange, which is a protocol and software for exchanging annotation information between annotation tools and annotation clients – a digital edition might be such a client (Boot forthcoming-b). Figure 1 shows the annotation creation tool. It displays the text to be annotated, in this case *Amoris divini emblemata* from the EPU collection; a hierarchical view of the underlying XML file (on the left); the defined annotation types (bottom left; I created these annotation types to investigate aspects of theatricality in this book; the types can consist of multiple fields – memo fields, categorisation fields, hyperlinks, etc.); a window that results from selecting a text fragment or node for annotation, where the researcher can fill in the values for the fields defined for that type; and finally an overview of the created annotations (bottom), that can be used for sorting, filtering and for accessing the annotated locations in the book.

Using the SANE prototype, a digital edition can request EDITOR-created annotation information from an annotation server. The edition might display avail-
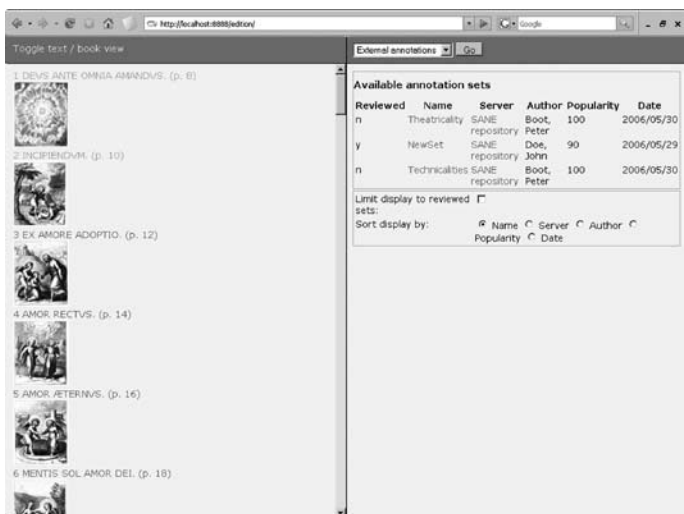
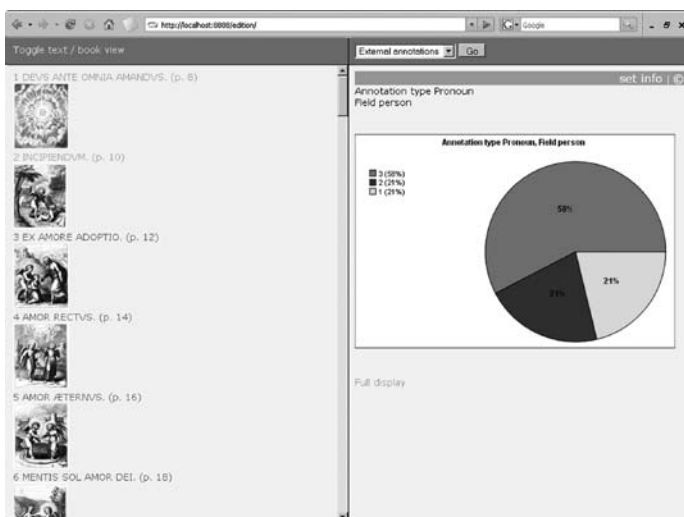Fig. 2: Display of available annotation sets in the edition

Fig. 3: Display of the value distribution of an annotation field using SANE

able annotation sets, as in Fig. 2. The user could select an annotation set and for instance ask for a pie chart with distribution information on a specific field (Figure 3). Selecting a specific value (in this case, third person pronouns) would lead to a display of the annotated fragments (Figure 4). The user could then ask for the full annotation information (Figure 5).

However, this should be only the first half of the story. The figure displays an annotation that says 'hem' is a third-person personal pronoun. It is an annotation

Fig. 4: Display of annotated fragments and annotations

Fig. 5: Display of a single annotation

that by it self is really not that interesting. It is only interesting as part of a larger group of annotations, being used to make a point, for instance about the nature of the speaking persona in this book. The second half of the story would be a way to point to groups of annotations from the secondary literature that discusses them. We should be able to include in our articles something like the pie chart shown in Fig. 3, and that pie chart should be 'live'. Just as in the edition, its slices should be hyperlinked to a display of the annotations represented by that slice.

What is remarkable about this example are three issues: (1) the annotations must refer to precise locations in the primary text in order for this to work properly; (2) the secondary text must refer to the annotations, and to specific annotation displays; and (3) the high-level annotation displays – the diagrams, but also any view filtered by for example an annotation type – depend on the presence of a level of metadata. The annotation types, with their constituent fields and values, provide the structure that makes the annotations amenable to filtering and more generally manipulable. The annotations types, as suggested earlier, form a model of the phenomenon being studied, and the annotations provide an application of that model to the work being investigated.

The notion that the annotation types provide a model that structures annotations is attractive, because of McCarty's claim that modelling is really the proper business of humanities computing. Annotations then are not something marginal; they have their place at the centre of what computers can do for the humanities.

Though model-making is implicit in much of humanities scholarship – indeed, as McCarty notes, any well-articulated idea would qualify as a model of its subject – what humanities computing adds is, as we have seen, the demands for computational tractability and manipulability. That implies the need for formal definition of the models. The quality, subtlety and richness of the model are of course largely functions of the insight that the researcher has into the phenomena and works that he or she studies. But the potential expressiveness is determined by the metamodel: the abstract types of data and relations that our modelling language allows us to express. The second example of 'annotations in action' that I will discuss is based on a richer metamodel than EDITOR's annotation types have to offer. It is taken from an index of metaphor in *Amoris divini emblemata* that I am working on.
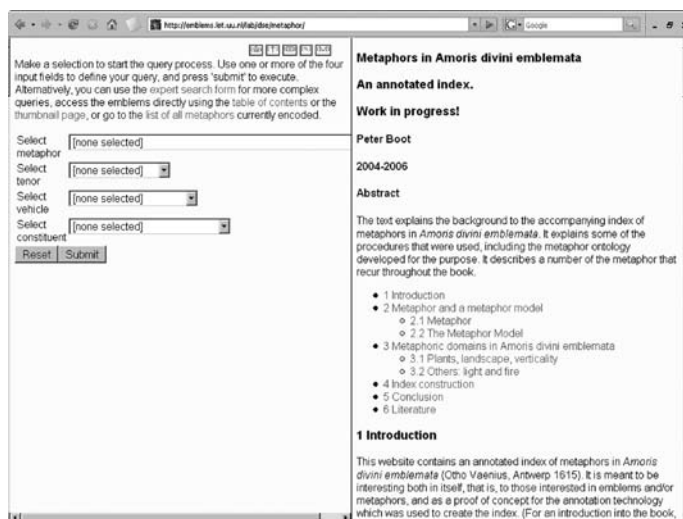

Fig. 6: Metaphor index: narrative and search interface

In EDITOR, the annotation types are essentially individual, unrelated classes of things. There is no notion of subclasses, and no way to create relations between classes. There is no natural way to express relational observations like 'divine love is pointing the soul towards heaven', or indeed, more to the point for a metaphor index, that a text fragment 'sol', the sun, serves as the vehicle in a metaphor of which divine love is the tenor. Or to express the fact that hills and church spires and trees have something in common – they point upward. These richer models can be defined using the Web Ontology Language OWL (Boot 2006). To some extent the boundaries between annotation, primary and secondary text will be harder to draw than in the previous example.

The metaphor index opens with a view of an article-like text, a narrative, (including things like abstract and bibliography), at the right hand side of the screen, and a search interface into the annotations about metaphor on the left (Fig. 6). The user can choose to open a table of contents on the left. The article text contains hyperlinks, and these links are either towards search queries on the annotations, towards emblems or to elements of the ontology that underlies the metaphor descriptions detailed in the annotations. Clicking a search for plant life on the right will bring up a list of hits on the left (Fig. 7), and clicking on a hit will display the relevant emblem with the particular sample of plant life highlighted (Figure 8). The left hand frame will mention the other metaphors and metaphor-like structures described for this emblem, again hyperlinked to queries for that metaphor, but also provided with hyperlinks to a display of information about the relevant class in the ontology.
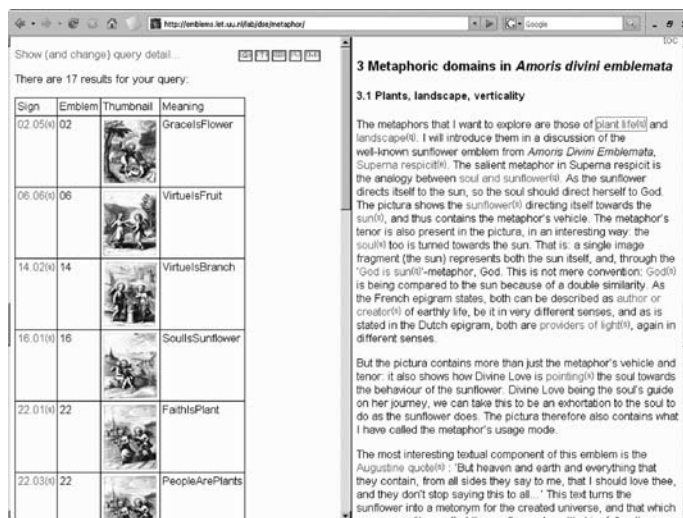

Fig. 7: Metaphor index: clicking a hyperlink executes a search for metaphors and brings up the results
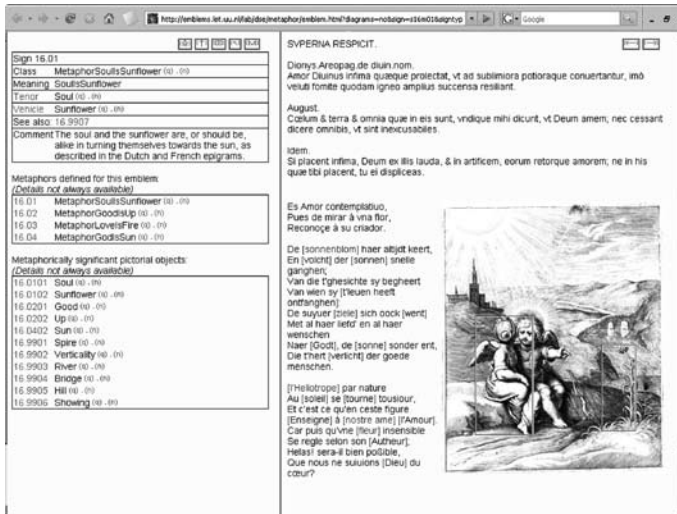
Fig. 8: Displays of an emblem with one metaphor highlighted on the right, others listed on the left

What is noticeable about this metaphor index is (1) that whereas in the annotated edition that we saw before the edition was the point of reference for the annotations – even though the annotations could be used to select which fragments of the edition to view, it was still the edition that was being studied with the help of the annotations, not the other way around – in the metaphor index the point of reference is really the narrative; and (2) that at the surface level this is really a single hypertext; from a user perspective it is hard to see where the narrative stops and the mesotext begins, or where the mesotext ends and the primary text begins. The surface hypertext however is a derivative product. It is not really authored; it is generated behind the scenes from a technical representation of the narrative, the mesotext and the primary texts.

Roland and the need for closure

In the past, the interlinear glosses in a manuscript that translated Latin words into a vernacular equivalent developed into separate works, dictionaries, thereby creating a distance between the word and its gloss (Hüllen 1989). Today, we can restore the proximity between word and gloss by hyperlinking the dictionary and the primary text. What mesotext can do is similar: move the annotation out of the notes and appendices into a separate and structured body of observations; but thanks to the possibilities of the electronic age still readily available from both work and article.

In Figure 9 we encounter another interesting example of such of a structured body of annotations, which I will use to address the problem of closure. It is the
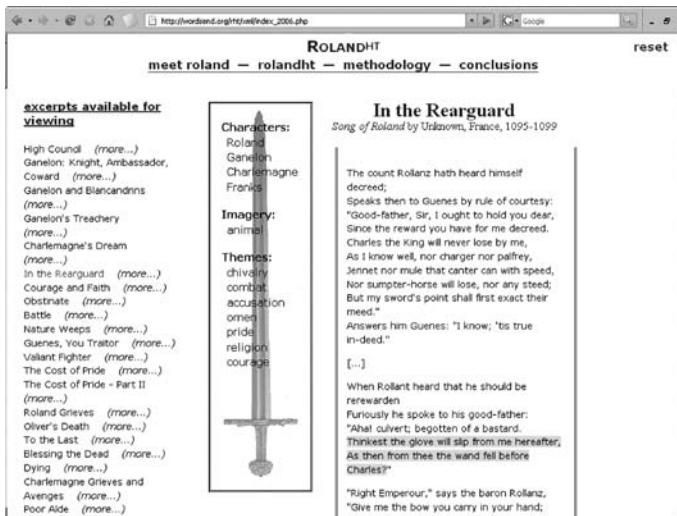
Fig. 9: RolandHT, by Vika Zafrin: scenes, annotations, highlighted
text fragments

work of Vika Zafrin, and her subject is the tradition of the *Chanson de Roland*,
from its earliest sources through its later incarnations, such as *Orlando Furioso*
(Zafrin 2007). On the left there is a list of scenes from the Roland stories. Selecting
one of the scenes takes one, on the right, to a text fragment narrating that scene
from one of the text traditions. In this fragment, based on the annotations, a num-
ber of things can be highlighted: references to characters, to imagery and themes.
The available ones are listed in the centre. A mouseover on one of these highlights
the corresponding occurrences in the text fragment. Clicking in the list brings up,
on the left of the screen, the list of scenes where that person appears or that theme
occurs. In that list of course one can click and bring up that scene, and then click
on a theme that appears in that scene – and so on, ad infinitum.

It is this 'ad infinitum' that may be disconcerting. Are we never done with this?
Zafrin argues that the desire for closure, as it is known in hypertext studies, is un-
productive 'if the goal of reading is to acquire a broad contextual sense. (…) One
can merely stop at a certain point, knowing there's always more to explore' (Zaf-
rin 2006). For Zafrin, the desire for closure is merely what she calls a 'function of
our reading habits'. Against that view I would argue that whilst reading, the way
we process information depends among other things on our expectations of what
we are going to find. The traditions of academic writing help us orient ourselves
during the reading process and in fact enable us to reach some kind of conclusion
about the worth of what we are reading. Scholarship knows no closure, but indi-
vidual pieces of scholarship do and should offer at least provisional closure. We
need to move on, after all. We do not read our indexes, we search them once we
have a reason to do so. This argues, I believe for the presence of a narrative that can

be seen not as closing, but as framing the mesotext, as providing context, orientation and motivation for exploring the mesodata. (And Zafrin will in fact incorporate a number of critical essays in *Roland*[HT]).

Conclusion

From the above, a number of conditions for successful mesotext emerge. To summarize:

(1)   the primary text must be structured, so as to facilitate precise addressing of the text fragments being annotated and to facilitate grouping and aggregation of annotations based on text structure (that is, there should be a text model and not just an annotation model. This text model, which is outside of the scope of this article, will probably be based on TEI encoding);

(2)   the annotations must refer to precise locations in the primary texts;

(3)   there should be a formalized model of the domain;

(4)   the model should be a model of a single, coherent domain;

(5)   the annotations should conform to the formal model;

(6)   the annotations should have been applied consistently;

(7)   the formal model should be a partial expression of the theory that the narrative espouses;

(8)   the narrative should contain active links into the body of annotations: to individual annotations, groups of annotations, statistical computations done on annotations, charts of annotations, etc.;

(9)   systematic exploration should be possible from all sides – from the primary text, from the narrative, from the model and from the mesodata. We should be able to enter the mesotext either on the basis of the text unit of the primary text, or based on the issues dealt with in the narrative, or based on the types of annotations that have been defined, or finally by unguided browsing and searching;

(10) a final condition for useful mesotext is that it should be open. SANE attempts to create conditions for open mesotext. The metaphor index however is at present a closed system (if it can be called a system), and so apparently is *Roland* [HT].

This last condition raises difficult issues about the infrastructure of scholarly publication. Obviously, the present infrastructure, where a PDF document is still something to be grateful for, is woefully inadequate for the exchange of annotations. However, the cross-fertilizing effect that the conjunction of multiple bodies of annotations can have, will not occur unless we make these annotations, the texts, the articles and the models available in an open and publicly available format. More experimentation is clearly necessary in order to prepare the ground for annotation exchange. One of the biggest challenges will be the creation of models that are both sufficiently powerful to express significant insight, and still sufficiently flexi-

ble to adapt to changing circumstances and views. Our models should be lightweight and open to extension, modification and reorganisation. They should be expressed using formalisms that are widely understood.

Now that the initial goals of the Emblem Project Utrecht have been met, it appears that creating useful annotation tools and devising ways to share the results is considerably harder to do than digitisation itself. However, the rise of Open Access and the concept of the 'Information Commons' (Kranich 2004) seem to bode well for sharing scholarly material and the related annotations. More specifically, the increasing popularity of path creation tools such as H2O playlists (Zittrain et al. 2006) and the shortly to be released Collex (Nowviskie 2005; Nowviskie and McGann 2005) is a good sign for scholarship based on digital primary material. Networked annotation tools proliferate. Perhaps the concept of mesotext can, with McCarty's insistence on the importance of modelling, help create the conditions for successful exchange of annotations in the scholarly domain.

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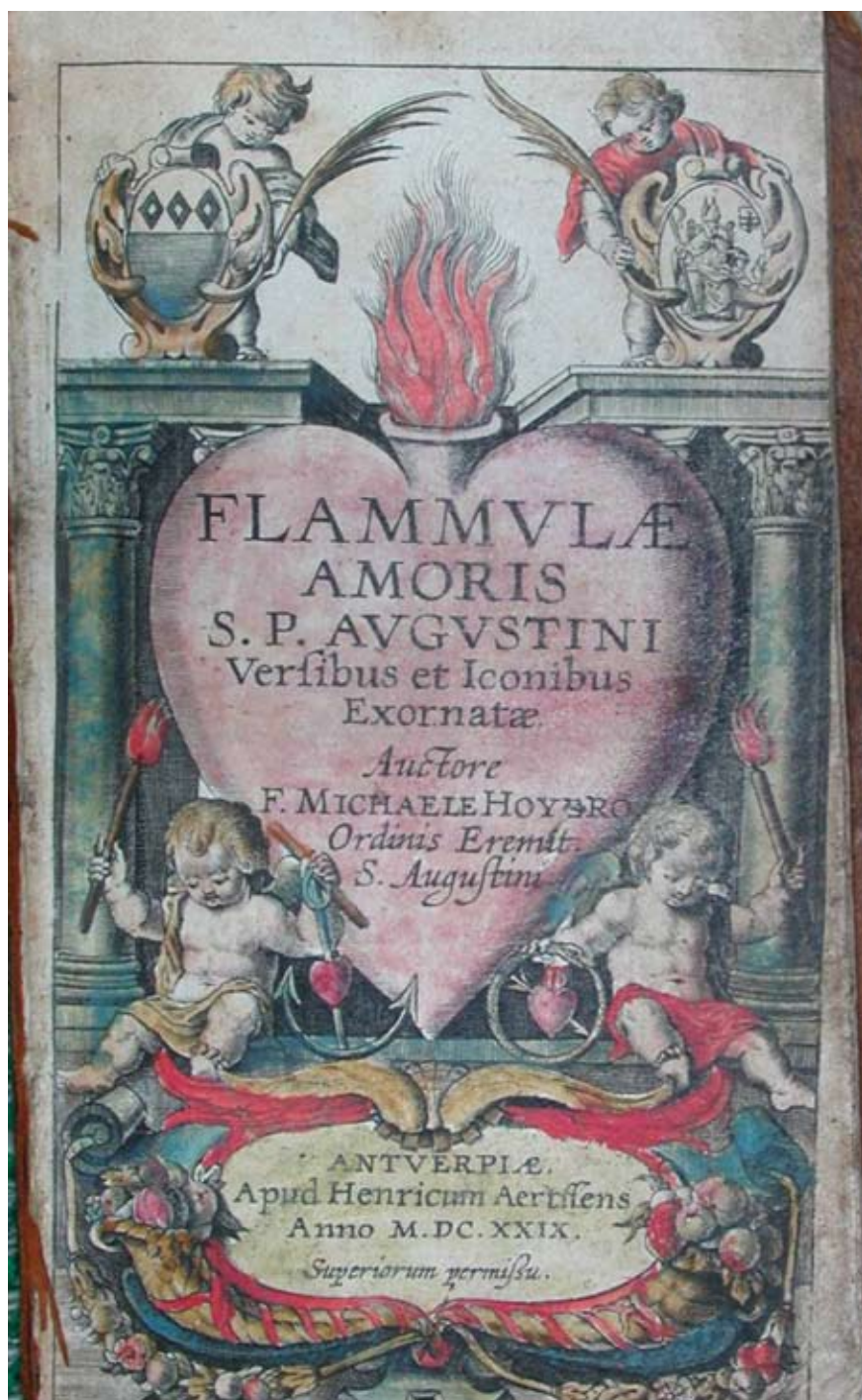
Colour plates

Plate 1: M. Hoyer, titlepage, in: *Flammulae amoris* (private collection). (See also Fig. 5 on page 41)

Plate 2: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 5, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also Fig. 6 on page 42)

Plate 3: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no 8 in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also Fig. 7 on page 42)

Plate 4: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 19 in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem).
(See also Fig. 8 on page 43)

Plate 5: M. Hoyer, *pictura* of emblem no. 24, in: *Flammulae amoris* (idem). (See also Fig. 9 on page 44)

Plate 6: Fragment of manuscript with reproduction of emblems dedicated to the the king Felipe III and Margarita de Austria in 1611, at Alcalá de Henares. (See also Fig. 7 on page 102)

Plate 7: Emblem 1: Pulcrae essent aliae... (See also Fig. 2 on page 145)

Plate 8: Emblem 2: Sic tua ni spiret... (See also Fig. 3 on page 145)

Plate 9: Emblem 3: Iam iugum detrectant... (See also Fig. 4 on page 145)

Plate 10: Emblem 4: Sic specie dulci...(See also Fig. 5 on page 145)

Plate 11: Emblem 5: Et mea consumit... (See also Fig. 6 on page 145)

Plate 12: Emblem 6: Sic mihi servitio... (See also Fig. 7 on page 145)

Plate 13: Emblem 7: Extinguerit ignem... (See also Fig. 8 on page 145)

Plate 14: Emblem 8: Nec tollit amorem... (See also Fig. 9 on page 145)

Plate 15: Grotesques between emblems 2 and 3. (See also Fig. 10 on page 146)

The emblem is a wonderful invention of the Renaissance. The funny, mysterious, moralizing, learned or pious combinations of word and image in the crossover emblematic genre can be characterized as a delicate network of motifs and mottoes. This network served as a receptacle for the traditions of the European visual and literary arts. In its turn it influenced architecture, painting, love poetry, children's books, preaching and interior decoration.

Together emblem books and the culture to which they belong form a web of closely interrelated references. It is surely no coincidence that digitised emblem books are popular items on what may be their modern counterpart: the World Wide Web.

In 2003 the Emblem Project Utrecht set out to digitise 25 representative Dutch love emblem books. The love emblem is one of the best known emblematic subgenres, first developed in the Low Countries and soon popular all over Europe.

To celebrate the completion of the work done by the Emblem Project Utrecht, a conference was held on November 6 and 7, 2006. The focus of this conference was twofold: the Dutch love emblem and the process of digitising the emblems. This volume contains the selected papers of this conference, complemented by a general introduction and additional papers by the editors.

DANS (Data Archiving and Networked Services) is the national organization in the Netherlands for storing and providing permanent access to research data from the humanities and social sciences. DANS manages existing data archives but also works on further developments of the data infrastructure in new fields. In the course of performing this task, DANS frequently organizes scholarly symposia and conferences about subjects related to data preservation, access and infrastructure. Reports of these and other important meetings in the field are published in the series DANS Symposium Publications.

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