

Imitation and Adaptation in Late Humanist Emblematic Poetry: Zsámboky (Sambucus) and Whitney

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After 1550, late-humanist Latin poetry in Western Europe continued to flourish only in the Low Countries and Germany. In France, Latin and vernacular literature coexisted during the second half of the sixteenth century. In England, many authors, such as William Gager, Walter Haddon, and Christopher Jonson, achieved renown as neo-Latin poets, and they wrote either wholly, or mainly, in the learned language. However, a look at the three most eminent neo-Latin poets of the period reveals that the works of the Scot, George Buchanan, were published mainly in France and in Portugal, while the poems of the Welshman, John Owen (a member of Philip Sidney's circle) were published and presumably appreciated mainly in Germany and the Low Countries. Thomas Campion wrote in English as well as in Latin. He is valued today for his English poetry, but in his own day was also a Latin poet. In the Low Countries, scholarly Latin poetry flourished more than anywhere else in the second half of the sixteenth century, and thus the few English poets who continued in the Latin humanist tradition had particularly close ties with the Netherlands. If we look at the scene some decades later, we find George Herbert and Andrew Marvell; John Milton is the greatest English poet to write Latin poetry, and his Latin works formed an important part of his literary career.¹

The situation was different in central Europe, where neo-Latin poetry continued to be widely composed, particularly by Czechs, Poles and Hungarians, but also in the Scandinavian and Baltic countries.

Both earlier local traditions and the influence of the German universities were mainly responsible for this (Tarnai 1987 and 1997). Not many poets from these regions used the best Italian, French and Netherlandish sources of humanist poetry with any frequency or discernment. One of the few who did was the Hungarian, Joannes Zsámboky (Sambucus), who distinguished himself equally in philology, literary theory, and historiography. Zsámboky spent many years studying in Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries, before settling in Vienna in the 1560s; there he became a central figure in the local circle of humanists, as well as an influential link between European and Hungarian humanism. He enjoyed the friendship of Henri Estienne and supported the young Justus Lipsius; he was an active member of the newly-founded Poetic Academy of Preßburg, and a productive editor who, in addition to several of the classics, edited the collected poems of Janus Pannonius, the first great humanist poet outside Italy. He also published his own early poetry in Padua in 1555. But Zsámboky's lasting fame as a poet rests on his *Emblemata*, which was published in Antwerp in 1564.²

It is well known that the *emblemata* were an important source for Geoffrey Whitney's collection, *A Choice of Emblemes*, published at Leiden in 1586. Literary historians in England formally noted this in 1866, when Henry Green published the first of several facsimile editions of Whitney's work.³ In his accompanying essay, Green pointed out that 48 of Whitney's emblems are adaptations from Zsámboky. He included them in a table and pointed to parallel occurrences of some of the themes in Shakespeare's plays.⁴ Green also indicated the para-

1. This essay is based on research conducted within two two-month fellowships under the terms of the Exchange Agreement between the British and the Hungarian Academies in 1996 and 1998 at the Warburg Institute, London. I wish to thank the staff of the Warburg Institute and the Librarian of the Stirling Maxwell Collection, Glasgow, for their help at all times. I am grateful to U. Sdunnus, J. B. Trapp and P. M. Daly for their help in improving the translation, made by Zsuzsa Boronkay. The translations of Latin quotations from Whitney's book derive from *Index Emblematicus*; otherwise, the translations are my own.

On Latin Poetry and vernacular traditions, see Binns, ix, 58; Laurens and Balavoine; Kühlmann; Wiegand; and Jones.

2. See Varga 1963, 1964 and 1965; and Téglásy, 185.

3. See Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes. A Fac-simile reprint.*, 248f. I used the *Index Emblematicus* facsimile edition: G. Whitney, "A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises" (hereafter W with page number). See also Green, and Dézsi.

phrastic and imitative character of Whitney's adaptations: they were clearly not intended as literal translations, nor as faithful renditions of content, but free variations and interpretations of the ideas suggested by Zsámboky.

Because of the peculiar history of their origin and of the way they were put together, Whitney's adaptations of Zsámboky's emblems are a revealing and essential part of the little explored history of the European impact of the Hungarian's *Emblemata*. A comparison of the two works also allows us to examine Whitney's adaptation techniques. In addition, it presents an opportunity to consider the interactions of literary and visual traditions and to study the transformation of the late humanist epigram and emblem in the later sixteenth century. It will highlight the different ways in which Zsámboky and Whitney saw themselves as authors, as well as their different concepts of the emblem and their working methods. How certain mechanisms of thinking with visual topoi worked, and how they changed, will also become clearer. The analysis aims to contribute to the understanding, both of the complex process by which emblematic conventions became established, and of the ways in which individual emblems work, and to place the *Emblemata* and the *Choice of Emblemes* more precisely within the history of this medium of expression.

The Emblemata

Zsámboky's collection of emblems has been regarded as the first important example of the moralizing and philosophizing branch of mannerist emblematic poetry based on the *imitatio* of classical patterns. The book's key characteristics are a pronounced stoicism, a Christian-humanist orientation, and strong didacticism. It clearly represents the author's concept of the emblem, as well as his personal views and attitudes.⁵ Zsámboky's concept of the emblem is part of his wider poetic theory which focusses on allegorical imitation. Zsámboky's foreword, with its emphasis on how the emblem conveys hidden meanings, reveals a profound knowledge of the ideas of Alciato, Bocchi, Giovio, and Ramus: the esoteric nature of the emblem is meant to challenge the reader to reflect about its meaning

4. Cf. Daly 1993, 1984; Daly and Silcox. On Shakespeare and Whitney, see Klein; Richards; Horden; Rusche; Wilson; and Fabiny.

5. See Homann, and the review by T. Klaniczay, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1975, 246f.

and, as a result of such understanding, to strive for the improvement of his behaviour and his life.⁶

The emblem pictures were commissioned in part by Zsámboky himself and in part by his publisher, Plantin, after the epigrams had been written. As a result, the images have a largely supporting or illustrative role in relation to the written word. Pictures and texts stand in a figurative and analogical relationship to each other. Zsámboky's epigrams are written in numerous individual variations of different ancient metrical forms, thus showing his wide knowledge of classical authors. Most of his topics also have ancient literary origins. They are taken from the human world, usually from everyday life, and from nature and mythology. Zsámboky aimed to include as many aspects of life and as many life-styles as possible. Thus, there are emblems on the private life of the individual as well as on the relationship of the individual and the public, on practical problems as well as on transcendental values. Fortune, the Virtues and Vices also figure in many of the emblems (Buck 1982).

Structurally, the epigrams fall into three broad categories. In the first, the epigram moves from the specific to the general: it begins with the naming of the topic, with a postulate, with a description, or with an account of a particular situation. An interpretation follows, and at the end stands a generalizing conclusion or moral. Epigrams of the second type proceed from the general to the specific: they begin with a general statement which indicates the thrust of the interpretation, and this is followed by an exegesis in which the thought is applied to a concrete topic or analogy. In epigrams belonging to the third category, topical and specific references are either indirect or completely absent, and the poem is built around abstract reflections (Homann, 69). Zsámboky showed a preference for oppositions of features and situations, and dialogues. In quite a few of his poems, animals and inanimate objects are made to speak.

All of these characteristic features contributed to the great success of the *Emblemata*. Within a few years of the first edition of 1564, it became one of the most popular, most published and best-known emblem collections of the last third of the sixteenth century. In addition to six Latin editions between 1564 and 1599, a Dutch translation appeared in 1566 and one in French in 1567. The translated versions go

6. Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, 1564, 3-7 (hereafter Z with page number, the following editions Z with publication year and page number). Cf. Téglásy, 92-117; Knapp and Tüskés, esp. 181f.; Drysdall.

back to the first edition.⁷ With the exception of the 1599 Lyons edition, all editions including the translations were published by Christopher Plantin of Antwerp.

Readers' notes⁸ and carefully coloured woodcuts⁹ in many surviving copies testify that the work was widely disseminated and intensively used. The *Emblemata* were often bound with the emblem collections of Alciato¹⁰ and Hadrianus Junius.¹¹ Recognition of Zsámboky and his book by fellow authors is illustrated in a number of contemporary works. Mignault, for instance, included an appreciative reference in his commentary on Alciato,¹² and Hadrianus Junius dedicated a heraldic emblem to Zsámboky. Nicolas Reusner documented their mutual esteem, in keeping with the custom of the period. In addition to his emblem in praise of Zsámboky, his emblem book contains a laudatory letter addressed to Reusner by Zsámboky, and two emblems by Zsámboky praising him (Varga 1965, 219f.). Zsámboky's collection, particularly the first and second quarto editions, was often used as an *album amicorum*. Klose's repertory for the sixteenth century lists twenty-four such surviving copies, though there must have been many more. A copy of the 1566 edition, for example, was owned as an *album amicorum* by the prominent emblemist Daniel Cramer (Klose, 156). The book's popularity in Renaissance England is shown by the fact that several copies found their way into private libraries, including those of William Napper and John Tatham,¹³ Tomas Knyvett (McKitterick, 138, no. 1186), Andrew Perne and Thomas Lorkin.¹⁴ Later, it featured in Robert Burton's library (Kiessling, no. 1406), and Goethe owned a copy, which was bound

7. L. Voet published facsimiles of the Latin (1564), Dutch (1566), and French (1567) editions in *De Gulden Passer* 58-59 (1980-81), 60 (1982). See Bach, 53-58. On the Dutch translator of Zsámboky, see Porteman, 1-6.

8. E. g., Glasgow, University Library, Stirling Maxwell Collection, SM 948, SM 948A (Z 1566); London, British Library (hereafter BL), 12314.bb.7.(1); Z: 1069.b.17.(1) (Z 1566).

9. E. g., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 154. 18Eth (Z 1569)

10. E. g., BL, 12303.cc.50 (1). (Z 1566).

11. E. g., BL, 12305.a.23.(1) (Z 1569) and 12314.bb.7.(1) (Z 1566).

12. Quoted by Varga 1965, 213.

13. See *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, iii, no. 82.99 and iii, no. 112.219.

with a 1580 edition of Alciato (*Goethes Bibliothek*, no. 1478). The many authors who (like Whitney) used Zsámboky as a source include Joachim Camerarius (Varga, 1965, 220), Juan de Solorzano (Gonzalez de Zarate) and Giovanni Ferro de Rotarij (i, 280; ii, 599) to name but three.

A Choice of Emblemes

Geoffrey Whitney's collection was the fifth emblem book to appear in English. Its predecessors were the translations of the books of Jan van der Noot, Paolo Giovio and Lodovico Domenichi, and Thomas Palmer's manuscript dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.¹⁵ Translations and adaptations constituted a significant part of Elizabethan literature, and many of the translators possessed great expressive and creative ability. Whitney's work is important primarily as a representative summary of all the significant Continental emblem collections that had been published in the fifty years following the inception of the genre; it relays this material, greatly transformed, to a new phase in the history of the genre and to the English reader. Emblem researchers and literary historians agree that Whitney's work amounts to much more than a mere late-humanist exercise in poetic imitation, and that Whitney is more than a translator or an unoriginal compiler. He handles his sources with considerable freedom. He uses a wide range of imitative possibilities. He also reshapes and reorients his selection of topics and commonplaces by means of new dedications and subtle references in the epigrams, so that they point to specific persons, events and ideas. He wanted more than just to assemble an anthology, and he was not interested in collecting for its own sake; his aim was to convey a relevant message at the same time (Manning 1989). The range of invention that he uses to this end is wide and varied, and the result meets contemporary standards, both for neo-Latin and vernacular emblem-writing.

The wider intellectual environment of Whitney's enterprise was the Sidney-Leicester circle, which supported the development of national vernacular literature. The circle's goals corresponded closely with the cultural ideals and objectives of the Dutch Protestant confederation (Bath, esp. 31, and Rosemberg). However, the key to the work's origin is its compilation-like character: the great majority of its

14. See *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, i, 426. no. 86; 499. no. 185.

15. See also *Index Emblematicus*; and Manning 1990.

approximately 250 emblems were adapted from the works of eight authors, primarily from Alciato and Zsámboky, but also (in descending order of frequency) Claude Paradin, Hadrianus Junius, Gabriel Faernus, Guillaume de La Perrière, Barthélemy Aneau and Georgette de Montenay. Only fifteen of the emblems were newly devised by Whitney himself; for these, he also used a number of additional sources, not all of which have been identified. He borrowed 51 of his emblems from Zsámboky; 41 of them (including a medal design without motto and caption, Z 234-W 186) appear in the first edition of the *Emblemata*, while the other ten are only in the expanded editions.

Whitney's manuscript of the *Choice* is dedicated to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester and dated 28 November 1585. A systematic comparison with the printed version shows that Whitney changed his concept and made various alterations in relation to the manuscript.¹⁶ While the manuscript consists of only 197 emblems, the printed book has 51 more, including 25 emblems borrowed from Faernus and de Montenay (sixteen and nine, respectively), two sources which Whitney had not used before. On the other hand, thirteen emblems that are included in the manuscript do not feature in the printed edition.¹⁷ The reasons for these omissions become clear when one considers the functional differences between the manuscript and the printed version. The omitted emblems did not fit into the concept of the book, either because they highlighted the relationship between Whitney and his patron or the patron's situation, or because they had a national or patriotic charge, or were exceedingly aristocratic in outlook. Whitney left out the emblems in praise of Leicester and other Englishmen, as well as those in favour of particular policies (Manning 1988). The shift in the concept constitutes in a move away from the encomiastic and the topical, towards general moral reflections.

These differences notwithstanding, the published version has the same two-part structure as the manuscript. The first part consists of 113 emblems introduced by a foreword and pages with dedications, while the second part contains 135 emblems. The first part has a greater number of borrowed emblems than the second. The manuscript contains only 44 borrowings from Zsámboky. The book version

16. Houghton Library, MS. Typ 14. Tung (1976) provides the most important and comprehensive discussion of Whitney's manuscript and the book to date.

17. Here I accept Tung's review (1976, 41) of Whitney's sources.

includes all but one of these, and adds eight new borrowings (Tung 1976, 42).

Ten days after receiving the manuscript, Leicester left for the Low Countries to lead the English troops in support of the campaign against the Spanish invaders. Whitney soon followed him as a supernumerary. Shortly after his arrival, Whitney enrolled at the University of Leiden. It was probably here that he had the idea to revise and publish his emblem collection. He took only three or four months to accomplish this. Having decided to use as illustrations, wherever possible, the woodcuts from the emblem books that had been his sources, he selected over two hundred blocks from the stock of Plantin, the publisher of most of those earlier emblem books. He also commissioned a number of new woodcuts, and composed the 62 new epigrams and their Latin marginalia which were to be added to the publication (Tung 1973-74, and 1976, 37-40). Whitney's draughtsman for the manuscript had copied the same woodcuts which were now being re-used. The artist had also changed various details, because he worked closely with Whitney's epigrams. Because of this, the reinstatement of the woodcuts resulted in a number of inconsistencies between images and texts in the printed version.

The book contains dedicatory pages in praise of Whitney and his patron, and among the dedicatees of the epigrams we find not only Queen Elizabeth I, Philip Sidney and Robert Dudley, but also several prominent Leiden humanists. Justus Lipsius is included as well as Bonaventura Vulcanus, the university's professor of Greek, Petrus Colvius, the editor of Apuleius, and the rector of the university, Janus Dousa who was also ambassador of the Low Countries to England, as well as his son. These new dedications were presumably aimed primarily at facilitating the reception of the book by Dutch humanists. The circumstances of the publication and the differences between manuscript and printed version, as well as certain aspects of the content, have led some scholars to attribute to the book a specific role in the ideological and political campaign which accompanied the English intervention in the Netherlands headed by Leicester.¹⁸

Whitney's *Choice* is a loosely structured string of emblems, the result of a complex process of adaptation and compilation in the spirit of the neo-Latin poetic *lusus*. For the most part, the poems correspond closely to existing texts and images (Watson, 13f.). The arrangement

18. See Manning 1989, 1f., and 1990, 161; Bath, 31f.; and Klaniczay.

of the emblems was influenced to some extent by the stocks at Plantin's printing shop. While 207 of the 247 emblem pictures were reprinted from existing blocks that had been cut for earlier books, 25 pictures had to be copied from elsewhere, and fifteen were completely new designs. Printing began while Whitney was still composing, devising, and commissioning; because of this, virtually all emblems which were newly prepared for the book, as well as all those that depended on sources other than Plantin, appear in the book's second part. There is no overall structural concept, and the arrangement of the emblems follows no apparent thematic order. Short sequences of emblems, multiplied and expanded, are characteristic of the work.

However, there does exist a certain symmetry to its two parts. Some emblems of part one seem to anticipate what appears in part two, and emblems of the second part vary, elucidate or confirm those of the first. The Janus-emblem in the structural centre (not an adaptation from Zsámboky) perfectly encapsulates the basic dualism in Whitney's approach. He likes to treat topics from two angles. Favorite themes are treated repeatedly, for instance opposites such as history and the present, beginning and end, war and peace, or topical subjects like the peculiarities of navigation, jurisdiction, material wealth, and life at court. Topoi like the critique and rejection of idleness, of hypocrites and false friends all feature repeatedly, too. Related topics frequently appear in pairs, and neighbouring emblems tend to offer a similar moral (Tung 1976, 43; Manning 1989, 7-10). In other places, differing interpretations of identical symbols appear side by side, and epigrams with dedications are coordinated according to the addressee. At the end of both the first and the second parts stand emblems which unequivocally indicate a halt and a conclusion.

The thematic range of the emblems which Whitney borrowed from Zsámboky is consistent both with his general selection criteria and with his personal interests. There are a number of emblems on various vices (e. g., hatred, enmity, gullibility, lust for glory) and virtues (dutifulness, trust, love of children, patriotism), and several pieces on the absurdities and dangers of life and the need to be prepared for them (e. g., the power of Chance, the turns of Fortune). Other recurrent topics include the need for leisure and the critique of avarice, guile, intemperance and self-destructive passions. Several of the borrowings treat commonplaces and topoi (there is a time for everything; transience; appropriate use of earthly goods), but Whitney

also adopted some pieces on themes which are relatively rare in emblematic literature, such as the complaint about absent patronage, the advantage of distance when building a reputation, or the idea of beauty as a weapon.

It has recently been suggested that Whitney's collection is based on the concept of human life as pilgrimage, the journey to reunion with God, a sort of spiritual voyage (Borris and Holmes). The prevalence of "ethereal ideology" in Whitney's treatment of themes seems to justify this. Certain similarities with the composition of de Montenay's book, and the number of emblems about pilgrimage and related ideas and values that Whitney took from de Montenay, could also point in this direction. Yet considered as a whole, Whitney's collection is a complex example of thematic and structural stratification, with polysemantics as a fundamental feature, involving various attempts in emblematic patterning.

The numerous comments and quotations in the margins form a further important characteristic. They support, reaffirm and explain the epigrams to an extent that is unusual in emblem books. In line with humanistic standards of commentary, they show the author's erudition, and their extensive use shows the effect of earlier and contemporary annotated emblem books. Some of them are important for today's researchers because they refer to otherwise unknown sources of the emblematisers, including Zsámboky, whose works Whitney exploited; they can thus help identify the sources of his so-called "newly devised" emblems. More than five-sixths of the 414 annotations, however, are direct quotations from classical and medieval authors. The rest come from comments and marginalia in other emblem books (Tung 1976, 63f., and 1991).

It has to be said that the afterlife of Whitney's book is quite unlike that of the *Emblemata*. The *Choice* was neither reprinted nor translated in the sixteenth century. Some of the surviving copies show traces of intensive use (e. g., BL, C.57.1.2; and 89.e.11). But Whitney's type of emblem was becoming old-fashioned even at the time of its publication, and with the failure of Leicester's Dutch venture, the book also lost any topical interest. When Leicester died two years later, Whitney's literary aspirations evaporated. He retired to his estate and stopped writing. Poetically, the collection looks backwards rather than forwards (Manning 1990, 199f.). Whitney may have been familiar with Sidney's poetic treatise, but this is not reflected in his work.

Whitney's practice of imitation and adaptation

It is difficult to establish which of the expanded editions of the *Emblemata* Whitney used. Theoretically, it could have been any of the four editions published between 1566 and 1584, as well as the French translation, or even several editions simultaneously, but the differences between the various editions of Zsámboky have yet to be clarified. Another problem is the complex structure of Whitney's book: sometimes he treats the individual emblem as a basic unit which can be placed at random, but there are also some subordinate series (as, for instance, in the later Jesuit collections). However, as the number of editions of Zsámboky that need to be examined is much smaller than that of, for instance, pre-1586 editions of Alciato, there is some hope of eventually answering this question.

In the manuscript of Whitney's emblems, among the 184 emblems, which appear later in the printed version, 155 have the same mottoes as those of their sources. In the printed edition, only 79 mottoes differ from their source emblems (Tung 1976, 43). Among the changes, eleven are small, as in the following example: Z 14, *Conscientia integra, laurus* [Laurel, an upright conscience] becomes W 67, *Murus aeneus, sana conscientia* [A wall of brass (is) a clear conscience]. Or Z 204, *Caelum, non animum mutant* [They change the clime, not the mind] results in W 178, *Caelum, non animum* [The clime, not the mind]. Such changes are mainly designed to avoid inconsistencies between Zsámboky's mottoes and the texts of Whitney's epigrams. Synonyms are found, moral messages are given added emphasis, motto and epigram are more tightly connected.

Compared to the manuscript, several mottoes are simplified in the book, mostly by means of a recourse to the originals (Tung 1976, 43-46). In Whitney's manuscript, Z 198, *Fictus amicus* [False friend] is replaced by the long *Non vulpina vestis sed cor paruum sub amici specie latens, periculosissimum* (Ms fol. 76v) [Not the friend in a fox-skin, but the evil heart in the form of a friend is the most dangerous], but for the book, Whitney shortened it back to W 124, *Amicitia fucata vitanda* [Feigned friendship to be avoided]. In the following example, another motto from Zsámboky is different in the manuscript and almost regains its original form in the book, but is now placed at the end of the poem, with a reference to its source (Horace, *Ep.*1,2,14): Z 110, *Non dolo, sed virtute* [Not with deceit, but with virtue] / Ms fol. 43v, *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achiui* [Whoever misleads kings,

EMBLEMATA.

Frontis nulla fides.

Achilli Statio Lusitano.



CUNCTIS Deus creauit
 Quaecunque terra, & vndis,
 Signum dedit, pateret
 Natura singulorum vt.
 Latratibus canis sic
 Suae indicem dat ire.
 Taurus monet furorem
 Quod cornuis petendo
 Ledat, venena caudis
 Serpens gerit, timendus

M

Et

177 punishes the people] /
 W 58: *Non dolo, sed vi*
 [Not by deceit, but by
 force].

It is equally characteristic of Whitney's working method to incorporate translated mottoes within new epigrams, or to keep a motto unchanged in the manuscript but to change it for the book. In the following example, a poem adapted from Paradin (*Symbola Heroica*, Antwerp, 1567) appears in the manuscript together with its motto from Paradin, but in the printed version, it is combined with a motto from an emblem in Zsámboky (Z 1566, 206): Par 154: *Vlterius ne tende odijs* [Do not make the absentee odious] / Ms. fol. 29v: *Vlterius ne tende odijs* [Do not make the absentee odious] / W 143: *Vindice fato* [With fate as protector]. An original motto can also be replaced by one that is entirely new, like *Canis queritur nimium nocere* [Z 183: The dog complains that intemperance is injurious]

which is replaced by Whitney's *Feriuunt summos fulmina montes* [W 140: Lightning strikes the mountain tops]. Unlike Zsámboky's, this new motto does not refer to the woodcut. Instead it

is a repetition of the closing words of the quotation from Horace (*Carm.* 2.10) which appears appended to Whitney's epigram on his page 59. In order to harmonize the new motto with the epigram, Whitney's poem has an added third verse that is without equivalent in Zsámboky.

Thanks to Whitney's draughtsman, the pictures and epigrams in the manuscript version are mostly in tune with each other. Forty-four of his drawings are based on woodcuts in Zsámboky's *Emblemata*. Most of them are almost exact copies, but three differ very strongly because they take account of Whitney's textual divergences from Zsámboky in the epigram. In the printed book, on the other hand, the relationship of texts and images is occasionally strained, because Whitney (as already indicated) substituted prints of the original woodcuts for all drawings, even for those drawings, which abandoned their models in order to be close to his texts (Tung 1976, 51-55). In his hurry to publish, Whitney did not take the time to remedy this by rewriting the relevant texts accordingly.

The emblem on the inscrutability of man (Z 177-W 100) with the motto *Frontis nulla fides* [No faith in appearance] is a good example of the resulting tension (Fig. 1). Zsámboky's original woodcut shows two scenes. On the left, watched by the head of a bull, a man is running away from a dog; on the right, a seated man draws or paints on a tablet, which another man is holding for him. Zsámboky's epigram also features a snake and a scorpion, which do not appear in the woodcut. Whitney, adapting Zsámboky's epigram in the manuscript, omits the scorpion, but additionally introduces a lion, a boar, and a griffin, as well as the figures of Cain and Abel. Whitney's draughtsman then copies from Zsámboky's woodcut only the fleeing man with the dog and bull, and changes everything else to match Whitney's poem. He draws a griffin, a boar's head, a snake, and a lion, and instead of the seated painter and his companion, he draws Cain and Abel as two standing men, one of whom holds a sword. Whitney's poem has no reference to anyone with a tablet. It is shorter than Zsámboky's and ends with a fourth four-line stanza. For his printed book, Whitney merely changed the end of the epigram by dropping the last stanza and replacing it with a new four-line stanza and one of six-lines. In these added verses, Whitney reintroduces the motif of the writing tablet from Zsámboky. This is an apparent effort to establish a correspondence between his poem and the re-used woodcut. However, Whitney's rewriting is incomplete, and other motifs of his epigram remain unconnected with the reprinted image.

Fig. 1. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1564: *Frontis nulla fides*.

Tensions such as these between Zsámboky's woodcuts and Whitney's epigrams are likely to have puzzled contemporary readers of Whitney's book.

The changes Whitney made from the manuscript to the printed book confirm the observation that he handled his sources in a highly independent fashion. He evidently did not feel bound by his own first solutions either. A direct statement in the manuscript may become indirect in the printed book, and a literal translation may be transformed into a paraphrase. Elsewhere he recasts his original distich as a marginal annotation, while rewriting the main text. Many such changes from the manuscript are improvements: messages are easier to understand, with causal relations emphasized, the poetic language is condensed and more economical, the rhyme pattern made more attractive, or the relationship between text and picture is closer.

Whitney uses several techniques of adaptation for the epigrams. In about half of them, he stays fairly close to the source. For the rest, his preferred method by far is expansion; he applies it three times more frequently than shortening. The most extreme applications of both expansion and shortening can be seen in the texts adapted from Alciato and Zsámboky. This is where we see the greatest variation in length. Whether lengthening or shortening, Whitney tends to leave the moral as it is. In the shortened texts, he omits or simplifies details and references, while expansion serves mainly to give more detail and to apply the moral more explicitly. Expanded texts also present an opportunity to exhibit his culture and his personal interests, particularly in the context of topoi and commonplaces. Various degrees of deviation from the original content is also possible. In one instance an eight-line stanza is expanded into twenty-five couplets; elsewhere eight sestets are made from a four-line stanza.

When Whitney translates and renders the full content of the originals, he refrains from radical shortenings and omits only mythological references, names of locations, and the occasional auxiliary motif, while summarizing the moral more concisely.¹⁹ A good example of this kind of translation and interpretation, which remains close to the original, is the epigram (Z 98-W 22; fig. 2) with the title *Nullus dolus contra casum* [No cunning against chance].

The warning of unexpected danger is conveyed by an *exemplum jocosum* with a precise geographical location: the story of the fox

19. E. g., Z 65-W 46, Z 76-W 97, Z 110-W 58, Z 144-W 182b, Z 1576, 215-W 52a.

98

I. SAMBVCI

Nullus dolus contra casum.

Ad Stephanum Gentilem, nobilem Genuensem.



QVIS non miratur noua quæ spectacula nuper
Danubio sunt visa soluto?
Bruma gelu pingues latè compresserat agros,
Plaustra uehebanturque per Istrum.
Accidit ad Regenspurium, quæ libera floret
Imperio vrbs, ut vulpis oberrans
Per glaciem & ludens concreto tergo aquarum
Deciperetur, & ruda veniret.
Fortè etenim frigus, medio dum Phœbus in axe

Versat

Fig. 2. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1564: *Nullus dolus contra casum*.

trapped on an ice floe in the Danube (Varga 1965, 221f.). Zsámboky's dactylic epode of nine Alcmanic couplets, well-suited to the epic form, is rendered by Whitney in four stanzas of iambic pentameter. The adaptation is as brisk as the original. In both versions, the telling of the tale is characterized by closeness to the events. But Zsámboky opens with a poetic question: "Who would not be amazed by the curious spectacle that could recently be seen on the melting Danube," whereas Whitney gets right down to the story. In the second and third pairs of lines, Zsámboky captures attention by describing the circumstances in great detail. Then, he stops the narration by evoking an ancient visual topos, the chariot of Phoebus. Whitney retains this classical reference, but his description of the scene is less precise. The concluding moral (one should always be cautious) is hidden by Zsámboky inside another question addressed to the reader: "Now tell me, what precaution can protect from chance, what ruse could prevent such an event from happen-

ing.

ing?" Whitney does without the question and lets the same message be spoken by the people who catch the fox. He appends a quotation from Seneca. Unlike Holger Homann (59-61), who considers the piece an illustrated anecdote rather than an emblem in the strict sense (because the real story can hardly be told in a single image, and because other animals can be imagined in the place of the fox), we think that this piece is a good illustration of the close connection between *exemplum* and emblem. The use of the fox is of course deliberate. His proverbial cunning, implied by Zsámbocký and pointed out by Whitney, underscores the lesson with irony.

Substantial structural transformation of epigrams can be found where Whitney turns a text into dialogue, or opens with a moral that Zsámbocký offered at the end. In other instances, ancient examples, which Zsámbocký gives in an introduction, are appended to the general considerations, and additional examples are omitted, or the two parts of an *explicatio* are switched.²⁰ The theme of Zsámbocký's emblem on the danger of false friendship had been popular with emblematicists since it first appeared in Corrozet's *Hecatongraphie* of 1540 (*Amour fainte*, Hiiiv); (Z 198, Z 1566, 171-W 124). The motto of the 1566 edition, *Animi sub vulpe latentes* [The mind is concealed under the fox's skin], is taken from Horace's *Ars poetica* (437). Whitney's motto is *Amicitia fucata vitanda*, which is closer to the motto in Zsámbocký's first edition (*Fictus amicus*), and he puts the quotation from Horace in the margin (Fig. 3).

The most conspicuous change in the epigram is that Whitney speaks in the first person plural throughout, whereas Zsámbocký addresses both the false friend and the reader. He also rewrites Zsámbocký's five couplets in dactylic hexameter as two six-line stanzas. Zsámbocký, in the first section of his three-part epigram (lines 1-4), introduces the false friend with the fox motif and two poetic questions: "My friend, why do you pay me compliments in a fox's skin? Why do you keep feigning old friendship? You have been filled with hatred for a long time, I do not trust you; your right hand deceives, and the left has learned to bend the tail [out of sight]." This figure is then contrasted with a highwayman: "A robber in a dark forest is not as frightening as feigned loyalty and deceitfulness. Against someone who openly persecutes and threatens me, I gird myself with a sword for protection" (lines 5-8). The conclusion, a sort of punchline, warns that

20. E. g., Z 19-W 142, Z 30-W 64, Z 159-W 25, Z 184-W 150, Z 128-W 15.



Fig. 3. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1564: *Fictus amicus*.

it may be impossible to escape from false friends. It uses another opposition: "Someone who is driven by hatred instead of goodwill / is unlikely, even with the greatest effort, to escape disaster" (lines 9-10). Whitney reduces the double contrast to just one, between the first and second stanzas. Like Zsámbocký, he first introduces the fox, then the robber. But he inverts everything else. The open enemy is introduced first, and the first stanza is about the open enemy, the second, about the secret foe. Moreover, Zsámbocký's false friend metamorphoses into Whitney's open enemy. Whitney reverses the meaning of the two figures. For him, the fox stands for the less dangerous enemy, because a "fox," apart from *openly* offering his hand, also

wears his unmistakable red coat. The real danger is someone who plots in secret and strikes unexpectedly. Whitney either completely misunderstands the topos of the fox as it is used by Zsámbocký, or he

deliberately ignores it (an example of his sometimes stubborn literal-mindedness, perhaps?). His epigram is not about "false friends," but about different sorts of enemy. The subtleties of Zsámboky's meaning (e. g., the deceit of a former friend hurts more than the aggression of a stranger) are lost in this adaptation. Whitney's two closing lines introduce another element not present in Zsámboky; they are a paraphrase of a saying by Bias (of the Seven Sages). The same line from Bias is repeated, as a Latin quotation, beneath the poem.

Whitney most frequently expands epigrams by appending one or two Latin quotations, usually from classical authors, at the end of his *subscriptio*. In cases where he changed the motto, the epigram may also be expanded with a general conclusion related to the new motto, in addition to a paraphrase of Zsámboky's original *explicatio*. Among other methods of expansion, he favours introducing ancient and biblical analogies, elaborating on references which are hidden in the original, as well as specifying general references to locations and persons.²¹ Zsámboky's six-line epigram with the motto *Pœna sequens* [Punishment following; fig. 4], about the inevitable consequences of crime, is rendered by Whitney in three lengthy sestets (Z 209-W 41).

Zsámboky presents the story of the thief, who was strangled in his sleep by the meat he had stolen, in an unbroken sweep of tension; concise, not loaded with physical detail or moralizing. In contrast, Whitney relishes going into the details of the peculiar punishment that the thief suffered, and he spells out the moral lesson in a separate stanza with two added quotations from classical authors named in the margin. In another favourite form of expansion, he picks out and interprets details of the emblem pictures, which Zsámboky leaves unmentioned. Such details can be ancient deities such as Kronos, Mercury, or Bacchus,²² symbolic figures such as a court jester (Z 1576, 258-W 81) and symbolic motifs taken from nature, such as the crocodile, river, and spruce (Z 41-W 125, Z 132-W 89, Z 183-W 140).

Abbreviation is most frequently achieved by omitting Zsámboky's mythological references. Thus in the epigram about clear conscience (Z 14-W 67), Whitney leaves out Daphne, the swan and the Eumenides, and the figure of Occasio is missing from the poem about timely defence (Z 47-W 76b). Mercury, Venus and the apple are all omitted

21. E. g., Z 28-W 9, Z 44-W 20, Z 46-W 11, Z 177-W 100, Z 1576, 252-W 17, Z 1576, 269-W 189a.

22. E. g., Z 23-W 199, Z 57-W 92, Z 41-W 125. Cf. Bowen, esp. 226f, pl. 31-33.

from the epigram on deceptive appearances (Z 69-W 69). Likewise, the epigram on how need can be an incentive to study harder makes do without the *exemplum* of the son of Croesus who broke his stubborn silence (Z 101-W 36). In the epigram extolling cooperation, Whitney excludes not only the classical motif of the Persian (peach) tree, but also the Hungarian references to General Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus.²³ Sometimes he also omits very well known symbols, such as the stag hurrying to the spring, or the snake hiding in the ivy (Z 84-W 43, Z 140-W 222a). Elsewhere, Whitney shortens by briefly summing up the essence of a story that is told by Zsámboky (Z 104-W 206, Z 152-W 83). Typically, he transforms the epigram that bemoans



Fig. 4. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1564: *Pœna sequens*.

23. Z 70-W 72. See Varga 1965, 240f.

the lack of art patronage and lack of recognition of poetry by omitting Zsámboky's accusations of the present; he tones down the criticism of the original (Z 197-W 204). An example of radical abbreviation is the adaptation of the epigram with the motto *Dum viuo prosum* [While I live, I do good]. It glorifies the sense of duty in the image of an oak tree struck by lightning (Z 154 - W 77b; fig. 5).

According to László Varga (1965, 231f.), the epigram is perhaps Zsámboky's most beautiful poem (Homann [54f.] also considers it to be particularly good). It consists of five poetically sophisticated and elevated Asclepian stanzas. The first three contain the monologue of the oak tree, while the other two present the moral, which includes a metaphorical identification of the oak and the poet. Whitney's adaptation consists of only six lines. The oak's monologue is replaced with a simple description of an old, dying tree, and a two-line moral is somewhat artificially appended to the end. Zsámboky's subtle personification, his use of comparison and contrast have all disappeared.

The last major type of Whitney's adaptations is found in texts which he both expands and abbreviates. Along with those that he treats to substantial structural transformation, poems of this type can be considered as Whitney's most original creations. In some of them, he omits references to the original addressee of the dedication and to Zsámboky, while inserting mythological references, which were not part of the original, or he exchanges Zsámboky's analogies and examples for different ones.²⁴ In some instances, Whitney made substantial changes to both the sequence and the proportional relation of narrative and moral.²⁵ An example is the adaptation of the epigram with the motto *Fides non apparentium* [Faith in things unseen; fig. 6], which uses the example of the patient fisherman to illustrate the importance of faith (Z 1564, 230 and Z 1566, 199-W 71; in the 1564 edition the epigram is two lines shorter).

Zsámboky uses synecdoche to introduce the abstract topic; the fish stands for the fisherman and vice versa. Then he alludes to the topos of the narrow road leading to God, and to Christ as the foundation of faith. After a general invitation to strive for religious conviction, he concludes with a personal address to the dedicatee of the poem. He warns him not to misuse his God-given talents in the service of worldly powers. Whitney expands and details the analogy of the fisherman

24. Z 62-W 171, Z 137-W 103, Z 107-W 26, Z 204-W 178.

25. Z 1576, 243-W 32, Z 1576, 279-W 59.

and the Christian believer, as well as the opposition of certainty and uncertainty, both of which are only fleetingly suggested by Zsámboky. However, although he spells out these connections, and even carries them into his second sestet, he gives no concrete application and therefore his religious message is much weaker than Zsámboky's. Concluding the poem with a quotation from Ovid leads still further away from the specifically Christian message.

Before concluding, it is worth taking a brief comparative look at the French translation of Zsámboky's work by Jacques Grévin, as well as at Whitney's adaptations from other works, namely Alciato, and the first and perhaps most influential French emblem book, *Le Theatre des bons engins* (Paris, 1540) by La Perrière.

As Alison Adams has shown, Grévin, who was personally acquainted with Zsámboky (they met during the latter's second stay in

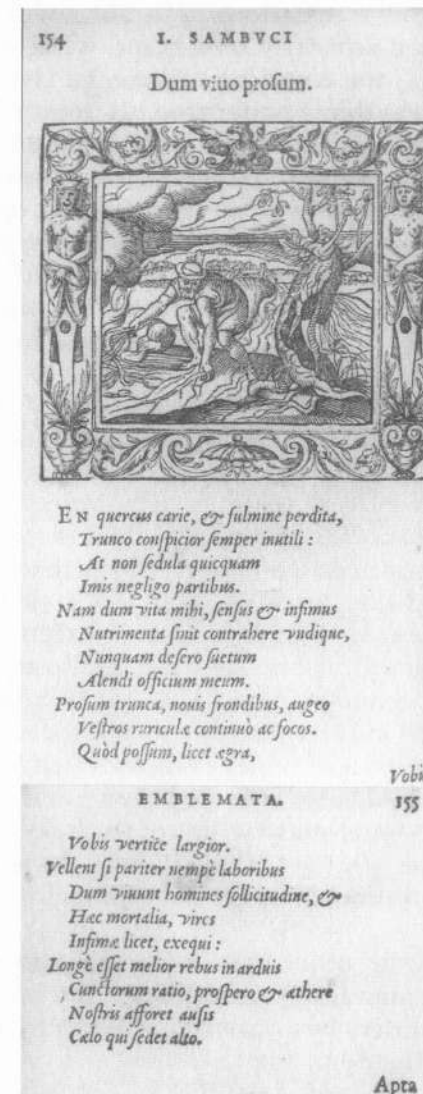


Fig. 5. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1564: *Dum viuo prosum*.

Paris), made a conscious effort to make Zsámboky more easily understandable, while retaining his stylistic effectiveness.²⁶ He resembles Whitney in this. Moreover, as in his translations of Junius's work,²⁷ Grévin also simplified and omitted scholarly references, while adding emphasis to the morals and to the emotional elements. He also tried to achieve a great variety of rhythmic patterns in his poetry. His translation shows that the woodcuts influenced him to some extent. However, as Grévin was commissioned by Plantin, his task was essentially different from Whitney's, and he was obliged to stay much closer to the source. But like Whitney, he used stanzas, and attempted to convey some of the patterns of the original by playing with the word order. He also made an effort to replicate the pace and rhythm of Zsámboky's poems, though some of his solutions are rather weak and others are extremely short.

In her analysis of Whitney's adaptations of Alciato, Mary V. Silcox has pointed out some changes in content (e. g., Christian, occasionally Protestant, references appear; there are topical patriotic elements; emphasis is laid on social cooperation; and Whitney sees women in a more positive light), as well as a number of typical formal modifications. According to Silcox, Whitney handled both Alciato's texts and Mignault's commentaries (first edition, Paris, 1571) with a great deal of freedom and originality. His expansions tend to reinforce moral messages and to address the reader directly, exhorting him to action. Scholarly references are omitted; remarks aimed at a specific readership are left out; the scope of both subject matter and interpretation becomes wider and more inclusive; all of which indicates that Whitney turns to a wider audience than Alciato. The wit, brevity, and enigmatic quality of the originals are sometimes victims of the heavy emphasis on moral rules. In the moral, Whitney often involves the reader directly—a sign that he aims at emotional impact rather than intellectual solutions.

Whitney's seven (or according to other opinions, eight) adaptations drawn from La Perrière were made along the lines of the adaptations of Zsámboky.²⁸ Alison Saunders has shown that Whitney handles the French texts with equal freedom, and that there is no signifi-

26. *Les Emblemes* (Antwerp, 1567); Adams 1997 (I wish to thank Alison Adams for the opportunity to read her unpublished manuscript).

27. See Adams 1995 and Gordon.

28. Seven adaptations according to Saunders; eight, according to Tung 1976, 41.

cant difference in his methods of adapting from the Latin or the vernacular. He frequently expands the originals with the addition of poetic images and descriptive or narrative details, primarily to make his verse ornate. Again, he uses the source as a starting point. A new moral interpretation evokes new associations, and may shift the balance of a piece when compared to the original. He modifies some of the mottoes, occasionally transforms the structure, and adds new information. While his adaptations are no less didactic than the source material, his didacticism is aimed at more than the moral message. Aware of the literary value of his source, he adds Latin mottoes and annotations, in order to preserve the literary status of the texts.



Fig. 6. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1564: *Fides non apparentium*.

Summary

The point I have been trying to make is that more investigation is needed into the relationship between Latin emblematic poetry and

vernacular poetry in the sixteenth century. It is well known that the themes and ideas of Renaissance Latin poetry were also treated in vernacular poetry. However, we still do not know enough about this transfer. How are the themes and ideas modified as they pass from the learned language into the vernacular? What is their significance, and their relation to the vernacular works? Can we interpret English poems in the light of their Latin sources? How is our judgement of a poet altered by our awareness of his Latin sources? It seems to me that the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature could profit from more research along these lines.

The examination of the origin and content, and the structural and stylistic characteristics of Zsámboky's and Whitney's collections, as well as the comparison of some of their texts, has pointed to a transformation in late humanist emblematics. There are changes in the concept of poetic imitation and adaptation, and the emblem form during the last third of the sixteenth century is increasingly flexible. When assessing the results of the textual comparisons, one has to bear in mind that the intellectual environments in which the two works were conceived were similar. Language aside, the main differences result from the peculiarities of individual working methods and poetic aims, and from differing emphases in the concept of imitation. Personal interests, and the effect of printing practice on the publishing process of emblem books also play their part. The originality of most of Zsámboky's epigrams is uncontested, whereas Whitney's collection is one of the first vernacular compilations of pieces taken almost exclusively from older emblem books. Because of this, it played a major role in conveying the tradition, in terms of content as well as in terms of literary and pictorial form.

One has to bear in mind that the development of the rules of *imitatio poetica* regarding similarity and difference had a strong influence on the history of emblematics (Scholz, esp. 156f). Several of Zsámboky's emblems embody the most modern ideas of his time about inventive imitation. His concepts show the influence of the intellectual movement represented by Adrien Turnèbe, Joachim Du Bellay, Jean Dorat, and other members of the Pléiade. Johannes Sturm and Paduan Ciceronianism also had a certain impact. Zsámboky wrote about *imitatio* in great detail, not only in his emblems on rhetoric, but also in his *De imitatione ciceroniana* and in his commentary to Horace (Téglásy, 92-117). He argued in favour of eclectic, hidden imitation, in which the imitator uses various techniques to assimilate borrowed patterns, so much so that even the keenest critic is unable to identify the prove-

nance of the imitated elements. Imitation for Zsámboky is closely related to the rhetorical concept of *aptum* and to the idea of poetic inspiration as divine.

While Zsámboky was a significant representative of moralizing humanistic poetry, Whitney can be called a poet, but with some reservation. Moreover, Whitney was not a theoretician. Comparison of the two authors gives a revealing insight into the relationship between emblematics as a fashion, an "intellectual game," and emblematics as poetry, as well as into the merging and shifting of boundaries between the trends. Furthermore, it reveals certain mechanisms of late humanist literary creativity. Various forms of creative imitation, their effects and their interplay have already been studied.²⁹ Late humanist concepts of imitation as such differ substantially, and the same can be said of ideas regarding the application of *imitatio* in Latin and in the vernacular. Similarly, the relationship between theory and practice, the types, methods and criteria of imitation, and its connection with emulation change from one author to the next.³⁰ It is generally accepted that *imitatio* involves *elocutio*, *inventio*, and *dispositio*, and that numerous transitions exist between the three main types of imitation which Ricci identifies as *sequi*, *imitari*, and *aemulari*.³¹ Scaliger elevated imitation to one of the cardinal elements of his poetics.³² As for Whitney, the guiding principles of his imitative and adaptive practice are not the progressive concepts of prominent sixteenth-century English theorists such as Roger Ascham, George Puttenham and Philip Sidney. They aim to grasp as a pattern the spirit rather than the details of their selected model, and they stress the importance of creative spontaneity.³³ For many other Elizabethan authors, however, *imitatio* meant not only the imitation of the classics, but also the straightforward copying of contemporary works. English studies on imitation in the first half of the seventeenth century were, moreover, connected with ongoing debates about translation. In that context, free interpretation (paraphrase) as op-

29. See Buck 1994, esp. 27-34; Bán; and Tarnai 1990.

30. See Pigman; Russell; Boyd; and Welslau, 45-77.

31. See Ricci, fol. 43v.; and Ijsewijn.

32. See Scaliger, 214; and Mainusch, esp. 125-27.

33. See Ascham, 246; Puttenham, 2:3-6; and Sidney, 101, 103, 112, 116.

posed to "mechanical" translation had many supporters, and this contributed to the gradual elevation of paraphrase to a type of *imitatio*.³⁴

Both Zsámboky and Whitney were aware of the literary significance of their ventures. But Whitney's task was more difficult in a way: Zsámboky's polished Latin, his series of analogies and of parallel contents and structures, his frequent contrasting of concepts and ideas, his free and varied word-order presented Whitney with considerable challenges, and he usually had to reconsider the whole poem. This study has dealt only with texts which Whitney adapted as a whole and with the same emblem pictures. However, Zsámboky may also have served him as a source for partial adaptations, and he may have influenced adaptations where the content remains the same, but the *pictura* is different.

As Zsámboky's epigrams are of an uneven standard, the quality of Whitney's adaptations likewise differs both from one to the next and each in comparison with its source. Undeniably, Whitney's adaptations are occasionally better than Zsámboky's originals. In some of them, he simultaneously summarizes and omits, expands and restructures, while faithfully rendering the original sense and adding a number of classical references. Whitney employs the stanza structure in order to make his translations transparent and easily comprehensible. Yet, on the other hand, he often lost the concision, tension and wit of the original. An important difference between Zsámboky and Whitney is that Zsámboky thought predominantly in terms of poetic images which were only afterwards visually expressed, while Whitney worked with existing visual representations in addition to the source texts. But by and large, he was meticulous; there appear to be no instances of mistranslation, nor interpretations which completely contradict the original.

Both Zsámboky's and Whitney's collections are characterized by their high intellectual standard, and they share an aristocratic spiritual awareness which is essentially concerned with the inner being. The key element of this awareness is a syncretism of viewpoints and attitudes. The features shared by both works include a reliance on classical authors for inspiration, as well as the use of pseudo-classical mythographic literature, humanist collections of commonplaces, and moralizing animal symbolism in the tradition of Aesop (Nolde, and Tung 1989). In addition, both works consistently combine the moral

appeal with cultural claims. That said, Zsámboky's epigrams are more complex, less direct, than Whitney's, and while the former is concerned with subtly illuminating the obscure, or *argutia*, the latter seeks first and foremost to be easily understood. The esoteric quality of Zsámboky's emblems is largely absent from Whitney's adaptations.

The mutually reinforcing interplay of various rhetorical forms is another shared feature, though it is much less significant in Whitney. Zsámboky's preferred rhetorical strategy builds up to a moral with metaphors, poetic questions and paradoxes, and figurative speech. Visual and verbal symbolism both play an important part, as do ekphrastic traditions. Whitney employs some of Zsámboky's forms, yet he does not attempt to recreate the rhetorical and stylistic variety of Zsámboky's poetry.

Although the cultural attitudes of the two authors are approximately the same, their collections are essentially different. This results primarily from the authors' different levels of erudition; neither is the scope of their invention the same, nor their ability to absorb and communicate humanist learning. In addition, their concepts of imitation, reworking and originality are different. Zsámboky, with his extensive and distilled philological knowledge, and after fifteen years of editing texts (Varga 1965 and 1966), was approaching a general learned readership. He handled his topics with ease, sometimes even playfully, and effortlessly combined the principles of learned imitation with the poetic generalization of personal experiences. Whitney's work conspicuously reflects the expectations of a narrower social and personal environment; the author's efforts to meet these expectations in his writing are evident. At the same time, Whitney's marginalia and quotations from the classics reveal his concept of these authors as a mere source base. He was unable to handle simultaneously the mass of knowledge, which in Zsámboky was still unified and alive, nor did he expect his readers to do so. His mannerist excesses of quotation and reference, along with an increased emphasis on didacticism and learned moralization, reflect a concept of poetry, which is both more popular and narrower than Zsámboky's. Increasingly distant from the humanist literary tradition, Whitney's work is an indication of its decline.

34. See Binni, 161-247; Kinney, 230-91; Winter, esp. 40-45.

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Spenser and the Emblem Books

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I

The first sonnet of Spenser's *Visions of the worlds vanitie* sets the scene for a consideration of his affinity with the emblematic tradition.¹ He begins with an account of a withdrawing of his spirit from the body and of entering "into meditation deepe / Of things exceeding reach of common reason," (ll. 3-4). The "strange shoves" that present themselves to his eyes pictured "that which I in minde embraced." The pictures that he describes stand for mental experiences; they illustrate how the great may be overcome by the small and how fickle the happiness of this world is. The tone is very close to that of the final two stanzas of his *Mutability Cantos* when he seeks only the permanence and security of eternity; where the spirit at last triumphs over the delusions of this life, and images are no longer needed.

But when we consider Spenser's natural taste for images to represent mental states, it is not surprising that his work has been so often linked to the emblem books of the time. Henry Peacham's definition of the emblematic purpose is apt: "to feede at once both the minde and eie" through poetry and picture (*Minerva Britannia*, Address to the Reader). But Spenser does not require actual pictures such as emblematicists customarily use to illustrate their poems. The only time he made use of pictures in conjunction with his own original poems is in

1. This essay is not an attempt to treat all Spenser's emblematic figures. To do so would require a book of the scope of Nohnberg's. The fact is that the iconographic studies already made, valuable as they are, pay little attention to Spenser's poetry, being primarily concerned with subject matter. The present article points in the direction of redressing the balance between iconography and the work of art.