

# EMBLEMS OF DEATH IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

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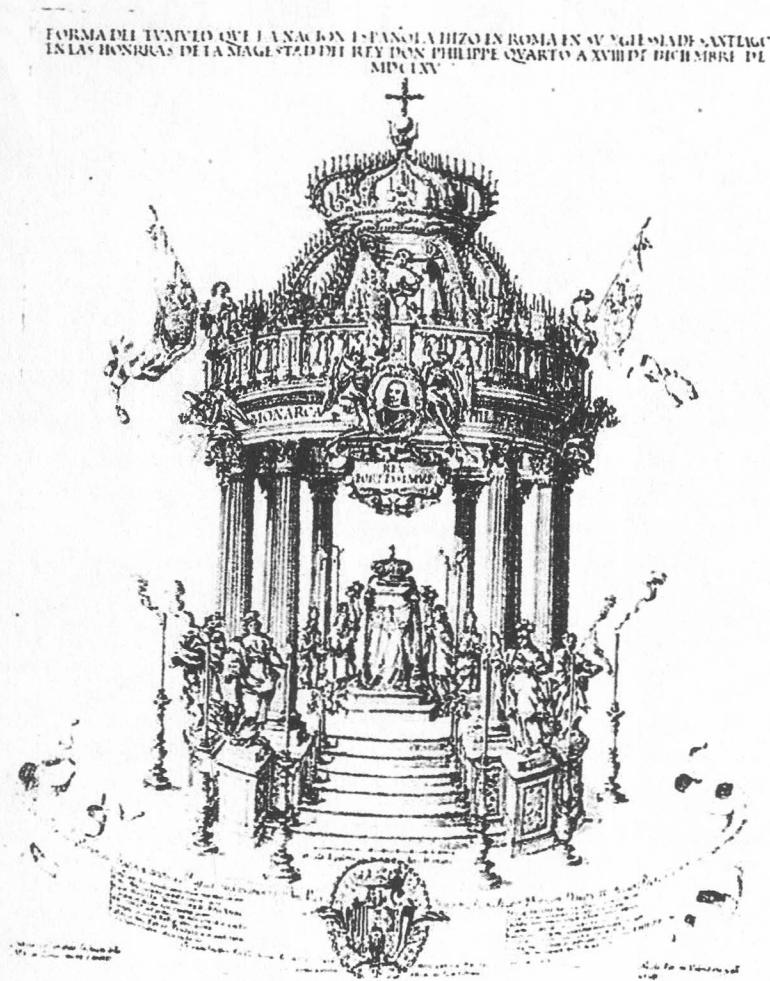


Figure 8. *Túmulo* by Antonio del Grande for the exequies of Phillip IV in the Church of St. James of the Spaniards in Rome. Engraving by Nicolo Pinson in Pérez de Rúa's *Funeral hecho en Roma [...] a la memoria del Rei D. Felipe Quarto...*, Rome, 1666.

## THE MOTIF OF DEATH IN LITERARY EMBLEMATICS IN HUNGARY

When we study death-related literary emblematics extant in or related to Hungary, at least three circumstances should not be disregarded. Firstly, the Turkish occupation lasting one hundred and fifty years as well as the continuous state of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries turned the biggest part of Hungary into a battlefield, which led to the destruction of the population *en masse*. Over a period of two hundred years, the population shrank by fifty percent. Those who stayed alive experienced permanent fear; violent death was an every-day phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, literature and the fine arts treated the topic of death in extremely varied ways. We find this topic in nearly every literary genre.<sup>2</sup> The various Churches had a considerable

<sup>1</sup> Géza Dávid, "Magyarország népessége a 16-17. században", in *Magyarország történeti demográfiája (896-1995)*, ed. József Kovacsics, Budapest, 1997, pp. 141-171.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Gáspár Heltai, *Vigasztaló könyvecske*, Kolozsvár, 1553; György Pesti, "A halálról való emlékeztető ének [1560]", in *Régi Magyar Költők Tára*, XVI. század, vol. 6, ed. Áron Szilády, Budapest, 1912, pp. 25-36, 327-343; *Pesti György Haláltánc éneke Holbein képeivel*, ed. Lajos Dézsi, Budapest, [1927]; on the French original version of the Latin work which inspired Pesti, see also Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani, *Emblèmes de la mort. Le dialogue de l'image et du texte*, Paris, Nizet, 1988, pp. 36-46; János Debreczeni [S.], "A keresztyén embernek e világtól való elbúcsúzásának formája", in his *Christianus suspirans*, Debrecen, 1615, chapter 43; Bálint Lépes (trans.), *Az halandó és itéletre menendő tellyes emberi nemzetnek fényes tüköri*, vol. 1. Prague, 1616 (2nd edition: Eger, 1771); Mátyás Nyéki Vörös, *Tintinnabulum tripudiantium*. Pozsony, 1636 (2nd edition: Pozsony, 1644), also edited in *Régi Magyar Költők Tára*, XVII. század, vol. 2, eds. Ferenc Jenei, Tibor Klaniczay, József Kovács and Béla Stoll, Budapest, 1962, pp. 175-219, 483-493; Kristóf Darholcz, *Novissima tuba azaz Ítleltre serkentő utolsó trombitaszó*, ed. S. Katalin Németh, postscript József Jankovics, Budapest, 1986; *Halotti emlékvors Bethlen Elek fölött és Tótfalusi Kis Miklós ismeretlen műve 1697-ből*, ed. Lajos Dézsi, Budapest, 1895; János Bökenyi, "A halál beszélgetése (1772)", in *Protestáns iskolaádrámák*, ed. Imre Varga, Budapest, 1984, pp. 401-415.

influence on the history of literature until the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Christian regulation of culture and theological-moral attitudes largely determined the framework of meditation on death.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, corresponding to international tendencies, research on the history of literary topics and the motifs rather receded into the background, and only few studies were carried out on death as a literary theme.<sup>4</sup>

Emblem books, emblematic manuscripts and printed material produced in or related to Hungary attach cardinal importance to the combinations of picture and text that thematize transience and death directly or indirectly. Fifty items of the systematic bibliography of 150 items relating to the period 1542–1826,<sup>5</sup> i.e., one third of the works listed include symbols, emblems, and descriptions of emblems that are associated with death, the finiteness of life and the idea of transience. That is why we set out to present the emblems grouped into genres highlighting representative examples and offering a cross section of our source material viewed from the history of the topic.

<sup>3</sup> István Bitskey, "The Role of Churches in the Development of Hungarian Baroque Literature", in *Synthesis. Hommage à Alexandre Ciorănescu*, 18 (1991), pp. 33-41; Bitskey, *Konfessionen und literarische Gattungen der frühen Neuzeit in Ungaru. Beiträge zur mitteleuropäischen vergleichenden Kulturgeschichte*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Oszkár Elek, "A halál motívuma és a haláltánc, I-IX", *Athenaeum* 16 (1907), pp. 30-39, 160-174, 374-380, 487-496; 17 (1908), pp. 55-61, 213-219, 351-356, 468-483; 18 (1909), pp. 162-189; István Kozáky, "A középkori haláltánc keletkezéstörténete, I-II", *Egyetemes Philológiai Közöny* 50 (1926), pp. 90-101, 202-210; Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története. Geschichte der Totentänze*, vol. 1-3, Budapest, 1936, 1941, 1944; Ferenc Trestyényi, "A halál kifejezése a Szigeti veszedelemben", *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 78 (1954), pp. 211-212; Tibor Klaniczay, *Zrínyi Miklós*, Budapest, 1964, pp. 274-279; Sándor Lukácsy, "Ubi sunt. Egy formula rövid életrajza", in his *Isten gyertyácskái*, Pécs, 1994, pp. 286-318; Lukácsy, "Magyar haláltáncok", in his *Isten gyertyácskái*, pp. 319-356; see also Gábor Kecskeméti, *Prédikáció, retorika, irodalomtörténet. A magyar nyelvű halotti beszéd a 17. században*, Budapest, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Éva Knapp, *Irodalmi emblematika Magyarországon a XVI-XVIII. században. Tanulmány a szimbolikus ábrázolásmód történetéhez*, Budapest, Universitas, 2003 (Historia Litteraria 14), pp. 285-304; Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, *Emblematics in Hungary. A Study of the History of Symbolic Representation in Renaissance and Baroque Literature*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, Verlag, 2003, pp. 253-267; Knapp and Tüskés, "The Emblem in Hungary", in *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. Peter M. Daly, New York, AMS Press, Inc., 2008, pp. 223-249.

## THE EMBLEMS RELATED TO DEATH BY JÁNOS ZSÁMBOKY (JOANNES SAMBUCUS)

We know that in his *Emblemata* Zsámboky made a consistent effort to represent the widest possible scope of life. Several of his emblems have death as a central topic or key motif. He dedicated his emblem with the motto "In morte vita" [Life in Death] to Paolo Manuzio,<sup>6</sup> son of Aldus Manutius, a philologist and printer from Venice that he knew personally (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> In the picture, the well-known symbols of death and life beyond death can be seen: the rays of the setting sun illuminate the winged skull, wreathed with laurel leaves and placed on a globe above which there are an hour-glass and an open book; the trombone beneath the globe symbolizes fame. According to the interpretation of Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, which we can basically accept, the emblem signifies glory beyond death.<sup>8</sup>

In the first four lines of the epigram, Zsámboky explains that if one devotes himself to studies day and night unsparingly, his fame will spread all around the world and his death will raise him to heaven ["in caelum fata suprema vehunt"]. Lines 5-6 interpret the motto: "Mortua non mors est, quae etiam post funera vivit, / Hoc decus a Musis, praemia tanta ferunt" [Life is not life for one who stays alive after his funeral; he wins such glory and such an award from the Muses]. Afterwards the emblem writer refers to the motifs of the picture and in the last two lines, he names their sources saying: the symbols can be found on the

<sup>6</sup> Imre Várady, *Relazioni di Giovanni Zsámboky (Sambucus) coll'umanesimo italiano*, Budapest, Corvina, 1935, p. 10; Hans Gerstinger, *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus (Zsamboky) 1554-1584*, Vienna, 1968, pp. 10, 14, 16, 23-24, 58-60, 71-73, 123-125; see also Imre Téglásy, *A nyelv- és irodalomelmélet kezdetei Magyarországon (Sylvester Jánostól Zsámboky Jánosig)*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1988, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> János (Joannes) Zsámboky (Sambucus), *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Ch. Plantin, 1564, p. 116. See also Arnoud Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image. The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism*, Leiden, Brill, 2005. Our interpretation of the epigrams of Zsámboky differs sometimes from the German translation given by Henkel and Schöne and from the English translation on the following home page: <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FSAb> (30.04.2009).

<sup>8</sup> Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Handbuch. Emblemata*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1978, col. 999.

marble funeral of Juan Luis Vives in Bruges. Paolo Manuzio and Vives may have known each other since some of the works by Vives were published in Venice. Zsámboky's choice of symbols may have also been motivated by the fact that both Vives and Manuzio worked on the edition of Virgil's works almost at the same time.<sup>9</sup>

In the emblem focusing on the death of the poet Antiphon, who was executed because of his extreme outspokenness, Zsámboky exploits a different version of Horace's idea of "Non omnis moriar" [I shall not completely die] (Carm. II,30,6.<sup>10</sup> Between the motto –"Sola culpa praestanda" [One is (only) responsible for his (own) guilt]– and the picture he specifies the topic: "De Antiphonte poëta a Dionysio damnato" [On the poet Antiphon who perished because of Dionysus].<sup>11</sup> In the picture, soldiers lead two half-naked men with tied hands to the place of execution. According to the plausible interpretation by Henkel and Schöne, the emblem signifies virtue conquering death.<sup>12</sup> The epigram starts with a poetic question referring to death: "Nullius sceleris qui conscius esse putatur, / Cur fugiat mortem? funere maior erit." [Why should anyone, who knows he is not guilty, flee death, since through his death, he will become greater?]. Zsámboky thinks that if a good man takes sin upon himself, he will expiate for all ["omnia soluit"], the rest will quickly pass by and the deeds will be overlooked. The poet, called vates and unblemished by sin, ["Labe igitur vacuus vates"] Zsámboky continues, reprimanding his companions who covered their faces because

<sup>9</sup> According to Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1000, n. 1, Paolo Manuzio published some theological writings of Juan Luis Vives. However, this statement is not supported by the database of sixteenth-century Italian prints (EDIT 16) and by the list of the sixteenth-century Italian editions of the works of Vives: Tullio Gariglio, Agostino Sottili, "Zum Nachleben von Juan Luis Vives in der italienischen Renaissance", in *Juan Luis Vives: Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 6. bis 8. November 1980*, ed. August Buck, Hamburg, Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1981, pp. 211-260, especially pp. 247-260.

<sup>10</sup> Zsámboky, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>11</sup> The figure of the poet Antiphon is sometimes confused with the philosopher and the rhetor by the name Antiphon.

<sup>12</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1166. See also Visser, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-205, 213-214.

of their supposed sin, and asked them whether they were afraid that somebody might see them the following day. Afterwards he formulates the main thought of the emblem: "Tantus amor veri, tantum sibi conscia virtus / Fidit, et oblitum non sinit esse sui" [Such great love of truth and such conscious virtue gives trust and does not allow to be forgotten]. In the two concluding lines Zsámboky reminds us of Socrates' death: "Socratis en quantum se mors diffudit in aeuum, / Solamenque mali noxia nulla grauens" [How widely Socrates' death spread in time! It is a consolation in suffering if we are not burdened by sin].

The idea of "Non omnis moriar" [I shall not completely die] also occurs in two verse epitaphs without mottoes and two further emblems. Zsámboky wrote one of the epitaphs on the memory of Petrus Lotichius Secundus, who had been his fellow student at the University of Padua.<sup>13</sup> In the centre of the picture, we can see the imaginary sarcophagus of Lotichius, whom his humanist contemporaries considered one of the greatest erudite poets [*poetae sapientes*] of his age.<sup>14</sup> The figure of Asclepius standing in the middle in front of a coffin made of stone and ornately decorated with laurel festoons suggests that Lotichius – similarly to Zsámboky – was a physician. Three river gods sit in the foreground, on the tomb socle. With their hands, they plug upturned amphorae. The symbols of winds appear on the four corners of the sarcophagus. On its top, nine mourning muses sit around a

<sup>13</sup> Zsámboky, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195. Zsámboky became acquainted with Lotichius and Philippus Apianus 1548-49 in Ingolstadt; he met them also 1553 in Padua. Lotichius dedicated two elegies to Zsámboky. Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 14, 48. The tomb of Lotichius was to be found in the Peterskirche in Heidelberg, but since then it is removed. His former epitaph has nothing in common with the poem of Zsámboky. The epitaph: "Hoc situs est tumulo Lotichius ille Secundus, / Carmine qui primus, primus et eloquio. / Virtus, ingenium, multa experientia, si quid / Carmina docta valent, vivere dignus erat. / Sed quia cuncta rapit fatum, pia membra quiescant / Molliter, ipse animus astra petita tenet". Petrus Lotichius Secundus, *Opera omnia*, Heidelberg, Vögelin, 1609, p. 292. According to a hypothesis of Pál Ács the Epicidium of János Rimay could be inspired by the poem of Zsámboky directly. Pál Ács, "Egy út készítettik". Balassi Bálint apoteózisa Rimay János Epicéidiumában", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 109 (2005), pp. 205-221, especially pp. 217-218.

<sup>14</sup> For Zsámboky the series of the learned poets as Bembo, Sannazaro, Vida, Pontano, Molza, Flaminio, Sabino, and Lotichius, served as a model. See Téglásy, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

swan. They hold bay leaves and their own attributes. A rainbow comes down on the scene in the background. In the twenty-line epigram, Zsámboky first answers the question "Quis situs hac urna?" by specifying Lotichius, vates and medicus, then places him next to Stigelius and Sabinus. By answering further questions, he surveys and interprets the elements of the picture one by one. The river gods refer to Gallia, Germania, and Italia, all mourning Lotichius. The rainbow symbolizes the union of the friends of the deceased and his multifarious path of life. After summarizing the life of Lotichius, Zsámboky refers to his premature death and affirms that his creations as well as the discerning posterity will guarantee the poet's life beyond death. In the concluding part, in accordance with the epitaphs of the antiquity, he summons the "traveller" [*viator*], i.e., the reader to wreath to poet's ashes with laurels and to say "vale" in the hope that "iunget nos rediuiua cohors" [the reviving group joins us together]. The swan singing before dying<sup>15</sup> was a favourite motif in emblematics. It is similarly represented, standing on the top of the tomb, perhaps borrowed from Zsámboky, on one of the emblems of Camerarius.<sup>16</sup>

Zsámboky composed a verse epitaph in Greek and one in Latin to commemorate György Bóna, his student in Padua, who had also died prematurely (Fig. 2). Bóna was the nephew of Miklós Oláh, archbishop of Esztergom. Adrien Turnèbe also composed an epitaph on him.<sup>17</sup> In the title of the epitaph, Zsámboky refers

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Aristoteles, *De historia animalium*, 615b; Erasmus Roterodamus, *Adagiorum Chiliades tres, ac centuriae fere totidem*, Venice, 1508, vol. 1, p. 154.

<sup>16</sup> Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia*, Nuremberg, 1605, n° 23 (1st edition: 1596).

<sup>17</sup> Zsámboky, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229. The epitaph of Adrien Turnèbe: *De immaturo Bónae obitu*. In the poem Turnèbe mourned along with Bóna the Christian Hungary under the Turkish oppression. See Téglásy, *op. cit.*, p. 77. Zsámboky was appointed by Miklós Oláh as *praeceptor* of Bóna who studied since 1552 in Padua. After Bóna's death in 1559 Zsámboky published three dialogues with his student and attached to it his funeral oration on Bóna: *De imitatione Ciceroniana dialogi tres*, Paris, 1561. See Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. In the 1566 edition of the *Emblemata*, Zsámboky dedicated a separate emblem to Miklós Oláh (p. 240). On the correspondence of Oláh and Zsámboky, see Hans Gerstinger, *Aus dem Tagebuch des kaiserlichen Hofhistoriographen Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584)*, Vienna, 1965, p. 7; Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, and the unpublished correspondence of Zsámboky, collected by Gábor Almási, Budapest.

to Bóna's Transylvanian origin, their almost brotherly relation, the moment of death, and the age of the deceased. In front of a globe placed in a landscape, three women sit with lowered heads: the Fates. On the vertical strap of the band encircling the globe, one beneath the other, a young man's head and an older, bearded man's face appear. They are probably the imaginary portraits of Bóna and Zsámboky. At the same time, they symbolize the passing of time. In the middle of the horizontal band, on the left, a horse breaks out of the globe, whereas on the right, the picture of an eagle that flies away strikes the eye. In the top left corner, an angel welcomes the soul of the deceased leaving the earth. The *pictura* richly exemplifies Zsámboky's ideas on the hidden meaning as well as the entertaining, thought-provoking and interpretation-provoking task of the emblem picture.

The Greek epigram emphasizes the sorrow of those who were left behind and praises the virtues of the deceased: his wisdom, his intelligence, his goals, and his devoutness. In the Latin poem, Zsámboky calls Bóna the hope of the country and confronts the losses experienced over his death with the following idea: How much glory and fame has violent death robbed of this sad kingdom, i.e., Hungary? Nevertheless, Bóna will survive this and, at the judgement, he will defeat his enemies. Zsámboky links the death of the person mourned here to the fate of Hungary occupied by the Turks. According to the last two lines of the epigram, the archbishop of Esztergom erected this "monumentum" to his nephew and "his tears stream down to this place". Immediately beneath Zsámboky's Latin poem, we can read Jacques Maniquet's three-line epigram, also to honour Bóna. According to Maniquet, as with Bóna/ dead prematurely, goodness and virtue cannot survive on earth, similarly unhappy Pannonia has no hope for freedom either.

It is surprising that neither of the epigrams contains direct reference to the motifs represented in the picture. Horses, fish, and eagles are favourite motifs in emblematics but their simultaneous occurrence has never been attested so far. We can only speculate that the three agile animals refer to the three elements, and the parting soul symbolizes fire. It may be presumed that the picture visualizes the idea that through his death, Bóna escaped from the captivity of elements.

Two other emblems further nuance Zsámboky's conception of death. In the first one, under the motto "Res humanae in summo, declinant" [Human things start to decline at their summit] there is a ship stranded near the shore, the sun culminates, and snow melts on the shore.<sup>18</sup> The epigram, which unfolds the theme of transience, first describes the picture of the snow melted by sunshine, and then refers it to the human walk of life. The motif of the ship, well known as a symbol for inconstancy of life, is not mentioned in the text, so it is an addition of the woodcutter. The poem climaxes in lines seven and eight: death cannot be avoided; it makes everybody equal; it does not spare anyone, not even for an hour; and it comes faster than the fleeting words ["Mors aequat cunctos, opibus nec parcat in horam, / Verbaque dum volitant, ocyus illa venit"]. In the conclusion, Zsámboky highlights the defencelessness of man by evoking the suggestive picture of death quicker than the breeze that agitates roses.

The second emblem is basically moral advice in which Zsámboky refers to transience again.<sup>19</sup> The envoy is addressed to Philippus Apianus, professor of mathematics at Ingolstadt University, cartographer, son of the famous German humanist Petrus Apianus (Petrus Bennewitz, Bienewitz), who was the astronomer of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Zsámboky and Philippus Apianus were friends. Between 1549 and 1552, they travelled together throughout Europe. Probably it is not a matter of mere chance that it was Apianus who printed one of the first maps of Hungary. In the picture, beneath the motto "Quae sequimur fugimus, nosque fugiunt" [We slip away from things we pursue, and they slip away from us], we can see a distinctively dressed couple leaving an imposing building. Above them, Cronus wields his scythe. The man turns back and points to a half-open money chest placed near the stairs. The explication leads us to the meaning of the scene by means of two questions: "Quid semper querimus deesse nobis? / Cur nunquam satiat fames

perennis?" [Why do we always look for what we lack? Why does unending hunger never abate?]. Zsámboky placed the explanation of his tenet between the first four lines that raise the problem and the last three lines that give advice on the conduct of life: "Mors nos arripit ante quam lucremur / Tantum quod cupimus, Deum et precamur. / Vel si rem fateare confitendam, / Res, et nos fugimus simul fugaces" [Death grabs us before we could have acquired as much as we would have desired and would have asked from God. Or if you want to admit the truth, both things and we are fugacious and transient]. In the end, he advises us not to allow material matters cause us pain. We must build our happiness on firm things and austere life. Zsámboky uses here the fact of death as an argument for industrious life as opposed to greed.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Zsámboky made use of the motif of death in some other emblems. So for example in the epigram with the motto "Dum potes vive", dedicated to Achille Bocchi (*Emblemata*, 1564, 76 f.). See Arnoud Visser, "Name-dropping and Networking. Dedications as a Social Instrument in the Emblems of Joannes Sambucus", in *Polyvalenz und Multifunktionalität der Emblematis. Akten des 5. Internationalen Kongresses der Society for Emblem Studies*, Teil 1, eds. Wolfgang Harms and Dietmar Peil, Frankfurt am Main etc., 2002 (Mikrokosmos 65), pp. 355-368, especially p. 362. On the emblem with the motto "Curis tabescimus omnes" (*Emblemata*, 1564, 138), see Visser, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-202. We should mention here a typical example of the symbolic "memento mori" representations in the hand-written collection of poems of Ferenc Wathay from the beginning of the seventeenth century. On the picture before poem XXII, a man is sitting between flower stocks. He leans on one's elbow on a skull, in the other hand he holds a hour-glass; two flowers on the left are broken down. On the band of writing above his head we can read a version of the well-known biblical quotation: "O homo memento quod pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris" (Gen. 3, 19). The poem relating to the picture paraphrases psalm 102, the prayer of the man in desperation before God. See *Régi Magyar Költők Tára, XVII. század*, vol. 1, eds. Gyula Bisztray, Tibor Klaniczay, Lajos Nagy and Béla Stoll, Budapest, 1959, pp. 224-225, 557-558; a facsimile-edition: *Wathay Ferenc Énekes könyve*, vol. 1-2, eds. Lajos Nagy and György, Belia, Budapest, 1976, vol. 1, 86a, vol. 2, pp. 112-113. Ten illustrations of the manuscript bear emblematic character and some of them can be related to the collection of Joachim Camerarius. See Borbála Gulyás, "Wathay Ferenc 'emlémkönyve'? Megjegyzések az Énekeskönyv emblematis ábrázolásaihoz", in *Balassi Bálint és a reneszánsz kultúra. Fiatal kutatók Balassi-konferenciája*, Budapest, 2004. november 8-9, Budapest, 2004, pp. 60-69.

<sup>18</sup> Zsámboky, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 114-115; Visser, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254. The emblem was adapted by Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devises*, Leyden, Ch. Plantyn, 1586, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Zsámboky, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1814. The emblem was adapted by Whitney. Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

## THE CONCEPTION OF DEATH IN THE MIRRORS OF THE PRINCE AND RELATED GENRES

The majority of the type of works from Hungary known as the "mirror of the prince"<sup>21</sup> can be assigned to seventeenth-century Protestant political thinking as well to the ambitions of the bourgeois and aristocratic ideology.<sup>22</sup> The work of Kristóf Lackner dedicated to Matthias II, King of Hungary and to the palatine György Thurzó is a remarkable example of late humanist collections with a moral point of view. The author supplies on two copperplate engravings, the front and rear views of an emblematic crown, closely modelled on the Holy Crown of Hungary. In the place of the cloisonné enamel panels and in the plinth of the crown decorating the crown, he puts motifs symbolizing various virtues that befit an ideal ruler. His use of sources follows humanist and late humanist traditions subordinated to the characteristics of emblematics.<sup>23</sup> Of the altogether thirty-two pictures supplemented with mottoes that Lackner prints and interprets one by one, three treat death.

Picture XI in the front part of the crown features a bird sitting on a dead tree with bones beneath (Fig. 3). The whole scene is set in the foreground of a castle. The *descriptio* draws our attention to the supposition that the skull may belong to anybody, death does not discriminate between king and soldier, since "[...] lethum omnibus mortalibus praescribit" [...]. death (the river of forgetfulness) has been ordained for all mortals]. On the other hand, as a consequence of the former, it is good if the ruler is compassionate since if fortune deposes him of his high position, his soul suffers less damage in this way. In all probability, the motto "Hic finis omnium" [This is the end of all] appears to be an elliptical

<sup>21</sup> Dietmar Peil, "Emblematische Fürstenspiegel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Saavedra – Le Moyne – Wilhelm", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986), pp. 54-92, especially pp. 91-92.

<sup>22</sup> Emil Hargittay, "A fejedelmi tükör műfaja a 17. századi Magyarországon és Erdélyben", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 99 (1995), pp. 441-443; Hargittay, *Gloria, fama, literatura: Az uralkodói eszmény a régi magyarországi fejedelmi tükrökben*, Budapest, Universitas, 2001 (Historia Litteraria 10).

<sup>23</sup> Christoph Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae Emblematica descriptio*, Lauingen, 1615.

quotation from Seneca's sixty-sixth letter.<sup>24</sup> As further explication to the picture and the motto, Lackner supplies biblical quotations and exempla on Philip, king of Macedon, Sultan Saladin, Alexander the Great and Emperor Maximilian the First, warning about death and transience.<sup>25</sup>

Picture XXII features a church surrounded with a cemetery and a settlement. Above them, there is a skull set upon a winged water clock ["clepsydra alata"] (Fig. 4). Lackner placed the picture in the rear part of the crown so that, as a symbolic time measuring device, it should urge the ruler to carry on continuous activity. The motifs of the picture can be found, in a similar arrangement, in the emblem mentioned previously that Zsámboky dedicated to Paolo Manuzio.<sup>26</sup> As József László Kovács pointed out, Lackner mainly relied on Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*.<sup>27</sup> However, although Lackner does not refer to it, he must have very probably used Zsámboky's *Emblemata* as well. The picture with the motto "Temporis honesta avaritia" [The honest greediness of time] reminds us, on the one hand, of the shortness of time, and on the other hand, it points out that the only type of greediness that is honest is the one that pertains to time. There is no reference to accompany the motto. It can be stated, however, that the motto is probably another elliptical quotation from Seneca's *De brevitate vitae ad Paulinum*.<sup>28</sup> Lackner added some biblical quotations to the emblem warning us about the quick passage of time.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "[...] mors quidem omnium par est. [...] Idem enim finis omnium est..." Seneca, *Epistulae*, (Seneca Lucilio suo Salutem), 7, 66, pp. 43-44.

<sup>25</sup> Lackner, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-97. Psalms 82(81),6-7; Ecclesiasticus 40,1; Iz.40,6-7; Wisdom of Solomon 5,8-11; Ecclesiasticus 10,9,11; Ecclesiasticus 14,18-19; Ecclesiasticus 38,23; Job1,21; Matthew 27,57-59; Psalms 31(30).

<sup>26</sup> Zsámboky, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>27</sup> József László Kovács, *Lackner Kristóf és kora (1571-1631)*, Sopron, Lapkladó vállalat, 1972, p. 80. In addition, Lackner also cited the works of Ovid, Sallust, Plutarch, Livius, Valerius Maximus, Antonio Beccadelli, Melanchthon, Erasmus, Theophrastus, Paracelsus and Girolamo Cardano with a reference many times.

<sup>28</sup> "[...] simul ad iacturam temporis uentum est, profusissimi in eo, cuius unius honesta avaritia est". Seneca, *De brevitate vitae ad Paulinum*, 3.1.

<sup>29</sup> Lackner, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-146. Psalms 144 (143),4; Hebrews 9,27; Ecclesiasticus 18,7-9; Psalms 90 (89)10; Genesis 47,7-9.

By means of emblem XXXI, Lackner recalls the Christian sphere of thought of remembrance after death and resurrection. The motto "Pro vita moritur" [Dies for life] is associated with the visual topos of the burning phoenix,<sup>30</sup> which can also be seen in the rear part of the crown. On the basis of the motto we may assume that Lackner may have used or at least may have known indirectly the argumentation in the tenth part of Saint Columban's sermons that can be linked to one of the passages (2,20) of Saint Paul's Galatian epistles.<sup>31</sup> The emblem implies the following meaning: the ruler must be aware that by acting in order to seek his subjects' salvation, he will win eternal remembrance. Here again, Lackner enumerates biblical quotations to confirm his message.<sup>32</sup>

The work of the physician and apothecary János Weber,<sup>33</sup> published in Latin and German on the occasion of his first election as chief justice of Eperjes (Prešov) and on his inauguration respectively, survived in two versions, each with a different dedication. In the second version, on the copperplate engraving with the inscription "Felicitas Principum" [Princes' happiness]<sup>34</sup> that follows the title page, placed on the shanks of two columns (the

<sup>30</sup> Lackner, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-183. Relating to the picture, Lackner remarks that many emperors used this symbol, as, for example, the Egyptians, which is probably a reference to Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*. The representation of the phoenix with Lackner corresponds to that of Camerarius with the exception of the inversion of left and right; the motto of Lackner comes also near the motto of Camerarius ("Vita mihi mors est"). Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 795. On the occurrence of the motifs "phoenix" and "crocodile" in the *impresas* of the Báthori-family, see Éva Gyulay, "Báthoriak az emblematikában", in *A Báthoriak kora (A Báthoriak és Európa)*. *Tanulmánykötet*, ed. Attila Ulrich, Nyírbátor, 2008, pp. 69-97.

<sup>31</sup> "Moriatur ergo, moriamur pro vita, quia Vita [=Jesus Christ] moritur pro mortuis, ut cum Paulo dicere possimus, Vivo ego, iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus", S. Columbanus, abbas et confessor, "Instructiones variae, vulgo dictae Sermones", in *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum qui in VII saeculi prima parte floruerunt Opera Omnia*, Tomus 1, J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina Prior*. Tomus 80, Paris, 1863, pp. 229-260, especially p. 248 (Instructio X, pp. 247-250).

<sup>32</sup> Isaiah 49,15; Revelation 14,13; Luke 16,19; Romans 12,19-21.

<sup>33</sup> Johannes Weber, *Janus bifrons seu Speculum Physico-Politicum. Das ist Naturlicher Regenten Spiegel...*, Lőcse, Brewer, 1662.

<sup>34</sup> This was a well known and widely used expression, and it was also applied by Erasmus, at the beginning of the second chapter in his *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1515), (p. 1).

columns of Hercules)<sup>35</sup> and arranged in pairs, the symbolic representations of thirteen royal virtues can be seen.<sup>36</sup> Two of them relate to death. In the twelfth picture of the column bearing the inscription "Amore" [Love], there is a skull and bones, to which the motto "Certa morte" [Certain death] is attached. This emblem has a pair, the twelfth emblem on the column with the inscription "Labore": it features putti in the sky, with the motto "Beata sorte" [Blessed fate]. There is no explication to the pictures; the author must have supposed that they were self-evident. The pair of emblems probably means that the prince who rules with love and intense work must be aware of his certain death in a way that he should be happy even in his death.

It is more than a hundred years after its first edition that the best-known and most influential collection of European political emblematics, Diego Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea principis Christiano-Politici* (Munich 1640), was published in Hungary, in two consecutive editions, in Latin. Since their content does not differ from that of the foreign editions, there is no need to present here the emblems relating to death and transience. It is worth mentioning, however, that the last longer unit of the work discusses the conduct and activity expected from the aged ruler, and emblem 101 presents the ruler's death. In the picture, the setting sun illuminates a coffin laid on a globe. On the top of the coffin are placed a crown and a sceptre. The picture and the motto belonging to it "Futurum indicat" [Announces the future] introduce the lengthy prose commentary whose main thoughts revolve around: the shortness of life; man becomes consummate in death; mortals naturally shudder at the thought of the grave and death; princes are ranked by their deeds and soul. According to Saavedra, Charles V should be set as an example. He lived and died observing the rules of religion.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The pictorial topos "Columns of Hercules" was widely used in emblematics for representation of the royal virtues. See Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 1197-1199.

<sup>36</sup> The engraving was also published in Weber's work *Lectio Principum*, Lőcse, Typ. Haered. Brewer, 1665.

<sup>37</sup> Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici, Centum Symbolis expressa*, Pest, J.G. Mauss Bibliopola, 1748, pp. 425-430. (2nd edition: Pest and Buda, ed. Mauss, Typ. Landerer, 1759). See Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 20.



Special attention must be devoted to the last emblem, originally unnumbered 102, in the collection. In the early editions (such as Venice 1648 M. Garzoni, 388), the picture served as a mere closing ornament. In the edition of 1649, published the year that followed Saavedra's death in 1648, the motto "Ludibria mortis" [The games of death] was attached to the picture<sup>38</sup> as well as an untitled sonnet without the author's name.<sup>39</sup> In the edition of 1659, the composition figures as the author's *impresa* with the title "Authoris tessera decaestichon de mortis certitudine" [The author's ten-line poem on the certainty of death]. In the later editions, the *inscriptio* changed into "In obitum magni politici et simul pii viri Didaci Saavedrae" [For the death of Didaco (Diego) Saavedra, great politician and devout man]. As a result, the composition of the picture and the text became the author's fictitious epitaph.<sup>40</sup> The picture illustrates the certainty of death and its power to destroy everything: on the frame, a smoking wick lamp and a scythe strike the eye, in the *pictura* itself, a sarcophagus rests between two broken columns, on the earth lie a crown turned upside down as well as a sceptre. The poem that accompanies the picture is a free Latin rendering of the sonnet in the 1649 edition. The original sonnet is attributed to Góngora. The sonnet, to which two lines were added in the meantime, describes the empire of Libitina, the Roman goddess of funerals,

<sup>38</sup> Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea principis christiano-politico*, Bruxelles, Fr. Vivien, 1649, p. 722. The motto is a locution which figures, for example, in the poem "Lamentatio de morte Christi" of Jacopo Sannazaro: "At vos obtusas ignari avertitis aures, / Infelix genus, et saevae ludibria mortis". See Jacobus Sannazarius, *Opera Omnia*, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1536, pp. 53-57, especially p. 56.

<sup>39</sup> According to the critical edition, Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*. ed. Sagrario López Poza, Madrid, Cátedra, 1999, pp. 19, 185, 1049, the sonnet n° 102, "Ludibria mortis" is attributed by Antonio Carreira to Luis de Góngora y Argote, in spite of the fact that Góngora died in 1627, twenty-one years before Saavedra. Antonio Carreira, *Nuevos poemas atribuidos a Góngora. Letrillas, sonetos, décimas y poemas varios*, Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1994, p. 290. Because of its content, the poem was applied to the vignette and it was given a title to it.

<sup>40</sup> The composition is no more a vignette but an emblem: Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un Principe Politico Christiano*, Amberes, H. Verdussen, 1659, p. 792; as an epitaph of Saavedra Fajardo, for example: Saavedra, *Idea principis*, 1748, p. 431.

where things amass that man took off. Just as Mars no longer wages wars, neither makes Ars donations any longer. The composition proposes the morale that in death, everybody is uniformly removed far from life's affairs, regardless of social position.

John Barclay's *Argenis*, the best-known seventeenth-century state novel, echoes many similarities with the genre of the mirror of the prince. Some of the editions include representations that combine narrative and emblematic pictures. To this group belong the Latin editions printed from 1673 onwards by the Nuremberg publisher Endter. They served as the basis for the Nuremberg editions by Schwarzkopf (1769, 1774) and for the 1792 edition of the Hungarian translation made by Antal Fejér. To some extent, these editions can be regarded as particular versions of the emblematic mirror of the prince incorporated into a narrative framework.<sup>41</sup>

Two of the illustrations of emblematic character in the Hungarian translation are directly related to death. One illustrates the story of Selenisa (book 4, part 3), the old woman who did not trust in God and committed suicide (Fig. 5).<sup>42</sup> The picture consists of two parts: the background features Selenisa who fled into death, with a dagger plunged into her heart, in the foreground a basilisk looks into a mirror. According to traditional belief, the basilisk causes its own death by catching sight of itself. Camerarius, among others, interpreted the motif as the emblem of suicide.<sup>43</sup> A distich sums up the two main parts of the picture ("Poisonous basilisk brings death upon others and itself"), and draws a conclusion from the event ("So faithlessness brings about its own ruin").

<sup>41</sup> Dietmar Peil, "Die emblematische Illustrationen zu John Barclays 'Argenis'", in *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früherer Neuzeit*, eds. Christel Meier, Uwe Ruberg, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 689-731, especially p. 705. 106

<sup>42</sup> John Barclay (transl. Fejér Antal), *Barklájus János Argenisse, melyet [...] Fejér Antal [...] deák nyelvből magyarra fordított*, vol. 1-2, Eger, Püspöki, 1792, especially vol. 2, book 4, part 3, p. 269.

<sup>43</sup> Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumptorum centuria quarta*, Nuremberg, 1605, n° 79. (1st edition: 1604); Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 627.

Such a sharp dividing line cannot be drawn between the two parts of the other composition depicting death (book 5, part 1).<sup>44</sup> The scene illustrating the text (Radirobanes' body is delivered to the enemy to be buried) and the emblematic motif (birds bite the carcass of an ass, birds battle next to them, and two dogs quarrel over a bone) are placed in the same space. Here again, the distich below the picture first refers to the emblematic part ("Birds and other beasts tear carcasses"), then it sums up the event and the morale ("If your enemy perishes, your anger will drain away"). In this context, death carries a positive meaning because it stops hostilities and brings peace and quiet.<sup>45</sup>

### DEATH IN MORALITY MANUALS

The emblematically illustrated manuscript of the Austrian Jesuit Ferenc Partinger, who worked for years at the Jesuit mission in Brassó (Braşov), brings Christian virtues and the soul's immortality into focus.<sup>46</sup> The author dedicated his work written during his stay in Brassó (1710–1714) to the four religious denominations recognized in the Principality of Transylvania.<sup>47</sup> Partinger delivers his message in the three-part tract chapter by chapter; within them, he proceeds "symbolice, ascetice et polemice" [symbolically, ascetically and polemically]. A motto, a *pictura*, and a biblical quotation added to a full-page penned drawing with a wash sum up the central idea of the chapter.

<sup>44</sup> Barclay and Fejér, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, book 5, part 1, p. 507.

<sup>45</sup> The motif of the man playing on a flute made from the bones of a dead ass, provided with the motto "Ex morte levamen", symbolises in an emblem of Cats the death of the old husband desired by his wife. Jacob Cats, *Proteus*, Rotterdam, P. van Waesberge, 1627, embl. 1, p. 47. In an emblem of La Perrière, death relieves of *Fortuna* and *Invidia*. Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1583.

<sup>46</sup> The Jesuits settled in Brassó in 1690. Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi Personarum et officiorum Provinciae S. J., VI (1700-1717)*, Rome, Institutum Historicum S. I., 1993, pp. 561, 608, 658, 709, and 757; Lukács, *Catalogus Generalis seu Nomenclator biographicus personarum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu (1551-1773) Pars II. I-Q*, Rome, Institutum Historicum S. I., 1988, pp. 1148-1149.

<sup>47</sup> [Franciscus Partinger], "Ratio Status Animae Immortalis. Corona" (seventeenth to eighteenth century), Budapest University Library MS A 155. Printed editions without illustrations: Nagyszombat, 1715; 1716; 1717; 1719.

Chapter 9 of part 1 entitled "Ad Poenitentiam et Cordis Conversionem provocans" [To induce repentance and the conversion of the heart] discusses the topic of inevitable death and summons to repentance and conversion.<sup>48</sup> In the corresponding picture, skulls hang on a tree set in a landscape (Fig. 6). The usual insignia referring to death's universal power (crown, hat, bonnet, tiara, and mitra) complete the composition. Next to the tree, an angel points to the scene. The motto ("Sunt vitae fructus" [The fruits of life] as well as the biblical quotation "Si annis multis vixerit homo, et in / his omnibus laetatus, meminisse / debet tenebrosi temporis. Eccl.11,8" [If a man lives for many years, he should rejoice in all of them. But let him remember that the days of darkness will be many] highlight the meaning of this representation. Then follows the ascetic and polemic exposition of the idea of certain death. In this part, Partinger passes on his advice to a young person called Cosmophilus. The main arguments of the *explicatio* in prose supported with quotations from authorities (Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Basil the Great, and Saint John Chrysostom) are as follows: there was life on the earth even before man; persons led by desire and vanity will have trouble at the judgement; happy death can be earned by pious deeds, restraining the body and through virtuous living.

In part 2, which incites the reader to perfect Christian living ("Per illuminationem ad perfectionem Christianam excitans"), chapter 23 discusses the good and pious death.<sup>49</sup> The picture features a ripe cornfield; next to it, food boils in a pot placed on an open fire, a company sits around, sickles lie on the ground. The motto ("Mors in olla" [Death in the pot]) is a quotation from the Second Book of Kings (2 Kings, 4,40). It refers to the poisoned dish prepared from unknown plants in time of famine that Elisha made edible and offered the starving people to eat. The quotation from the Old Testament under the picture (Hosea 13,6) warns us about the punishment of ungratefulness towards God. In the ascetic interpretation of the topic, Partinger urges us to seek the soul's salvation and exhorts us to fast continually through which we get closer to paradise. In his polemical explanation, he

<sup>48</sup> Partinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-106.

<sup>49</sup> Partinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-312.

provides biblical quotations to prove his conception that fasting contributes to winning the grace of a good death.

Another Jesuit, Gábor Hevenesi, compiled an emblematic compendium of Christian wisdom and virtue, supported by quotations and paraphrases from Seneca.<sup>50</sup> At the head of each chapter, there is a motto, beneath which comes an allegorical-symbolic engraving, followed by a moralizing thesis and a detailed interpretation of that thesis. As József Turóczy-Trostler pointed out, the work "reflects fully and accurately the Spanish Baroque spirit, pattern of life and world order that typically characterize Saavedra. Their imagery and circle of motifs are similar or identical". The author advises readers on various situations in life. "All his words of advice meet in the threefold unity of *virtus*, *ratio* and *humanitas*".<sup>51</sup>

Hevenesi approaches death from four different points of view. Emblem XXIII<sup>52</sup> represents the inevitability of death, with the motto "Ferendum est" [To be endured]. It shows a heavily laden camel, a picture that recurs in emblematics several times, with the thesis below the picture ("Stultum est onera fugere, quae vitare non potest" [It is foolish to run away from a burden that you cannot avoid]). In the explication in prose, he supplies quotations from Seneca and works associated with Seneca.<sup>53</sup> Similarly to Partinger, he sums up clichés concerning death: all who live will die some day; we bear death with us since our birth; death applies nature's laws; we should not be afraid of death; horrible is the death that we fear constantly.

In emblems XLVII and XLVIII, he explores mortality and immortality on earth. The picture revealing the open clockwork

of the wall clock, with the motto "Quia multa trahunt" [Since they draw a lot], and associated with the thesis "Nulla humano in corde quies" [The human heart never rests] illustrate the two basic characteristics of humanity: on the one hand, the untiring mind that is incapable of not thinking, and on the other hand, the transience of human life. In the train of thought assembled from quotations from Seneca, Hevenesi tries to separate man's limited life from human intelligence, which is nothing but the descent of the heavenly spirit.<sup>54</sup> The following picture shows an insect leaving the pupa and preparing to fly (Fig. 7). The motto "Volumine vitam" [Life from coil/scroll] is associated with the thesis "Libri faciunt immortalem" [Books earn immortality].<sup>55</sup> According to the *explicatio* of the composition, books help maintain man's earthly memory: writers of books face death successfully.<sup>56</sup>

In emblem XXV, the motif of death serves to illustrate two negative human characteristics.<sup>57</sup> Both the motto "E funere vitam" [Life from decay], which is also used by Filippo Picinelli,<sup>58</sup> and the picture (insects swarming from among a dead cow's ribs) evoke the idea of death. The thesis "Odium, et invidia, metam nesciunt" [Hate and envy know no limits] and the *explicatio* refers the idea of death to hate as well as to envy.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae*, pp. 142-144.

<sup>55</sup> Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae*, pp. 145-147.

<sup>56</sup> In the explication there is a reference to the "Epistulae morales ad Lucilium" and to the "Dialogi de Tranquillitate Animi" of Seneca Minor, and to the "Controversiae" of Seneca Maior.

<sup>57</sup> Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>58</sup> Philippus Picinellus, *Mundus Symbolicus*. vols. 1-2. Cologne, 1694, especially vol. 1, p. 503. The same picture and motto represented in a Jesuit emblem book the fast spreading of the news of Stanislaw Kostka's death. Antonius Maurisberg [junior, 1678-1748], *Vita Divi Stanislai Kostkae...*, Vienna, J.J. Kürner, [1726], n° 75.

<sup>59</sup> The reception of Seneca by Hevenesi can be compared with the knowledge of Seneca by Kristóf Lackner nearly eighty years earlier. The Jesuit Hevenesi, in contrast to the Lutheran Lackner who derived a major share of his mottos without reference from Seneca, took usually a short set phrase as a motto of his emblems and nearly the whole text of his explications were chosen from Seneca's works. The expression "ferendum est" can be found, for example, in Ovid (*Heroides V. Oenone Paridi*), and Cicero (*Oratio in L. Catilinam Prima*, cap. 7, 59).

<sup>50</sup> Gabriel Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae, sive discursus ethici, e Senecae [...] operibus collecti*, Vienna, Typ. J. J. Mann, 1690; Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae, sive discursus ethici, e Senecae [...] operibus omnibus collecti*, Tyrnavia, Typ. Acad., 1701. See Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J. (eds.), *The Jesuit Series*, Part 3, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002, J. 617 and J. 618.

<sup>51</sup> József Turóczy-Trostler, "Keresztény Seneca. Fejezetek a kései humanizmus európai és magyarországi történetéből", in his *Magyar irodalom-világirodalom Tanulmányok*, vol. 2, Budapest, 1961, pp. 203-204.

<sup>52</sup> Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae*, 1690, pp. 68-70.

<sup>53</sup> So from Seneca Minor, "De consolatione ad Helviam"; "Epistulae morales ad Lucilium"; "Dialogi de Clementia", and from Pseudo-Seneca "De remediis fortuitorum liber". On the motif of the camel, see Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 425-427.

## THE CONCEPTION OF DEATH IN EMBLEMATIC COLLECTIONS OF MEDITATIONS AND PRAYERS

A special type of Jesuit emblematic meditation is represented by Antoine Sucquet's collection published in Antwerp in 1620 and its abridged Hungarian translation made by György Derekay.<sup>60</sup> The work discusses the possibilities of attaining everlasting life in thirty-two prose meditations. A symbolic copperplate engraving precedes each meditation. Letters mark the details of the pictures and the series of meditations is based on the explanation of the details marked with letters.<sup>61</sup> While Derekay significantly abridged Sucquet's text, the unknown engraver did his best to copy faithfully the engravings that served as models.

Three of the meditations discuss death. In two of the three pictures, various narrative scenes are associated with death personified in the form of a skeleton. The fourth meditation, which is entitled "About the nature of man's short and uncertain life", focuses on the idea of transience:<sup>62</sup> on the left-hand side of the picture, a person is dying in a room, there is a clock on the outside wall and an angel is about to stop its hand. Below, an inscription serves as a motto: "Hora, quam non putatis" [The hour you do not think about]. On the right, at the foot of a tree, a man holding a book watches the scene. In front of the building, near a fire, two children play: one blows soap-bubbles, the other shoots an arrow at a bird. In the background, men harvest, and a deer darts out. In the foreground stands winged Cronus, with a scythe and a hour-glass in his hand. At the bottom of the hour-glass, a hanging serpent bites its own tail. The skeleton, Death, crawling on all fours grabs the serpent with one hand and looks up at Cronus. A short meditation, prayers and, rogation explain the well-known symbols of time, death, and everlasting life.

The fifth meditation, entitled "On death", continues the previous chain of thought.<sup>63</sup> On the left side of the picture, a skeleton, Death, tilts a spear into the heart of a dying man. On both sides of his bed the devil and a clergyman with a cross in his hand are waiting for his soul. In the middle of the room an open coffer can be seen from which the living carry away the goods of the dying man. The motto can be read on a band of writing held by an angel standing with his back to the spectator: "Vanitas vanitatum vanitas" [Vanity of vanities, vanity]. Looking out of the window we see a church with a cemetery and a funeral procession in the background; in the heavens there is the scene of the judgement of the soul. The meditation makes one realize the message of the picture: death is necessary and inevitable; such as one's life is, the same is his death. The author warns against self-conceit in a firm voice, saying: it does not suffice to be converted in the last minute.

The thirty-first meditation is entitled: "Az halálhoz- való keszületrül" [On Preparation for Death].<sup>64</sup> In the corresponding picture, people bear a cross towards the crucified Jesus. On the flat top of another hill, Christ teaches people, from the sky above unrolls a band of writing with the inscription: "Ipsūm audite" [Listen to him]. In the background, on the left, appears a vision of hell and of judgement. The person sitting in the foreground draws a figure of Christ, who bears the cross; the angel standing beside him and holding a book points at the other warning in that book: "Vigilate" [Be vigilant]. The meditation augments the picture and the double motto, and disseminates – with a teaching aim in mind – the religious knowledge related to death (good death; Christ's death as an example to follow; ways of preparing for death; and last, the expected deeds and the deeds still to be performed in one's course of life).

Altogether six emblematic illustrations were included in the second, Nuremberg edition of the Hungarian translation of Johann Arndt's collection of prayers entitled *Paradiesgärtlein*

<sup>60</sup> Antonius Sucquet (trans. György Derekay), *Az örök életnek uttya [...] Mellyet alkalmatos kepekkel ki-abrazolt, és [...] elmékedésekkel [...] megmagyarázott...*, Nagyszombat, Acad., 1678. See Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler S.J. (eds.), *The Jesuit Series*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007, Part. 5, J. 1435.

<sup>61</sup> This type of combination of picture and text appeared first in the meditations of the Jesuit Hieronymus Nadal, published in 1594.

<sup>62</sup> Sucquet and Derekay, *op. cit.*, B2v-B4r.

<sup>63</sup> Sucquet and Derekay, *op. cit.*, B4v-C2r.

<sup>64</sup> Sucquet and Derekay, *op. cit.*, P4v-Q2r.

(Magdeburg 1612).<sup>65</sup> The volume can be split into four parts; an emblematic picture precedes each part. Two further emblems are added to the third part, "which includes prayers for consolation when bearing the cross". Above the *pictura* in an oval frame is a Latin motto and below it, in a separate cartouche, a six-line verse *inscriptio* in Hungarian. The role of the emblems here, apart from signaling structural divisions in the work is to stress and summarize the central idea of the relevant part of the text.

In the picture preceding part three,<sup>66</sup> the motif of the burning phoenix occurs to which the motto "Non moriar sed vivam" [I shall not die but live] as well as a six-line *explicatio* in verse is added: "Jóllehet meghalok, / S-világból ki múlok, / Mindazáltal úgy hiszek: / Féniksne módjára, / Itilet napjára, / Hogy poromból fel kelek" [Although I shall die / And pass away from the world, / Still I do believe: / Like a phoenix / On the day of judgement / I shall rise from my ashes] (Fig. 8).<sup>67</sup> This part contains prayers and meditations to be said or read in time of pestilence and other disasters.<sup>68</sup> The phoenix is set both as a model and as a spiritual remedy; it symbolizes death and rebirth from death.

The Hungarian translation (1745) of the collection of Johann Gerhard's meditations, who was another Lutheran, *Quinquaginta meditationes sacrae* (Jena 1606) was published several times in Hungary.<sup>69</sup> The Hungarian edition contains just ten symbolic pictures in place of the fifty-one engravings in the original. The translator reproduced the text of the meditations in rhymed prose and added to a few selected sections of the text a picture summing up the main theme of that section. The pictures are surmounted by a framed motto and beneath is printed a four-line

<sup>65</sup> Johann Arndt (trans. István Huszti), *Kerestyéni jószágos tselekedekkel, [!] tellyes Paraditsom kertetske [...] Huszti István MDCXCVIII esztendőbeli fordítása után [...] meg-jobbítottott*, ed. Mátyás Bél, Nuremberg, Mónath Pét. Konr., 1728.

<sup>66</sup> Arndt and Huszti, *op. cit.*, picture belonging to p. 458; pp. 458-578.

<sup>67</sup> See Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 794-796.

<sup>68</sup> Arndt and Huszti, *op. cit.*, picture belonging to p. 458; pp. 458-500.

<sup>69</sup> Johann Gerhard (trans. József Inczédy), *Liliomok völgye [...] azaz ötven sz. elmélkedések...* [Szeben ?], no publ., 1745; [Kolozsvár ?], no publ., 1745; [Kolozsvár], no publ., 1754; [Köszeg], Ludwig Jakab, 1764; Pozsony, Landerer M., 1774; Pozsony – Pest, Landerer, [after 1784]; Pozsony – Pest, Landerer M., 1794; Pozsony – Pest, Fűskúti Landerer Mihály, [after 1795].

verse explanation.<sup>70</sup> These engravings are variations of familiar emblematic motifs. According to all probability, they were modelled on an earlier, emblematically illustrated German edition of the work.<sup>71</sup>

In the picture belonging to the forty-sixth meditation on "The soul's true peace", ravens dine on the carcass of an ass. On the right, on the standing tree-trunk of a felled tree, another raven stands with the wings spread; the sun and the stars shine in the sky. The motto above the picture ("Hurries from Earth to Heaven") and the four-line verse below ("Like stinking carcasses torn by ravens, / That is how all good and nice things on earth will come to an end. / My soul flies from here to the Day of Truth, / To the multitude of Angels and Saints") refer to transience and to the soul striving for peace after life. Similarly to Arndt's work, the emblem warns about death and question of the soul's fate after life.

#### DEATH IN WORKS RELATED TO FUNERALS

The manuscripts and printed materials related to aristocratic and royal funerals amount to about one third of panegyric writings using emblematic elements. In this type of documents, the funeral sermon, the visual representation of the *castrum doloris* and the textual description of the iconographical programme of the *castrum doloris* are often combined. Beside the glorification of the deceased person's deeds and virtues, the main functions of these works are consolation, the expression of mourning,

<sup>70</sup> Zoltán Trócsányi, "Egy illusztrált protestáns barokk könyv. Az első magyar makáma", in his *A történelem árnyékában*, Budapest, 1936, pp. 99-104.

<sup>71</sup> See Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Emblematy w drukach polkich i polski dotychczas XVI-XVIII. wieku. Bibliografia*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdansk – Łódz, 1981, n° 55, 56. The engravings are not signed, but they were probably made by Sámuel Sárdi, a designer and engraver who was working between 1740 and 1745 in Kolozsvár, between 1748 and 1768 in Nagyszeben. See Dénes Pataky, *A magyar rézmetszés története a XVI. századtól 1850-ig*, Budapest, Közoktatási kiadóvállalat, 1951, pp. 214-215. The wooden breast-wall of the organ-loft in the Calvinist church of Magyarköblös (Cubleșu Someșan) was decorated in 1774 on the basis of the series of engravings in one of the Hungarian editions. 130

arousing sympathy and supplying information. The works created on the occasion of the funeral of members of the lay and ecclesiastical nobility, including several high-ranking officers, made up an important part of the funeral representation, and they played a role in the formation of the image of nobility and the ruler. Basically, the Christian interpretation of death determines their content. Two main types can be distinguished. Firstly, the idea of death influences the whole work, it is the main organizing factor. Secondly, the work presents the life, the virtues and the activity of the deceased person, death is only one moment in the events of his course of life. The series of emblems belonging to the latter type were usually printed with the funeral sermons, in appendices.

A good example of the first type of writing is the publication in Latin printed by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) Jesuits to mark the death of one of their benefactors, Katalin Perényi.<sup>72</sup> The former students of the Báthori seminary of Kolozsvár wrote the work, which explains the somewhat amateurish character of the compositions. Katalin Perényi was the second wife of Simon Kemény (I.) and the daughter-in-law of János Kemény (IV.), prince of Transylvania. Already in her life, the Jesuits revered her as "patrona nostra" [our patron], and regularly greeted her with a genethliacon on her birthday. In order to augment the pomp of the funeral, they painted twenty-two emblems and placed them around the coffin laid in state. Seventeen emblems were selected for print.<sup>73</sup>

The work has seventeen verse *elogia* praising her family, her good deeds and her virtue. Each *elogium* begins with a standard emblem (*symbolum*) complete with *inscriptio*, *explicatio* and a biblical quotation that cuts into the picture. To some of the *elogia* an ode or a picture poem is appended. If we remove any of the compositions from the series, they convey the same message individually as the whole collection: Katalin Perényi

<sup>72</sup> *Brachy ton areton hodoiporikon, seu Synoptica Virtutum enarratio: Quibus [...] Catharina Perenyi [...] defuncta, in hac mortalitatis peregrinatione, quo-ad Patriam illam coelestem, cursus humanae vitae beatum terminum contigisset, velut passibus quibusdam inceserat*, Kolozsvár, no publ., 1693. See also Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *The Jesuit Series*, Part 1, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, J. 119.

<sup>73</sup> Brachy, *op. cit.*, A2r-B1r.

died. The ornamental title page is itself a copperplate engraving that features the wreathed funeral coat of arms of the Perényi and Kemény families, the wreath bears the names of the family members in mourning.<sup>74</sup> The explanation of the emblems is supplied in Hungarian at the end of the work.

On six emblems, the deceased person is represented through motifs taken from the coat of arms of the Perényi family, as a griffin with a woman's features; on the other emblems, she is depicted as an angel, a bird, a flower or in some other form. In picture XIV, she sits in a room and spins, behind her a skeleton with a scythe, Death, cuts the thread with a pair of scissors. In picture IX, she appears as a bird chased from its nest that sits in a bare tree; a skeleton, Death, is climbing a ladder robs the nest. The two biblical quotations (Ezek. 7,16 and Nahum 2,7-8) refer to death and mourning, while the *elogium* also expounds the idea of mourning. We learn that Katalin Perényi lost two husbands and two daughters during her life, the second of her three sons died during the insurrection led by Imre Thököly. Outside the oval framework of the picture, well-known symbolic motifs (coffin, skull and bones, bare tree) underline the message.

Emblems XIV, XV and XVI are closely related. They represent Katalin Perényi's attitude to death, in various ways. In picture XIV, the representation of the woman spinning and Death cutting the thread symbolizes that the deceased person was constantly prepared for death (Fig. 9). The motto ("Semper prompta mori" [Always ready to die]) and the inscription of biblical origin ("Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum" [My heart is steadfast, O God, my heart is steadfast] Psalms 57<56>,8) in the *elogium* underline the idea of death. Picture XV shows the tools typically used by women (spinning wheel, reel, threads, and a tool for dying yarn), on the left, an angel holds a band of writing with a motto from the Old Testament: "Quiescent paulisper ab onere. Oseae 8,10". The free interpretation of the motto is in the *explicatio*: "The working tools take some rest in activity Hosea 8,10". All this symbolizes the death of Katalin Perényi, who was industrious in her life on earth. The next picture features Noah's Ark,

<sup>74</sup> Pataky, *op. cit.*, p. 257. The decorated frontispiece is signed with "Clausenburg / Fried. Hin. f."

which landed on the mountain, inside the mountain appears the coat of arms of the Kemény and Perényi families, which may refer both to the family's burial site in the snow-capped mountains near Vécs, and to rest after death.

The works that focus on the deceased person's course of life and virtues are far more frequent than the collections determined by the idea of death. In one of the groups belonging to this category, the presentation of death's natural, earthly image regularly occurs, especially on the emblems produced to augment the funeral pomp, on one or several compositions.<sup>75</sup> For example, a funeral apparatus was organized in the oratory of the Jesuits in Nagyszeben (Sibiu)<sup>76</sup> to honour Georgius Fridericus de Kriechbaum, general of Transylvania.<sup>77</sup> As part of the celebrations, a series of eight emblems was made, on which the deceased person was compared to illustrious historical figures of the Roman antiquity. The last emblem depicts his sudden death that occurred one night. He is likened to P. Valerius, who held the consul's office several times and died at the height of his glory but reduced to poverty. The picture featured a tree that had lost its leaves; in the corresponding epigram, the departed general and P. Valerius were paralleled to the Moon and Mars that had sunk suddenly below the horizon.

Baron László Ebergényi was a soldier all his life. He took part in the war of liberation against the Turks from 1716 to 1718. He was sixty-three years old when he was appointed field marshal on 5 October 1723. Three days later, he received an injury at

<sup>75</sup> *Funebris Apparatus Nicolai Comitis Erdoedi Illyriorum Proregis* [Graz, 1693] no typ., C3v-D1r. On Paulus Ritter (Paulus Vitezoviæ-Ritter), the probably author of this publication and composer of the *castrum doloris*, see László Szörényi, *Hunok és jezsuiták. Fejezetek a magyarországi latin hősepika történetéből*, Budapest, Amfipressz, 1993, pp. 37, 156; Szörényi, "Paulus Ritter Szent László-életrajza", in his *Philologica Hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a magyarországi neolatin irodalomról*, Budapest, 2002, pp. 111-118; Szörényi, *Studia Hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a régi magyar és neolatin irodalomról*, Budapest, Kortárs, 1999, pp. 56, 61.

<sup>76</sup> The Jesuits arrived in 1691 with the Imperials in Nagyszeben.

<sup>77</sup> *Posthuma gloria generalis Friderici in honoris cenotaphio historice adumbrata seu Funebris apparatus*, Szeben, Excudit M. Helczdörffer, 1710. The general died in 1710 probably of the plague.

Belgrade, which led to his death. The printed funeral documents<sup>78</sup> preserve by describing the sixteen emblems placed around his coffin in the Franciscan church of Sopron as well as the corresponding chronographic *elogia*, which illustrate the deceased person's life, virtues, and his valour displayed against the Turks. The twelfth and thirteenth emblems give the details of his death and the cause of his death. In the twelfth picture, bats that have an ominous meaning in emblematics,<sup>79</sup> fly blindly against his raised sword and are wounded, while an angry Turk thrusts his own sword into the field marshal's throat. In the thirteenth picture, Ebergényi, unable to recover from his injury, sails between the Columns of Hercules,<sup>80</sup> and arrives at the port of eternity ("portus aeternitatis"). The intellectual basis of the two compositions is the motif known since Horace ("dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:" Carm. III,2,13) [It is sweet and decorous to die for one's country], which glorifies the death endured when fighting in war for the homeland. Further symbols that occur in similar types of publications related to funerals is King David after his death, the skeleton, Death, depicting the dead person's age with a number<sup>81</sup> and the drooping sunflower turning toward the setting sun.<sup>82</sup>

In another group of funeral prints, although the items of emblematic series depicting death make use of the usual elements of transience, the excellence of the person to be glorified relegates the idea of death into the background. The two funeral sermons, one in Latin and one in Hungarian, delivered at the death of Palatine Pál Esterházy provide a good example

<sup>78</sup> *Symbolographia Funebris [...] Ladislai Liberi Baronis ab Ebergényi...*, Vienna, W. Schwendimann, [1724].

<sup>79</sup> See Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 899-902.

<sup>80</sup> See note 35.

<sup>81</sup> Patritius Scharinger, *Symbola in Castro Doloris exposita in exequijs Excell. /plmus. Tit:/ D.D. Comitis Sigismundi Csáki, apud P.P. Augustinianus Budae in Conventu die 8. Junij. A. 1738. mortui, et in crypta ei neo-ibidem extracta, sepulti*, Budapest, Budapest University Library, MS Hb 2r 268/44; see Péter Farbak, "A budai ágostonos (majd ferences) templom és kolostor", *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 39 (1990), pp. 166-197.

<sup>82</sup> *Iusta heroicis meritis et manibus [...] Domini Stephani Dessöffy de Csernek persoluta [...] in Ecclesia Cibiniensi Comitatus Sáros tumulo illati...*, Kassa, Typ. Acad. S.J., 1742.

of this group.<sup>83</sup> The whole of the *castrum doloris* and its twelve emblematic details as well as the representation of the deceased person's coat of arms were added to both sermons on seven, skilfully executed mezzotint pages. Both sermons contain plenty of symbolic elements and treat the *castrum doloris*.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, they fail to supply explanations of the emblems. The set of pictures and short mottoes constitute the series of emblems that have no *explicatio*. None of the emblems discusses death explicitly. For example, the mottoes representing the coat of arms of Hungary and the Esterházy family refer to the mutual farewell of the country and the palatine.<sup>85</sup> The motif of the ship steered by a star (motto: "Unum hoc sidus rexerat illum" [Only this star will guide him]) and the putto hovering beside the column and pointing to the stars (motto: "His flammis ad astra volabit" [He will fly to the stars with these flames]), the mottoes connected to the individual representation of Mars and Pallas Athena supplemented with mottoes beneath the picture ("Judicat hic mavors" [This Mars is the means]; "Pariter cum Pallade iungi" [I do not know what this means]; "Ast fatali cholera martius arva fodit" [But with lethal jaundice March digs up the land] as the motto of the burning funeral sacrifice ("Huicusque ad cineres arsit") and also the picture of the bird flying toward the eye that appears in the sky (motto: "Non est confusus ab isto" [He has not been disturbed by this (the eye)]) can all relate to Esterházy's death. However, these compositions cannot be wholly regarded as emblems of death. Each detail of the series suggests that death is only one event in Esterházy's life. He who died will live forever in some way or other.

Both orations focus on the praise of Esterházy's life, deeds and qualities. The author of the sermon in Latin ("elogium solenne") uses the past tense all along when he evokes Esterházy, but he does not actually say that he died. He only expresses positive

<sup>83</sup> Stephanus Kontor, *Encomium ad solennes exequias [...] Pauli Estoras de Galantha...*, Nagyszombat, Typ. Acad., 1713; András Vargyassi, *Sol mysticus*, Nagyszombat, Akad., 1713.

<sup>84</sup> See, for example, Vargyassi, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> The mottoes read: "Valedicit Hungaria pleno amore"; "Dilecta Hungaria jam vale"; "Pauli autem Palatini recordare".

ideas about death (for example: "mors enim Janua est indeficientis solatij, Jubilaeum beatorum, meta dolorum, haereditas exulum, portusque gaudiosus proemij justorum" [Death is indeed the door to inextinguishable comfort, a jubilee for the blessed, the end of pain, an inheritance for those who have been banished and a joyful harbour, a recompense for the just]),<sup>86</sup> which indicates that the preacher thought the person he was talking about probably was at a place that can be described as good. The author of the *oratio* in Hungarian identifies Esterházy with "the Sun of mystic meaning" ("Sol mysticus") who lived under the signs of Leo (= his military career), Cancer (= he fled to Linz from the Turks with emperor Leopold in 1683), Libra (= his judicial activity after 1686), Virgo (= his piety, artistic and literary activities), but he took farewell from the world as the setting Sun ("Sol in occasu").<sup>87</sup> In the part entitled "Sunset", his death has no special emblem; Esterházy takes farewell of the members of his family in first person singular. In the end he takes leave of "man" by bequeathing to each man two emblems that warn them of the passing of time. The first one is a clock whose hand is moved by Death and the angel standing beside him warns with his finger saying that death is present every hour, even when you don't think about it. The second is the copy of Charles V's ring, which pricks the finger every time the clock strikes, and reminds us with the words that one will be the last ("Ex his una").

Instead of highlighting the concluding role of death, the series of emblems made to commemorate Empress Maria Theresia<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Kontor, *op. cit.*, B1r.

<sup>87</sup> The emblematic series of fifty pictures on a calendar sheet, relating to the events during the reign of Leopold I and published on the occasion of his death for the year 1706, is also based on the motif of the Sun. See G. Etényi/Nóra, "I. Lipót császár változó arcai almanach royalokon", *Művészetiörténeti Értesítő* 57 (2008), pp. 233-248, especially pp. 241-245. This conformity of the motifs casts light on the relationship between the death-symbolism of the ruler and that of the aristocrats. See also Péter Szabó, *A végtisztesség. A főúri gyászszertartás mint látoány*, Budapest, Magvető, 1989, pp. 14, 115-116.

<sup>88</sup> Joseph Martonfi and Franciscus Xaverius Göntzi, *Trauerrede auf Marien Theresien Kaiserin Königin Großfürstin von Siebenbürgen. [...] Reliquia Emblemata...*, Hermannstadt, M. Hochmeister, 1781.



as well as Ferenc Ferdinand Jany, bishop of Csanád,<sup>89</sup> László Ádám Erdödy<sup>90</sup> and Imre Gábor Esterházy<sup>91</sup> bishops of Nyitra (Nitra) underline the idea of death as the beginning of immortality. They contain new motifs such as the Sun forming a so-called secondary sun; the rose that continues to scent after being cut off; death as a gardener that fells even a cedar tree, the ripe fruit fallen off a tree and the setting Sun with the rising Moon. All these emblems negate death to some extent and refer to the deceased person's supposed immortality and well as to happiness in heaven that is due him according to earthly standards.

### DEATH IN EMBLEMATIC BIOGRAPHIES OF JESUIT SAINTS

The first emblematic biography of Jesuit saints relating to Hungary appeared rather late, in Vienna, approximately a hundred years after the birth of the genre,<sup>92</sup> on the occasion of the canonization of Francesco Borgia, the third general of the Jesuit order.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Ferenc Ferdinand Jany, "Symbola de defuncto Revdissimo dno Episcopo Francisco Janij", (eighteenth century) Budapest University Library, MS Hb 2r 268/43.

<sup>90</sup> (Benedictus ab Annuntiatione B. V. Mariae) [= Benedictus Schwachótzky], *Naeniae [...] Domino Comiti Ladislao Adamo Erdödy de Monyorókerék [...] episcopo Nitriensi [...] die 12. Maij vita Functo Continuis tribus Mensis Octobris Diebus in Cathedrali Ecclesia Nitriensi persolutae...*, Pozsony, Typ. M.M. Royerin, Viduae, [1736].

<sup>91</sup> *Exuviae [...] Emerici e Comitibus Eszterházy de Galantha [...] per [...] Franciscum e Comitibus Barkoczy de Szala. [...] Summa symbolorum castro doloris exornando appositorum. Opera R. P. P. Scholarum Piarum, Esztergom, F.A. Royer, (1763).*

<sup>92</sup> Knapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-218; Knapp and Tüskés, *Emblematics in Hungary*, pp. 191-195; Knapp and Tüskés, "Emblematische Viten von Jesuitenheiligen im 17./18. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 80 (1998), pp. 105-142.

<sup>93</sup> (Joannes Despotovich), *Apparatus emblematicus sacrae celebritatis qua d. Francisco Borgiae Societatis Jesu proposito generali III. a Clemento X. sanctorum honoribus donato [...] academicum Societatis Jesu Collegium Viennae applausit anno 1671* [Vienna: no publ.,] 1671. See Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S. J. (eds.), *The Jesuit Series*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, Part 1, J. 156 and J. 157.

Giovanni Martino Lerch<sup>94</sup> represented on copperplate engravings the emblematic ornaments of the Croatian Joannes Despotovich, which were set up in the oratory of the Jesuits in Vienna. There were no long explanations added to the pictures, only a motto and a *subscriptio* help the interpretation. Corresponding to the requirements of the genre, the monumental ninety-page collection associates the saint's virtues with the events of his course of life and visualizes some of the wonders attributed to the saint's intervention. For reasons unknown to us, Borgia's death was not represented, but the topic of death occurs at several points of his course of life. In the twenty-second engraving, for instance, death personified as a skeleton with a scythe spreading powder from behind on the newly-made writing of a young man sitting at a table. The motto explains the primary meaning of the scene ("Litera cavetur Pulveris exigui iactu!" [Spreading some dust preserves the letter], whereas the *subscriptio* sets forth the spiritual meaning of one moment in the saint's life, the meditation on death ("Meditatione mortis animum a noxis custodit" [Meditation on death preserves the soul from sin]).

The forty-second and forty-third emblems also discuss the practice of knowing death. In the forty-second picture, Francesco Borgia looks into the coffin of Charles V's wife Isabel, who died young. The scene supplemented by the motto and the *subscriptio* all symbolize the distance from worldly matters ("Unus occasus, alterius ortus" [One's death is the other's birth]; "Aspectu demortuae Imperatricis mundi fastidium concipit" [When he saw the dead Empress, he came to hate the world]). The same biographical episode inspired the forty-third emblem: in the picture, a putto kindles fire to light a candle. The motto and the *subscriptio* comment on the event that profoundly influenced the course of his life ("Dant cineres flammam" [The ashes give flame]; "Mors Isabellae Borgiae Sanctitatis vitae incendium" [Isabel's death fostered Borgia's sanctity]).

<sup>94</sup> Lerch was an Italian engraver who lived for many years in Vienna and also filled the order of Hungarians. See Zoltán Szilárdfy, Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről*, (Fontes et Studia 5), Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, 1987, n° 15, 82.

Two emblematic biographies, published by Gábor Hevenesi in 1690 for a beatification ceremony, describe death as a decisive biographical event.<sup>95</sup> The last item of the twenty-four-piece series, which represents Stanislaw Kostka, symbolizes the saint's death: in the picture, a woman leaves a garden with a dossier filled with fruit and a ripe fruit falls off a tree laden with fruit. According to the motto, the riper the fruit are, the sooner they fall ("Quae matura magis, promptius illa cadunt" [Those (fruits) that are riper fall more easily]). The *explicatio* in prose says that death is life's echo, only those can die innocent whom death judges saintly. A tradition clarifies the representation: the dying Stanislaw Kostka asked to be lowered to the ground in order to die. As a reward for his humbleness, he was able to see the Virgin Mary and he died in a state of happiness.

In another twenty-four-piece series that commemorates Aloysius Gonzaga, the twenty-third emblem presents the saint's death (Fig. 10). The motto "Testa vale: auratis discedo locanda coronis" [Pot/shell, May God be with you, I shall have a place set in a golden crown] belongs to a scene that takes place in a jeweller's workshop: a young person gives a pearl removed from a shell to the jeweller who makes the crown. The explanation in prose evokes Aloysius Gonzaga's death: when dying, he started to meditate, fell into ecstasy and departed this life singing *Te Deum*, and it sets forth that such is the life of the true.

Three further emblematic prints prepared for canonization ceremonies present the life and virtues of this two Jesuit saints. None of them lacks emblems of death. In these emblems, storm and rainbow, a lamb sacrificed on the altar,<sup>96</sup> a dying swan,<sup>97</sup> a dying eagle looking towards the sky in bright sunshine, and a

<sup>95</sup> Gabriel Hevenesi, *Academicus Viennensis sive B. Stanislaus Kostka...*, Vienna, Typ. J.J. Mann, 16190; Hevenesi, *S. Ephebus sive B. Aloysius Gonzaga S.J....*, Vienna, Typ. L. Voigt, 1690.

<sup>96</sup> *Dij Gemelli [...] sive Divi: Aloysius Gonzaga ac Stanislaus Kostka [...] Apparatus, quem ad solennem Sanctorum Aloysii Gonzaga, ac Stanislai Kostka [...] In Sanctorum Album adscriptorum Trenchiniense S. J. Collegium, 17. Augusti, Anno 1727 adornavit*, Nagyszombat, Typ. Acad., 1727

<sup>97</sup> *Lilietum Aloysianum, Rosetum Stanislaum [...] Hodie ad Divi Joannis Bapt. Tyrnaviae adumbratum dum Divinis beneficiis gratiam referret...*, Nagyszombat, Typ. Acad., 1727.

black eagle hiding its head in total eclipse<sup>98</sup> symbolize the death of saints.

The last known emblematic series of Jesuit saints in Hungary dates from 1738. It was set up in the society's oratory in Kolozsvár at the canonization ceremony of Francesco Régis which lasted eight days. According to the description, the twelfth emblem of the series of fourteen symbolized the saint's death. The composition consisting of an inscription ("Mors sacra" [Holy death]), a picture (the twelve signs of the zodiac indicating the New Year, and the setting sun), a motto ("Explet ut inchoet" [Completes in order to begin]) and an *inscriptio* in verse formulated the traditional conception of "new life" that begins with death.<sup>99</sup> According to the explanation, the twelve signs of the zodiac in their position at New Year refer to the fact that before the saint's death occurred on New Year's Day, he had cured the soul of his fellow men for twelve years.

## CONCLUSION

Three periods can be distinguished in the history of the conception of death in literary emblematics in Hungary. Firstly, the appearance of the humanist world of thought, which regarded death as the integral part of life, in the second half of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Secondly, we notice the vulgarization of the complex humanist notion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and its association with Catholic and Lutheran ideas. Thirdly, the emblematics of death in its so-called "daily application", which aimed at "taming", concealing or beautifying death in the eighteenth century. Owing to the persistence of the earlier ideas and the late adaptation of foreign works, there exists no sharp boundary between the

<sup>98</sup> [Johannes Baptista Mayr, 1693-1760], *Sacra solennia, quibus Divos suos, Aloysium Gonzagam et Stanislaum Kostkam [...] proponerunt Patres Societatis Jesu Collegii Jaurinensis, anno M.DCC.XXVIII*, Győr, J.A. Streibig, (1728).

<sup>99</sup> *Prima Joannis Francisci Regis Societatis Jesu Presbyteri [...] in sanctos relati solennia, Duplici laudationis genere, Oratorio, Symbolico celebrata [...] a Rhetoribus Claudiopolitanis oblata – Divus Joannes Franciscus Regis, Societatis Jesu Presbyter, Inscriptioibus Symbolicis celebrans*, Kolozsvár, Typ. Acad., 1738.

three periods. We cannot detect the radical transformation of the concept of death, the alienation and rationalization of death, which took place from the Enlightenment onwards.

Death recurs as a favourite motif in nearly every emblematic genre, and the compositions were put into the service of transmitting various abstract ideas about death. Emblems were connected to different strategies for assigning meaning and employed within the framework of varied rhetorical dispositions. Beside the numerous topical elements, the signs of creativity and individual invention are plainly observable. Cultural indirectness proved to be decisive in the creation of emblems, whereas personal experience usually played a secondary role.

Death is relatively infrequently represented independently (i.e., not subject to other ideas). Similarly, we only rarely find examples where death is depicted abstracted from concrete persons. The representation of the death of real persons is a feature of printed materials related to funerals and emblematic hagiographic writings, but it also occurs in humanist emblem collections. Death appears in all the three genres as part of one's own fate specifically tailored to each individual. In emblematic hagiographic writings, the accurate description of the conditions of death is an essential requirement of the further interpretation of "mors sancta". In this category, too, pictures often refer to the period preceding death. In the sphere of thought of "death tailored to individuals", according to the present state of research, we only exceptionally come across emblems that thematize the death of relatives, the immediate cause and circumstances of death, the dead person's burial and the death of the enemy. Suicide was represented as a special form of death in the context of fictional narratives.

Death's inevitability was often emphasized, partly to console the living but also to warn them (*memento mori*). The inevitability of death is missing only from the emblematic hagiographic writing; "mors sancta" was interpreted not as a fact that we must endure but as a desired goal. In two mirrors of the prince, the concept of certain death was connected to the topos "everybody is equal in death" and "death makes everybody equal". This was the ground for Kristóf Lackner's formulation of the expectation that the ruler should be compassionate to his subjects.

The thought of death was significantly stimulated and profoundly influenced by Horace's idea of "non omnis moriar" [I shall not completely die]. The conception, which first occurs in Zsámboky's collection of emblems, next in Lackner's mirror of the prince and later, in a modified form as a result of Jesuit thinking, also occurs in Hevenesi's manual of morality. It does not only refer to the assurance of earthly remembrance but is combined with advice on proper conduct. The death-related emblems in these works discuss exhaustively – beside the private sphere – the individual's relation to society and to the transcendent. Zsámboky consistently associated death with life, and he denied that death could bring an end to man's industrious life on earth. To the concept of death, he associated the ideas of remembrance, virtue and glory. In this way, he directed attention to the possibilities of defeating death. The creative man's death appears as representative of fame that survives death, and death warns us about the futility of material wealth and constant acquisitiveness. Premature death and the violent death of innocents also recur as topics. He also refers to the current historical situation of Hungary. In Lackner, the idea of "greed for time" contrasted with transience and death as well as the advice on the proper use of time belong here.

From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, in contrast with humanist and late-humanist conceptions, Christian theology comes into the foreground: pietism and the interpretation of death influenced by Christian stoicism. These influences can be detected not only in collections of meditations and prayers, emblematic hagiography, but also in the emblems of death used for the representations of families or monastic orders, and related to funerals. According to this conception, the death of the body is the liberation of the soul; death opens the road to heavenly bliss and, after the judgement, to resurrection. Beside the topos "death as the consequence of the original sin", other notions can be found such as the ready acceptance of death whenever it occurs, or the conception that frequent meditation on death makes us better, preserves us from making mistakes and favours the formation of sanctity. The conception related to the last four things (death, judgement, heaven and hell) frequently provide the context.

Several emblems vary the Christian conception of the Fall, which provokes certain death. According to this, death is God's will and not the Fate of humanity, so we should not fear it. We also frequently encounter another notion usually occurring in religious context that it is worth preparing for death properly. In emblematic hagiographic writings, the image of death creates an almost serene impression. Although "mors sancta" is incidental to man's suffering before life, death is consistently interpreted within the Christian scale of values, as the beginning of life beyond death.

In emblems, death is often contaminated with the notion of transience (*vanitas*) as well as with notions of time and uncertainty (*incertitudo mortis*). On several occasions, death appears in the shape of Cronus, or is represented with symbols referring to time. The motifs of death who adjusts the hands of the clock and of the ring that pricks the finger every time the clock strikes warn us about the passing of time. In the context of "Christian passing of time", death can be a sign of earthly maturity, but it can also be depicted as leaving a sacred place like a church. Notions of death as victory, sacrifice and liberation appear in various contexts.

Numerous emblems discuss earthly life beyond death, remembrance and immortality in this world. Creative work and books provide the guarantee. The ruler's remembrance is best served if he cares about his subjects in his life. According the eighteenth century absolutist version of the conception, the ruler's empire that survives him and the influence of his deeds guarantee the continuation of his earthly life. János Zsámboky's emblems and epitaphs transmit the thought of fame and glory in the humanist sense most effectively: continuous intellectual activity assures this in the same way as an exceptional deed or the remembrance of contemporaries. The last thought can also be interpreted as the author's self-reflection: it was Zsámboky's personal experience as a writer and a scholar that the memory of a person immortalized in spiritual creation will survive the passing of time.

According to the Christian conception, life beyond death can correspond to well-deserved rest, the peace of the soul, heavenly bliss, the hope of resurrection; the descent into the grave becomes the beginning of new life and, last but not least, to a meeting with

God. Pious death and the idea of the ready acceptance of death that may come at any time are characteristically Christian notions, in manuals of morality, collections of meditations and prayers as well as emblematic hagiographic writing. Notions of preparing for a good death and the emblems of "meditatio mortis" in the series made for the canonization of Francesco Borgia also belong to this category.

On the other hand, from among the topics and meanings related to death, good fortune (*fortuna*), misfortune, and occasion (*occasio*) are strikingly missing, although they do occur several times in emblematic literature in Hungary.<sup>100</sup> Further topics that occur in European emblematics but not in Hungary are, for example, the linking of Eros and Thanatos,<sup>101</sup> the desired death of the greedy and the prodigal man, friendship beyond death and the calumny of the dead;<sup>102</sup> the revenge of violent death;<sup>103</sup> the prohibition of promoting voluntary death;<sup>104</sup> language as the cause of life and death.<sup>105</sup>

We could also observe that, apart from the preponderance of ecclesiastic, within that, Jesuit authors in certain genres, there are no marked denominational differences in the rhetorical structure of death-related emblems, their visual world or their message. Basically, in the same way as in other categories, the constantly changing system of genre requirements, the practical demand and individual invention regulated the creation of works, and denominational attachment only played a secondary role. It may also have mattered that none of the theological conceptions that separate denominations became an important factor in creating emblems in Hungary.

In the overwhelming majority of the source material available in Hungary, the well-elaborated and well-practised methods of construction and known techniques of metaphorization in European emblematics were applied. The different versions of

<sup>100</sup> Knapp, *op. cit.*; Knapp and Tüskés, *Emblematics*.

<sup>101</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1365.

<sup>102</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 259, 789.

<sup>103</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1505.

<sup>104</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 1851.

<sup>105</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 731.

the tripartite structure were employed in most cases. On numerous occasions, however, pictures that actually existed, were visible and used for representational purposes, are not reproduced. In one instance, even the descriptions of the pictures were omitted, and only the motto, the *explicatio* and the thought they were meant to express were recorded. We also find instances of the structural solution when the pictorial representation itself bears all the elements of the emblem. The explanation emerges from the works themselves and their genres, since the emblems here always accompany longer prose texts, and relate to them sometimes closely, sometimes distantly. Only Kristóf Lackner's mirror of the prince offers individual solutions that differ from the usual forms.

The use of death-related emblematic pictures shows considerable variation. Beside the usual motifs, individual combinations also occur. The points of view that dominate when selecting the pictures are the desire to shock or to convince as well as the effort for effectiveness. The anthropomorphic representation needed the minimum amount of explanation and provided the broadest solution to evoke the idea of death. Death frequently appears as it was typical in the later Middle Ages: personified, in the form of a putrescent body or skeleton, as part of the picture's narrative. This form of representation did not require special explanation, and it appears in collections of meditations, funeral prints, and emblematic hagiographic writings alike.

Death was also represented in a simplified and less attractive way as a death's head or skull and bones. This motif was used both in complex symbolic contexts, in combination with simple elements, and on its own. As a further possibility, the scene of the burial or a dead person lying in an open coffin was used to symbolize death.

In several genres, the representation of the setting sun stood for the symbol of death and/or transience. Zsámboky used the motif combined with other motifs of death, whereas in Saavedra's emblems the setting sun illuminates a coffin placed on a globe ornamented with the ruler's badges. In funeral publications, the picture of the setting sun, both alone and completed with secondary motifs, denotes death. The phoenix burning in the fire was widely used as a visual topos of death and life resurrected from

death. Birds dining on the carcass of a dead ass and the swan that sings best before it dies were treated as common symbols.

The motif of ripe fruit that fell from a tree required no particular explanation as an emblem of death. A special form of this motif is encountered when, instead of fruits, human skulls hang on the tree. In addition to various celestial and atmospheric phenomena, melting snow and stranded ships or ships that arrived at a harbour or are already tied up there, may all refer to death. Clocks are a favourite motif for the simultaneous expression of death and the passing of time. On the other hand, symbols of death that are popular elsewhere do not occur in Hungary, for example: the game of chess,<sup>106</sup> Narcissus,<sup>107</sup> the owl<sup>108</sup> or the crocodile.<sup>109</sup> Complex scenes like a mother and her child sitting in a chariot drawn by Death, or Death who is ready to release a globe of the earth held in a press by a ruler, are also missing.<sup>110</sup>

The emblems associated with ancient mythology, literature, the life of persons who lived in antiquity, considerably raised the intellectual level of the message related to death. The force of the examples referring to antiquity weakened by the eighteenth century as they were simplified and became generally known, but even as such, the compositions were considered refined. We do not come across further imitations of the classical and humanist references that occur in Zsámboky's *Emblemata*. However, in the pictorial part of some emblems made at the beginning of the eighteenth century, classical motifs appear like the death of Consul P. Valerius, the ship passing between the Columns of Hercules, as well as the motif of the sacrificial lamb burning on an antique altar.

From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, the use of symbols based on biblical knowledge and supposing familiarity with elements of the Christian faith exceeds many times that of motifs of classical and humanist origin. It can partly be

<sup>106</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 1305-1306; Mathiaeu-Castellani, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53, 58-61.

<sup>107</sup> Mathieu-Castellani, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79.

<sup>108</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 891-892; Mathieu-Castellani, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-98.

<sup>109</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, col. 674; Mathieu-Castellani, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-102.

<sup>110</sup> Henkel and Schöne, *op. cit.*, cols. 969, 1427.

attributed to the fact that striving for a fate and prosperity after life in the latter type of motifs is often opposed to the meaning of Christian ideas. Not only simple visual topoi were used but also scenes of complex meaning borrowed from the Old and New Testaments such as the representations of Noah's Ark that came to rest on Mount Ararat, celestial betrothal, and Jesus as the good shepherd.

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I. SAMBUCI

In morte vita.

*Ad Paulum Manutium &c.*

QVI vigiles studiis noctes egere, diesque  
 Parcere non oculis, nec voluere sibi:  
 Hos celebres lato nomen disseminat orbe,  
 Ac simul in cælum fata suprema vehunt.  
 Mortua non mors est, quæ etiam post funera viuit,  
 Hoc decus à Musis, præmia tanta ferunt.  
 Id cute nudatum caput, & tuba, vitra libelli,  
 Hora refert, laurus, nuntia fama, globus.  
 Ista ferè Brugis, Viues Lodouice, sepulchro  
 Addita sunt vestro symbola marmoreo.

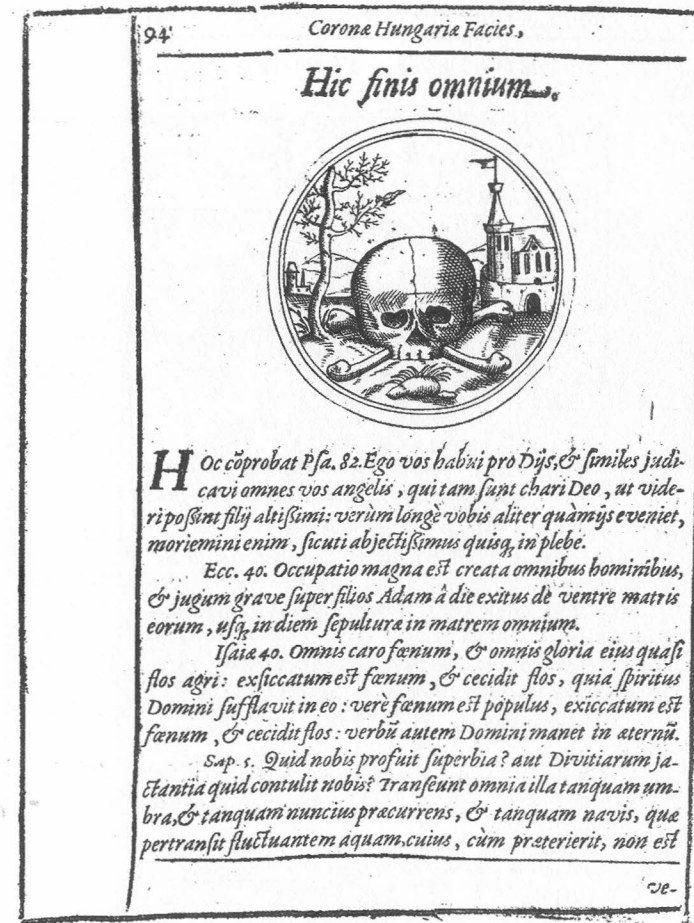
Præcocia

EPITAPHIVM GENEROSI  
 adolescentis Georgij Bonæ Tranlyluani,  
 & tanquam fratris, qui obiit M. D. LIX.  
 ætatis suæ xx. vi. Septemb.



Ὡς ἄρα ἀπάση ἀρετῇ παύσας λιπώκοσμος ὁ Βῶνα,  
 Θαύμα χειρογενῶν τῶν φίλος ἔσκε Θεῶν.  
 Ἡρπασε τῶν πανδαμάτωρ μοῖρ' οὐκ ἀέκοντος  
 Ἀυτῆ ἐπ' αἰθρον, καὶ φειδόμενον ὄναο.  
 Ὅν φίλοι, ὀρφανικὸς σὺν παῶσιν ὀδύρεται ὄκος,  
 Ἡγήτης κήπου Φεῦξεν ὀδ' αἰθερίου.

T. 170

Figure 2. Zsámboky (Sambucus), *Emblemata*, 1564, p. 228.Figure 3. Lackner, *Corona*, 1615, p. 94.

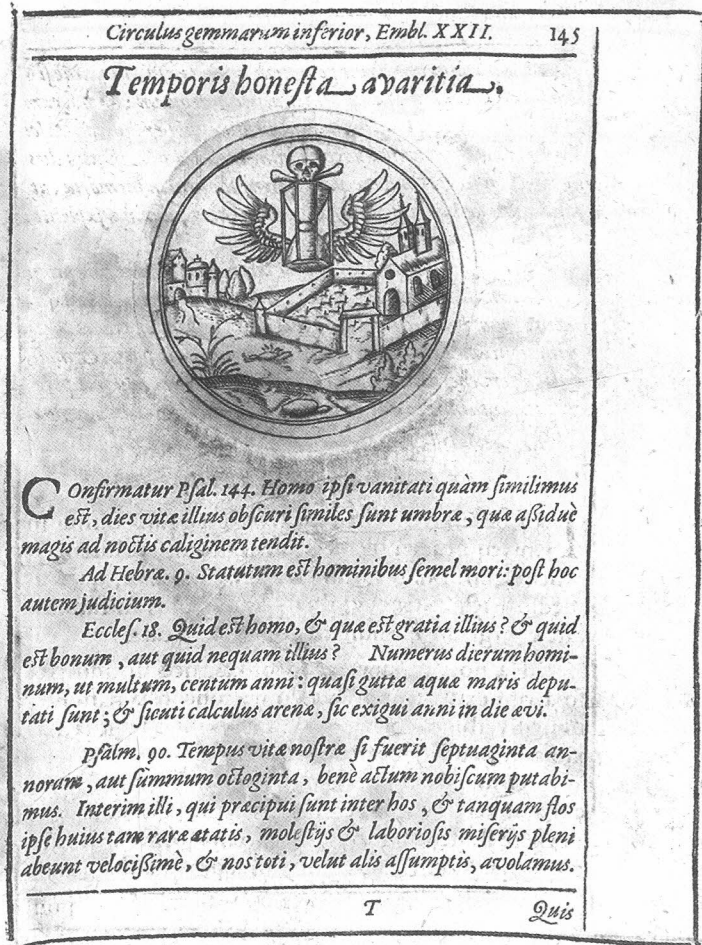


Figure 4. Lackner, Corona, 1615, p. 145.

IV Rónyv. III R. Lev. 269.

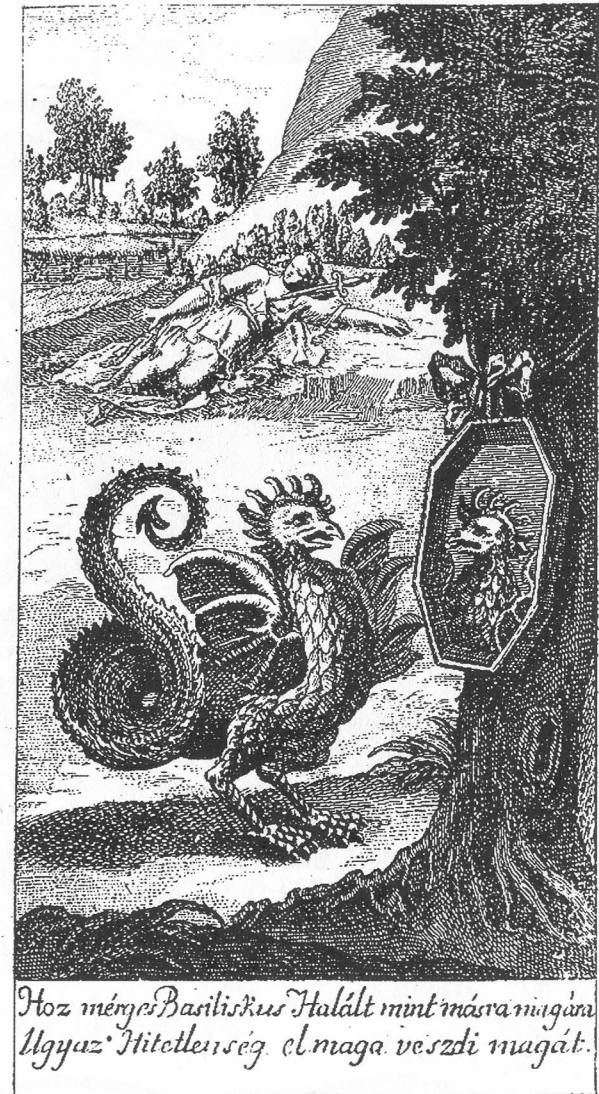


Figure 5. Barclay (trans. Fejér), Argenis, 1792, vol. 2, book 4, part 3, p. 269.



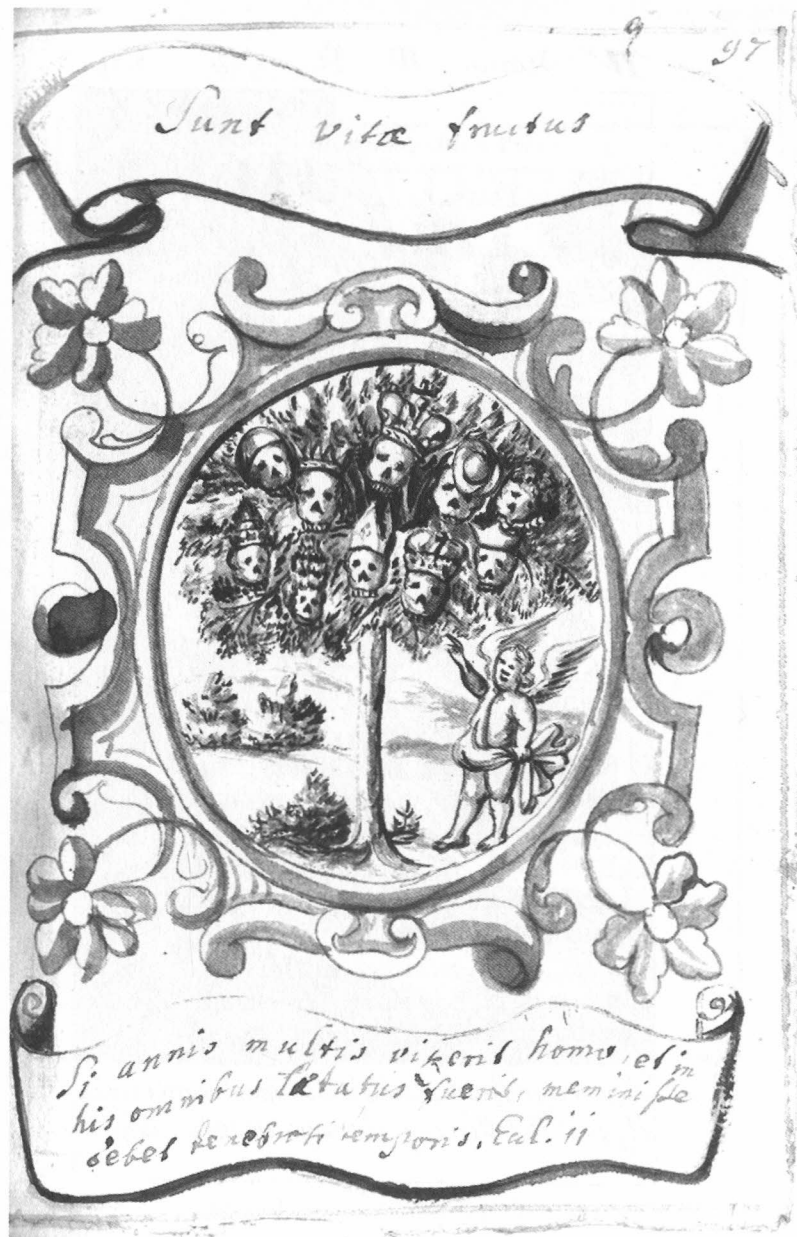


Figure 6. [Partinger], "Ratio", [seventeenth – eighteenth century], p. 97.

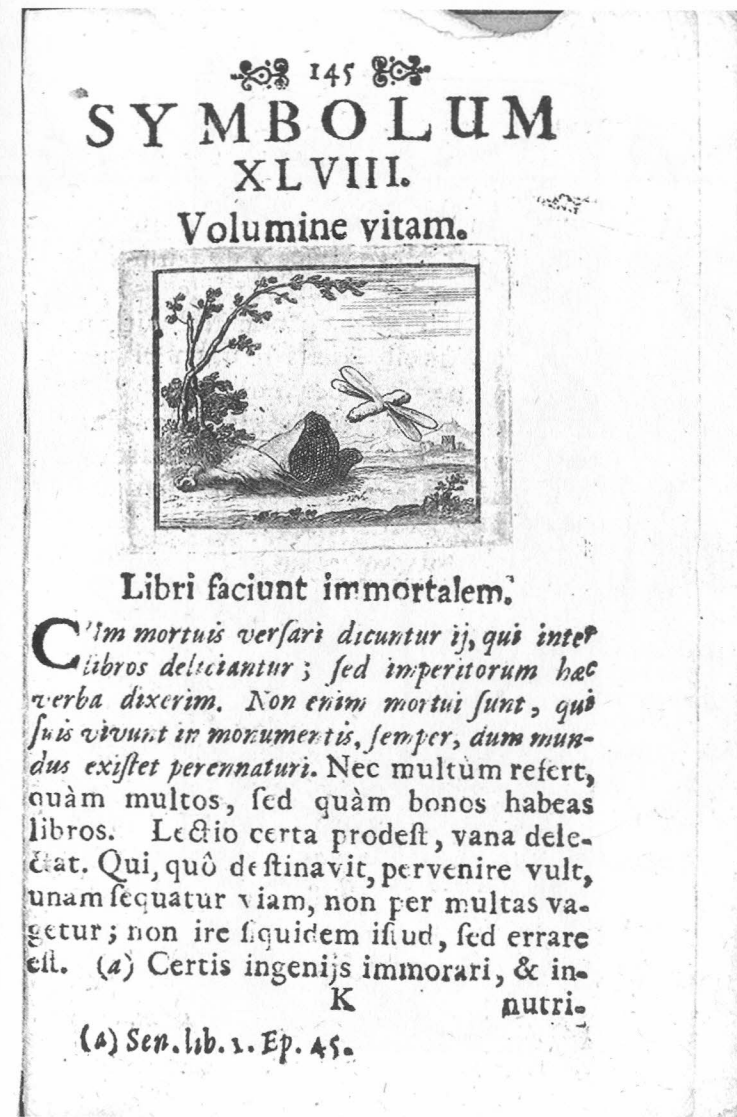


Figure 7. Hevenesii, *Succus*, 1690, p. 145, symbolum XLVIII.



Figure 8. Arndt (trans. Huszti), *Kerestyéni*, 1724, p. 458.



Figure 9. *Brachy ton areton*, 1693, symbolum XIV.

RESKIT MORTIS HORAM, ET HILARIS MORITUR.

Testa vale: auratis discedo locanda coronis.



Dum corporis sui compagem dissolvi sentit Aloysius, tanto ardentiori celi desiderio tenebatur, in cuius contemplatione in extasim raptus diem, horamq; mortis intelligit, ac singulari letitia ad Socios conversus lætantes inquit imus, lætantes imus, ingeminat, eosq; ad agendas hymno Ambrosiano DEO grates præcinctus invitat, & ridenti similis, cantansque moritur. Talis est mors iustorum, cum gaudio moritur innocens. Nihil est, quod mortem facere possit formidabilem, quam mala conscientia.

C f

Se

Figure 10. Hevenesius, *S. Ephebus*, 1690, sig. c5r, emblem XXIII.

## TIME, DEATH, AND DEVICE. SUBJECTIVITY AND BIOGRAPHICAL EXPERIENCE IN THE FUNERAL IMPRESE OF SIXTEENTH – AND SEVENTEENTH – CENTURY ITALY

The tension between self-representation and expression informs the figurative and literary culture of the early modern period. The main terrain for the experimentation with patterns renovating the perception of death lies in the vast repertoire of objects, symbols, and discourses that support their connotative power.<sup>1</sup> Even more complex is the relation between *imprese* and the space of death. New patterns were devised to approach this space and the vast repertoire of objects, symbols, and discourses relating to it.

By increasing their moralizing value and by progressively extending the mystical and sacral dimensions from which they take their roots, emblems can be easily and openly employed to fashion models for thinking about topics such as *exitus*, *vanitas*, and nothingness.<sup>2</sup> Quite differently, the *imprese* are the site of a

<sup>1</sup> See G. Mathieu-Castellani, *Emblèmes de la mort. Le dialogue de l'image et du texte*, Paris, Librairie Nizet, 1988, pp. 7-16. Still fundamental: A. Tenenti, *Il senso della morte e l'amore della vita nel Rinascimento. Francia e Italia*, Turin, Einaudi, 1989, pp. 62-89; Ph. Ariès, *L'uomo e la morte dal Medioevo ad oggi*, Milan, Mondadori, 1992, pp. 191-197; N. Elias, *La solitudine del morente*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1985. See also L.R. Guidi, *La morte nell'età umanistica*, Vicenza, LIEF, 1983; A. Olivieri, "La morte, i fantasmi collettivi, il 'profondo urbano': frammenti di ricerche", in *Id.*, *Sul moderno e sul libertinismo. La storia come congettura*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2006, pp. 74-90; *Id.*, ed., *Erasmus e il Funus. Dialoghi sulla morte e la libertà nel Rinascimento*, Milan, Unicopli, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the classical and still essential work by M. Praz, *Studi sul concettismo*, Florence, Sansoni, 1946, pp. 1-57, on emblems see, at least, among others: C. Ginzburg, "La simbologia delle immagini e le raccolte di emblemi", *Terzo programma* 4 (1970), pp. 176-188; Y. Giraud, C. Balavoine, E. Balmas,