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Devices, Proverbs, Emblems. Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* in the Light of Erasmus' *Adagia*

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1. Erasmus on Proverbs and Personal Mottoes

Proverbs and emblems share a common feature: the use of metaphors and images. Proverbs, or pithy sayings in general use that express some worldly wisdom or moral lesson, are usually informed by imagery. Erasmus, whose discussion of ancient proverbs in the *Adagia* has no equal in classical and Renaissance literature, took a somewhat broader view¹. According to him, not all proverbs convey a moral, nor are they necessarily couched in metaphors. In his famous definition, they are sayings in common use, remarkable for some shrewd and novel turn («Paroemia est celebre dictum scita quapiam novitate insigne»). The 'novel turn' is mainly a question of style and figurative speech. Addressing the question as to how novelty is achieved he lists a number of factors. Some proverbs, he says, owe their novelty to the matter represented («ipsa res»). The example he gives is 'weeping crocodile tears' («crocodyli lachrimae»): a crocodile shedding tears would be a strange and curious phenomenon. Other proverbs owe their novelty to the use of metaphors or allegory, of hyperbole and enigma. An example of the last category is 'The half is more than the whole' («Dimidium plus toto»). Some proverbs depend on *allusio* (a 'veiled reference'): they allude to a line or passage from a well-known author. Another feature is semantic ambiguity or *double entendre*. The next factor mentioned is 'novelty of phrasing' («ipsa eloquendi novitas») – a very general and

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Erasmus' introduction to the *Adagia* is discussed by J. CHOMARAT, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, 2 vols., Paris 1981, II, pp.771-777; see also A. WESSELING, *Dutch Proverbs and Expressions in Erasmus' Adages, Colloquies, and Letters*, in «Renaissance Quarterly», LV, 2002, pp. 81-88.

unspecific description. The example he provides is 'Without Ceres and Bacchus Venus gets cold' («Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus»). Surprisingly, he does not employ the term metonymy. Novelty is also achieved through antiquity (*antiquitas*), when the remote origin of a proverb imbues it with a certain archaic flavour. The example given is a maxim ascribed to the venerable Seven Sages. Lastly, he mentions humour and wit (*ridiculum*).

Evidently, proverbs lend themselves to being incorporated into emblems. Proverbs and maxims in general were a source of inspiration for emblem writers². Andrea Alciato, whose collection of epigrams entitled *Emblemata* marked the beginning of the emblem mania (1531), employed Erasmus' *Adagia* for a few poems³. Gilles Corrozet, with Guillaume de la Perrière the first practitioner of the genre in France, advertised his emblem book to the public by referring to apothegms, proverbs, and maxims on the very title-page⁴.

As regards Alciato and Erasmus, two points need to be made. Firstly, while they certainly admired each other's works, their relationship cannot be described in terms of friendship and cooperation⁵. It was

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² See M. PRAZ, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Rome 1964², p. 25. For an introduction to emblematics see P.M. DALY, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Toronto 1998 (II ed.), pp.3-72; and J. MANNING, *The Emblem*, London 2002, pp. 13-79. The earliest theories of the genre are discussed by A. WESSELING, *Testing Modern Emblem Theory: The Earliest Views of the Genre (1564-1566)*, in *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries. Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 1996*, ed. J. Manning, K. Porteman, M. Van Vaeck, Turnhout 1999, pp. 3-22.

³ See H. GREEN, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems. A Biographical and Bibliographical Study*, New York 1872, pp. 38-39; V.W. CALLAHAN, *The Erasmus-Alciati Friendship*, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis*, ed. J. IJsewijn, E. Kessler, München 1973, pp. 133-141; Erasmus's Adages: A Pervasive Element in the Emblems of Alciato, in «Emblematica», IX, 1995, pp. 241-256: 246-251.

⁴ *Hécatomgraphie. C'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures et hystoires, contenant plusieurs Appophthegmes, Proverbes, Sentences et dictz tant des Anciens que des modernes*, Paris 1540. See A. ADAMS, S. RAWLES, A. SAUNDERS, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, 2 vols., Genève 1999-2002, I, F. 189.

⁵ The idea of friendship and cooperation between the two humanists, first proposed by CALLAHAN (above, note 3), occasionally pops up in emblem studies. The author does not mention it in her later article in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. P.G. Bietenholz, Th.B. Deutscher, Toronto 1985-1987, s.v. Alciati.

Bonifatius Amerbach who acted as intermediary from 1519. Erasmus mentioned only a few treatises from Alciato's numerous works, for example, *De verborum significatione* (Lyon 1530), from which he culled twelve expressions for the 1533 edition of the *Adagia*⁶.

Secondly, Erasmus never refers to emblems. He used the term *emblemata* in the classical sense exclusively as inlay-work, mosaics. In his *Praise of Folly*, for example, he ridicules the humanists' habit of liberally inserting Greek words 'like pieces of mosaic' in each and every oration. «Velut emblemata», he says, taking his cue from Quintilian's censure (2.4.27) of Roman orators and lawyers who would 'embellish' every speech by inserting time and again the same stock passages «velut emblemata», pieces added for show⁷. He employs the same expression, again with a negative connotation, in his manual for the use of preachers, in which he censures the habit of composing sermons by assembling bits from various disciplines «velut emblematis». This, he says, results in inane and clumsy patchworks⁸.

Erasmus does quote devices, or personal mottoes, *imprese*, and occasionally describes printers' marks. He uses one and the same term, *symbolum*, to denote either the motto or the *pictura*. I shall now discuss the passages concerned.

In the 1508 edition of the *Adagia*, printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius, Erasmus discusses the proverb «Festina lente» ('Make haste slowly' No. 1001) – worthy, he says, of being affixed in golden letters on all public buildings and monuments. After having recalled that it had been the favorite motto of two emperors, Augustus and Titus, he indulges in a lively digression on Aldus' printer's mark (*insignia*, *symbolum*; ASD II, 3, p. 10, line 102-12, 139). Aldus' mark aptly represents the proverb under discussion since it is made

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⁶ See ERASMUS, *Opera omnia*, Amsterdam 1969- (henceforth abbreviated ASD), volume II, 8 = *Adagiorum chilius quarta (pars altera) necnon Adagiorum pars ultima*, ed. A. Wesseling, 1997, p. 14.

⁷ «Visum est enim», Folly says, «hac quoque parte nostri temporis rhetores imitari, qui [...] praeclarum facinus esse ducunt latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot vocularum velut emblemata intextere, etiam si nunc non erat his locus». *Moriae encomium id est Stultitiae laus*, ed. C.H. Miller, ASD IV, 3, p. 76, lines 77-80 (the last clause is taken from Horace, *Ars* 19).

⁸ «[qui] concionem e variis disciplinis velut emblematis contexant [...] quae res praeterquam quod habet speciem inanitatis, inconcinnam reddit orationem» *Ecclesiastes*, ed. J. Chomarat, ASD V, 5, p. 12, lines 135-136.

up of a dolphin and an anchor (fig. 1). The symbol fired Erasmus' interest in hieroglyphics, which he describes as venerable tokens (*monimenta*) employed by Egyptian priests to conceal the mysteries of ancient wisdom from the uninitiated, the «vulgus prophanum»⁹. He interprets the dolphin as a symbol for speed and the anchor as a sign denoting slowness or procrastination (*tarditas*), on the authority of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* (1.1 in the Aldine 1505 edition). He also refers to a hieroglyph found in a volume of which he gives no details. The picture described can be securely identified with an illustration published in that magnificent specimen of Aldus' craftsmanship entitled *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Polia's Lover's Strife of Love in a Dream, 1499), which critics usually attribute to the Dominican Francesco Colonna. Lavishly illustrated by woodcuts, the volume contains a hieroglyph representing a circle and an anchor with a dolphin twined around it, accompanied by the explanation «Ἀεὶ σπεῦδε βραδέως Semper festina tarde» ('Always hasten slowly')¹⁰. Erasmus postulates an ancient source for the hieroglyphic pictures in the *Hypnerotomachia*: a lost treatise by the Greek historiographer Chaeremon mentioned in the *Suda*, a late Byzantine dictionary. It is unclear why he suppressed the title of the *Hypnerotomachia*, a volume which he had seen recently (*nuper*), during his stay in Venice. As Pozzi noted in his commentary (II, pp. 91-93), Aldus himself probably took his printer's mark from the same volume.

Two expressions on complicated knots («Cassioticus nodus» and «Herculeus nodus», *Adagia* 1434, ASD II, 3) reminded Erasmus of the printer's mark of a competing publisher, Johannes Froben of Basel, «the most diligent printer of our era», under whose aegis enlarged editions of the *Adagia* appeared from 1515¹¹. Erasmus included his praise of his favorite printer in the 1517/18 edition. He recalled that Froben's mark, which symbolized everlasting friendship, was made up of two snakes, the one male, the other female, intertwined around a caduceus as carried by Hermes, with a dove on top of the staff (fig. 2).

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⁹ Erasmus' passion for hieroglyphs (*symbola*) is also apparent from his praise of the dung-beetle in *Adagia* 2601, entitled *Scarabeus aquilam quaerit*, ASD II, 6, p. 415, line 518-416, 536.

¹⁰ Ed. 1499, f. d7 = F. COLONNA, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, ed. G. Pozzi, L.A. Ciapponi, 2 vols., Padova 1980, I, p. 61.

¹¹ On the genesis and development of the *Adagia* see ASD II, 8, pp. 1-3 and M.M. PHILLIPS, *The Adages of Erasmus*, Cambridge 1964.

ERASMI ROTERODAMI ADAGIORVM
CHILIADES TRES, AC CENTV.
RIAEFERE TOTIDEM.

A L D S T V D I O S I S . S .

Quis nihil aliud cupio, q̄ prodesse vobis Studioſi. Cum ueniſſet in manus meas Eraſmi Roteroda-
mi hominis undecunq; doctus. hoc adagiōū opus enutitum. auzium. plenū bonæ frugis,
& quod poſſit uel cum ipſa antiquitate certare, intermiſſis antiquis autonb. quos pa-
raueram excudendos, illud curauimus imprimendam, zati profuturum uobis
& multitudine ipſa adagiōū, quæ ex plurimis autorib. tam latinis, quam
græcis ſtudioſe collegit ſummis certe laborib. ſummis uigiliis, &
multis locis apud utruſq; lingue autores obiter uel correctis
acute, uel expoſitis enadite Doctæ præterea quot modis
ex hiſce adagiis capere utilitatem liceat, puta quæ-
admodum ad uarios uſus accommodari poſ-
ſint. Adde, q̄ c̄ciriter decē millia uer-
ſuum ex Homero Euripide, & cæ-
teris Græcis codē metro in
hoc opere fideliter, &
doctè tralata ha-
bētur. p̄æ-
ter plu-
rima
ex Pla-
tone, De-
moſthene, & id
genus ali-
is. An
autem uenus ſum,
ἰδὲν ἔειπε, ἰδὲν καὶ τοῦ μέθυρα.
Nam quod dicitur, αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ.

Pæponitur hiſce adagiis duplex index. Alter ſecundum litteras
alphabeti noſtri. nam quæ græcæ ſunt, latina quoq;
habentur. Alter per capita ætium.

1. Printer's mark of Aldus Manutius in ERASMUS, *Adagia*, Venice 1508.
2. Printer's mark of Johannes Froben in ERASMUS, *Adagia*, Basel 1526.

ADAGIORVM · OPVS D·
ERASMI ROTERODAMI PER EVNDEM EXQVISITISSI-
ma cura recognitum & locupletatum, correctis ubique citationum nume-
ris, ac reſtitutis indicibus. Hanc ſupremam manum putato,
& ſecurus emito. Si plura cupis noſſe, uerte pagi-
nam, & lege autoris ep̄istolam.

Baſileæ apud Ioannem Frobe-
niū, Menſe Februario.
A N N O
M. D. X X V I.

He returns to Aldus' printer's mark and that of Froben in a digression included in the 1526 edition (*Adagia* 1001, ASD II, 3, p. 24, lines 424-429). In it he laments the lack of literary patronage in the countries north of the Alps; in other words Froben's income was small in comparison with the profits made by the Aldine firm: «Making haste slowly, Aldus has acquired both fame and gold, and he richly deserves both. Froben holds his staff upright with the public good as his sole goal; he never swerves from the innocence of his dove, and expresses the wisdom of serpents [Matthew 10.16] more in his printer's mark than by his behavior; and is therefore richer in fame than in coin»¹².

A maxim from Cicero's letters appeared in the 1533 edition: «Virtute duce, comite fortuna» ('Guided by ability and accompanied by Fortune' *Adagia* 3947, ASD II, 8). Erasmus notes that this maxim is used by some as a public symbol, referring no doubt to the motto of Sebastian Gryphius, a German printer active in Lyon, who issued the *Adagia* (1528 and 1529), the *Praise of Folly* (ca. 1529), and other works without Erasmus' permission, let alone that of the original publishers¹³. Understandably, Erasmus suppressed his name. It is worthy of note that as early as 1503 Aldus issued a warning against Lyon printers who fraudulently reproduced his books¹⁴.

Erasmus illustrates the expression «e nevo cognoscere» ('to know someone by his birth-mark' *Adagia* 4145, ASD II, 8) by referring to logos (*signa*) as used by bankers to authenticate their contracts. In his correspondence he refers to the signboard (*symbolum*) of a hostel in Louvain, the inn of The Wild Man («Viri Sylvestris»)¹⁵.

A serio-comic play with heraldic devices occurs in a lampoon on faked nobility, aptly entitled *A Knight Without a Horse* (*Hippeus anhippos*) and

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¹² «[Aldus] lente festinans non minus auri sibi peperit quam nominis, utroque dignus. Frobenius dum baculum semper erectum gerit non alio spectans quam ad publicam utilitatem, dum a columbina simplicitate non recedit, dum serpentum prudentiam magis exprimit insigniis suis quam factis, fama potius dives est quam re».

¹³ See H.L. and J. BAUDRIER, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, 12 vols., Lyon 1895-1921, VIII, pp. 18, 43-45, 46, 50; ASD II, 8, p. 2; and ASD IV, 3, pp. 59-60. On Gryphius see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v.

¹⁴ Aldo Manuzio editore. *Dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, a cura di C. Dionisotti, G. Orlandi, 2 vols., Milano 1975, I, p. 170.

¹⁵ ERASMUS, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P.S. Allen et al., 12 vols., Oxford 1906-1958 (henceforth abbreviated *Ep.*), no. 1342, line 105.

published in the 1529 edition of the *Colloquia*. It features an ambitious fellow of lowly origins named Harpalus (ἀρπαλέος means 'greedy'), who wishes to bluff his way into high society, and a counsellor who is given the name Nestorius, after the princely counsellor in the *Iliad*, famous for his wisdom and eloquence. Nestorius advises his pupil to adopt a signet ring and a shield with a personalized coat of arms (*insignia*), representing two milking-pails and a beer-can¹⁶.

Harpalus also needs to be given a proper heraldic motto (*symbolum*, p. 614, lines 80-81). He himself comes up with the mottoes of the Burgundian-Habsburg rulers Maximilian, Philip the Fair, and Charles V respectively: *Tene Mensuram* (*Halt Mas in allen Dingen*, Observe the mean in all things), *Qui volet* (*Qui vouldra*, He who wills), and *Uterius* (*Plus oultre*, Farther still). So why not adopt, says the counsellor, the maxim «Omnis iacta sit alea» ('Cast all the dice!'). Harpalus readily recognizes the aptness of the motto proposed and gratefully accepts it («Nae tu percommode dicis!»).

The four mottoes are all connected with Caesars or, at any rate, with rulers and range from positive to less positive qualities, from prudence to reckless action. This, at least, is how Erasmus appraised the mottoes quoted. A champion of prudence and moderation himself, he frequently cites tags which recommend due measure. A particular favorite was Terence's «Ne quid nimis» ('Nothing too much')¹⁷. By contrast, the motto of Charles V, *Plus Ultra*, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, that is¹⁸, must have filled him with suspicion and aversion: he openly denounced the emperor in 1525-1526 as a potentate pursuing a megalomaniac policy of territorial expansion and contriving to establish a universal empire: «Carolus molitur novam totius orbis monarchiam»¹⁹. His critique of Charles' *idea imperial* is part of a pessimistic assessment of the political situation in Europe.

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¹⁶ ERASMUS, *Colloquia*, ed. L.-E. Halkin, F. Bierlaire, R. Hoven, ASD I, 3, p. 613, lines 36-47.

¹⁷ Discussed in *Adagia* 596; see also ASD I, 3, p. 565, note.

¹⁸ See E.E. ROSENTHAL, *The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», XXXVI, 1973, pp. 198-230.

¹⁹ *Colloquia*, ASD I, 3, p. 454, line 46. On Charles' aspirations see ROSENTHAL, *The Invention* cit., pp. 221-230. Erasmus' attitude towards the emperor is discussed by J.J. POELHEKKE, *The Nameless Homeland of Erasmus*, in «Acta Historiae Neerlandicae», VII, 1974, pp. 54-87: 59-67.

In the colloquy under discussion Nestorius sarcastically alludes to the sack of Rome, perpetrated in 1527 by the armies of the emperor: 'Just ask how the emperor gets along with the pope!' («Roga quomodo conveniat Caesari cum Pontifice!» p. 613, line 33). Another scathing gibe is in the beginning of the colloquy, where Nestorius refers to Charles' practice of selling titles of nobility: «Exigua summa tibi vendet Caesar!» (p. 612, line 10). It is Charles' motto *Ulterius* which triggers the adage «Omnis iacta sit alea». Erasmus no doubt detested the very idea of 'casting all the dice': he strongly disapproved of games of chance and even more so of the notion of committing everything to the will of fortune. «Omnis iacta sit alea» is his translation of Caesar's saying Πᾶς ἀνερρίφθω κύβος, famously uttered on crossing the Rubicon and recorded by Plutarch (see the *Adagia*, no. 332).

Harpalus also needed to adopt an aristocratic surname. Since his family-name *Comensis* is too vulgar, the counsellor proposes 'von Como' (*a Como*), 'for that's the aristocratic style; the other name is fit for low-born theologians' («ne plebeio more te patiaris vocari Harpalum Comensem, sed Harpalum a Como; hoc enim nobilium est, illud sordidorum theologorum» p. 614, lines 66-68). Harpalus was allegedly born in some obscure village («in obscuro pago», line 73). At this point it is clear, at least to the informed reader of Erasmus' time, that Heinrich (von) Eppendorff is the intended target of the whole lampoon: the fake name 'Comensis' depends on κώμη, 'village', and alludes to Eppendorff. Claiming to be of knightly rank, he styled himself Henricus ab (von) Eppendorff.²⁰ Erasmus had a profound distrust of this staunch supporter of Ulrich von Hutten and Luther.

But what is the point of mentioning theologians in the colloquy? Is Erasmus referring to himself? Or was there a theologian among his contemporaries with a name like *Comensis*? It is hard not to come up with his famous friend and opponent in Louvain, Martinus Dorpius (van Dorp): the Dutch word *dorp* means 'village'. The Dutch theologian was a native of Naaldwijk, a village near Rotterdam. It should be recalled that Dorpius died in 1525²¹. A jesting reminiscence, perhaps? Erasmus did not hesitate to mock or even lampoon opponents after their death.

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²⁰ See his letters in Allen's edition of Erasmus' correspondence, IV, p. 616; *Ep.* 1936, line 15; and 2099, line 49. On Eppendorff see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v.; C. AUGUSTIJN, *Erasmus. Der Humanist als Theologe und Kirchenreformer*, Leiden 1996, pp. 174-193; and WESSELING, *Dutch Proverbs* cit., p. 102.

²¹ See *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Dorp.

Thus, for example, he ridicules Alberto Pio da Carpi, in a mock report of his funeral (*Exequiae Seraphicae*, ASD I, 3, p. 687).

To return to devices: Erasmus' own motto was *Concedo nulli* (also *Cedo nulli*, 'I yield to none'), accompanied by an image of Terminus, the Roman deity presiding over boundaries (fig. 3). The antecedents of the motto are well known²². Erasmus himself provides relevant information in a letter of 1528 (*Ep.* 2018), addressed to Alfonso de Valdés, secretary to Charles V. The motto (*symbolum*) was inspired by an antique gem depicting Terminus, a gift from Alexander Stewart (d. 1513), illegitimate son of King James IV of Scotland, whom Erasmus tutored for some time while staying in Italy (Padua and Siena, 1508-1509). The gem reminded Erasmus of the ancient legend recounted by Livy that the sanctuary of Terminus in Rome could not be removed to make place for a temple for Jupiter. In fact, he refers to Livy: 'As the Roman annals have it, only Terminus refused to yield to Jupiter' («Hic Terminus, ut est in Romanis annalibus, solus Iovi noluit concedere», *Ep.* 2018, lines 44-45). He then quotes Livy (1.55.3) directly. But the immediate subtext of *Concedo nulli* is, so it appears, Ovid's analogous account in the *Fasti* – Erasmus mentions the festival of Terminus, or «Terminalia», in the same letter (line 44). Ovid addresses Terminus in the following way: 'Stay in that station in which you have been placed. Yield not an inch to a neighbor, even if he asks you to do so, lest you should seem to value man above Jupiter' (2.674-676),

Qua positus fueris in statione, mane,
nec tu vicino quicquam *concede* roganti,
ne videre hominem praeposuisse Iovi.

It is true, though, that Erasmus also knew the riddle on Terminus quoted by Aulus Gellius, which ends with the line «Iovi ipsi regi noluit concedere» ('He refused to yield to King Jupiter himself')²³.

Semel *minus*ne an bis *minus* sit nescio,
An utrumque eorum; ut quondam audiui dicier,
Iovi ipsi regi noluit *concedere*.

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²² See J.K. McCONICA, *The Riddle of 'Terminus'*, in «Erasmus in English», II, 1971, pp. 2-7.

²³ *Noctes Atticae* 12.6. See E. PANOFSKY, *Erasmus and the Visual Arts*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», XXXII, 1969, pp. 200-227: 215.

3. QUINTEN METSYS, Medal of Erasmus with the figure of Terminus, 1519.
Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum.

Erasmus famously used the device for his signet²⁴. Taunted for arrogance, he defends his motto against unnamed Spanish slanderers in 1528, in the letter to Valdés, quoted above. Erasmus first protests that the motto should be taken as words spoken by Terminus, in accordance with the abstruseness («obscuritatis aliquid») which the genre of the device requires. He then insists that it should be interpreted in a Christian sense, as a reminder that one must be constantly aware of the imminence of death: «Mors enim vere terminus est, qui nulli cedere novit». He claims that this had been his idea from the outset.

Erasmus' apology became the object of scholarly debate in modern times: Wind (followed by Panofsky) discounted it as a pious reinterpretation; but McConica strongly argues that the double motif of Death and Intrepidity or Defiance was present from the beginning²⁵. Erasmus' contemporaries were likewise divided. In line with Erasmus' plea, Alciato interpreted Terminus as a *memento mori*: a reminder of death and the Last Judgment. One of his emblems (no. 158) shows Terminus on a pedestal in a landscape²⁶. The epigram describes the god as curly-headed (*cirratus*), possibly reflecting Erasmus' own depiction of Terminus as a young man with flying hair on top of a rock («infernæ saxum, superne iuvenem capillis volitantibus», *Ep.* 2018, lines 23-24).

Quadratum infoditur firmissima tessera saxum,
stat cirrata super pectore imago tenus,
et sese nulli profitetur cedere. Talis
Terminus est, homines qui scopus unus agit,
est immota dies prae fixaque tempora fati
deque ferunt primis ultima iudicium.

(A solid square block of stone is set in the ground. On top of it stands a curly-headed bust. It declares that it yields to none. Such is Terminus, the one goal

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²⁴ Reproduced in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto 1974-, II, p. 150; see also VII, p. 260.

²⁵ E. WIND, *Aenigma Termini: the Emblem of Erasmus*, in «Journal of the Warburg Institute», I, 1937-1938, pp. 66-69; PANOFSKY, *Erasmus and the Visual Arts* cit., p. 216; McCONICA, *The Riddle of 'Terminus'* cit., pp. 2-7; see also E.H. WATERBOLK, *Een Friese Terminus? Een aspect van Erasmus' invloed in het noorden der noordelijke Nederlanden*, in *Commémoration Nationale d'Érasme. Actes*, Brussels 1970, pp. 236-259: 243-244.

²⁶ A. ALCIATO, *Emblemata cum commentariis Claudii Minois iurisconsulti*, Padova 1621.

that leads man on. He is the fixed day, the time set by Fate. Man's last days bring judgment on his first.)

Paolo Giovio's treatise on devices (1555) reflects the condemnation of Erasmus as enunciated by his critics headed by the Spanish Franciscan Luis de Carvajal²⁷. After words of high praise for the Dutchman's unsurpassed erudition – «nato nell'estrema isola d'Holanda»²⁸ – Giovio calls his *impresa* somewhat presumptuous, «alquanto altiero». He quotes it in an adapted form, «Vel Iovi cedere nescit» ('He [Terminus] knows no yielding to Jove himself')²⁹. In his view, Erasmus was so ambitious as to suggest that he surpassed all authors («che non cedeva a nessun'altro scrittore»). Giovio's judgment is in line with his critique of Erasmus' style and diction, laid down in his *Elogia*, or *Praise of Famous Authors*. Extolling again Erasmus' learning gathered during his wandering over all the universities of Europe, «per omnia Europae gymnasia», Giovio censures the *Praise of Folly* as a work unworthy of a priest, «opus quidem salsa aspergine periucundum [...] sed sacrato viro prorsus indecorum». He also criticizes his style, which, he argues, would have been admirable had he restrained his impetuous and precipitate nature («fervidum properansque ingenium»). Eager for fame, Erasmus had pursued a novel style and syntax, quite different from any ancient model, as appears from the *Ciceronianus*, a work inspired by undisguised spite («Quaerebat enim peculiarem laudem ex elocutionis atque structuræ novitate, quæ nulla certa veterum æmulatione pararetur, ut in Ciceroniano non occulti livoris plenus ostendit»)³⁰.

Claude Paradin took up the cudgels for Erasmus in his collection of heraldic devices (*Devises heroïques*, Lyon 1557, p. 103). In it the motto

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²⁷ See ERASMUS, *Ep.* 2300, lines 101-105 (on Carvajal); P. GIOVIO, *Dialogo dell'impresa militari et amorose*, ed. M.L. Doglio, Roma 1978, p. 139.

²⁸ Giovio was thinking of the *insula Batavorum*, the ancient name for modern Holland.

²⁹ The source of the variant is not Carvajal's invective against Erasmus, which has «Cedo nulli»; see M. BATAILLON, *Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1937, p. 352. The Dutch poet Vondel prefixed the motto CEDO NULLI to his *Toneelschild*, or plea for the lawfulness of theatre-plays (1651).

³⁰ *Elogia virorum literis illustrum*, Basel 1577, pp. 113-115. S. SEIDEL MENCHI counts Giovio among Erasmus' admirers; see *Erasmus in Italia 1520-1580*, Torino 1987, p. 275. She does not mention Giovio's *Dialogo dell'impresa*.

Cedo nulli is coupled with a *pictura* showing a bust of Terminus on a pedestal. Paradin was familiar with both letters of Erasmus on the subject, for his commentary reads:

Le Dieu Terminus des Rommeins, qui mesmes ne ceda à Iupiter, estoit la Deuise d'Erasme, sur laquelle un Cordelier nommé Caruayalus, lui impropéroit et obiectoit, que ce faisoit il par grande arrogance: comme ne voulant (en sauoir) ceder à personne aucunement. Combien toutefois qu'elle se puisse entendre de la Mort, terme dernier et final de tous, que personne ne peut outrepasser. Response aussi que fit Erasme au dit Caruayalus.

(The Roman god Terminus, who did not even yield to Jupiter, was Erasmus' device, on account of which a Franciscan named Carvajal blamed him and accused him of arrogance: in his view, Erasmus refused to yield to anybody in scholarship. However, the device can be interpreted as a reference to Death, the last and final boundary of all people, which nobody can cross. This was in fact Erasmus' reply to Carvajal.)

Giovanni Ferro, the author of a voluminous 'theatre' of devices (1623), decidedly took Giovio's view. Erasmus, he remarks, «would have known enough if only he had wanted to know less. His foolhardy and haughty motto “Vel Iovi cedere nescit” suited him well, as it did the god Terminus who, witness Varro, refused to yield to Jupiter on the Capitol Hill». He then refers to Paradin's defense of Erasmus and, indirectly, to the famous medal designed for Erasmus by Quinten Metsys (see fig. 3)³¹.

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³¹ *Teatro d'imprese*, 2 vols., Venezia 1623, II, p. 281: «Si legge il Dio Termine sotto nome di Erasmo, il quale se meno havesse voluto sapere, assai haverebbe saputo, con motto di temerità, e superbia, a lui appunto convenevole Vel Iovi Cedere Nescit: e ciò è vero del Dio Termine ancora, percioche come scrive Varrone non volle cedere a Giove in Campidoglio. Il Paradino sotto nome di Erasmo lo recita col detto Cedo Nulli: o Nemini: e perche non sia arrogante, l'interpreta, ch'egli intese per quello la morte termine d'ogni cosa, e che a niuno cede: cosi l'intese anco Alberto Arcivescovo di Mogunza Elettore dell'Imperio, che al Dio Termine scrisse Mors Vltima Linea Rerum: sentenza che sta da per se, e alla faccia di detto Dio d'avanti, e da dietro si leggeva Concedo Nulli». The point of the reference to Albert of Brandenburg, Elector, is unclear. Erasmus sent him a specimen of his medal in 1520; see *Ep.* 1101.

2. Hadrianus Junius. Two Emblems Based on Adages

Coming now to the main subject of this essay, I would like to introduce a learned epigone of Erasmus, Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) (fig. 4), of Hoorn, a city to the north of Amsterdam. A physician by profession he was also a prolific Latin poet and a national historiographer. Above all, he distinguished himself as a competent philologist with a predilection for difficult, above all Greek, texts. A great admirer of Erasmus, he provided the *Adagia* with a solid supplement, entitled *Adagiorum centuriae VIII cum dimidia* (1558)³².

Junius also produced a highly successful book of emblems, which was published in 1565 at Antwerp by his friend Plantin³³. Unlike Erasmus, he knew Alciato personally: he frequented Alciato's house in Bologna between May 1539 and 1540³⁴. As we learn from the letter of dedication, his collection of 58 emblems was intended as a New Year's gift to Arnold Coebel (Cobelius), treasurer of the province of Holland³⁵. His claim that Coebel had ordered him to compose

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³² A survey of articles dealing with Junius is in M. DE SCHEPPER, C.L. HEESAKKERS, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas, Supplément 1970-1985*, Bruxelles 1988. An outline of his life and works is in *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à J. Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, Genève 1997, pp. 449-455. On his poetry, see A. WESSELING, *David Joris 'Son of God': An Unpublished Satire by the Dutch Humanist Hadrianus Junius*, in «Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History», LXXI, 1991, pp. 50-57.

³³ A detailed bibliographical description of the *Emblemata* appears in L. VOET, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*, Amsterdam 1981, s.v. Junius, III, no. 1476. He also gives information about the artists who prepared the wood-blocks for the illustrations and about the making of the edition. Another description is in J. LANDWEHR, *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries 1542-1813: a Bibliography*, Utrecht 1988³, no. 398. See also the introduction by H.M. BLACK to the reprint edition of Junius' *Emblemata*, Yorkshire 1972; and C.L. HEESAKKERS, *Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata (1565)*, in *Mundus Emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, ed. K.A.E. Enenkel, A.S.Q. Visser, Turnhout 2003, pp. 33-69. Junius' poetry has not yet been studied, except by C. YPES, *Petrarca in de Nederlandse letterkunde*, Amsterdam 1934, pp. 86-88, who drew attention to his *Pinaces*, which were inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*.

³⁴ See below, Appendix I.

³⁵ On Coebel, mentioned as «Ontvanger-generaal van Holland» from 1546, see A.J. VAN DER AA, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 7 vols., Haarlem 1852, II, p. 173.

4. Hadrianus Junius, in JOHANNES SAMBUCUS, *Veterum aliquot ac recentium medicorum philosophorumque icones*, Leiden, Plantin 1603.

emblems (*inimxeras*) probably amounts to a mere topical statement: this motif was common in letters accompanying literary works and probably intended to elicit recognition or support (compare Cicero, *Orator* 1-2, and Pliny, *Epistulae* 1.1). Twenty emblems have separate dedications³⁶. Nearly ten of the dedicatees are prominent officials of the Habsburg administration in Holland. Cardinal Granvelle and Viglius Aytta van Zwichem take pride of place. These dedications fit into a pattern which is apparent from the large variety of high placed persons to whom Junius dedicated his other published works: his continuous quest for patronage. The other dedicatees belong to his inner circle of Dutch acquaintances and humanist friends, headed by the Hungarian philologist Joannes Sambucus, residing at Antwerp in 1564, whom Junius highly admired. Junius submitted his emblems, or at least the poems, to his judgment even before Sambucus' own emblem book had appeared (Plantin, 1564). A letter by Sambucus in praise of Junius' emblems precedes Junius' collection. This is remarkable, in that Sambucus, Junius' junior by twenty years, still had to make a name and a career for himself. Junius must have seen him as a rising star and as a prospective intercessor with potential patrons. The final emblem is dedicated to Junius' son.

The second part of the book contains notes on each emblem, providing explanations, information on sources, and instructions for the artist who was to produce the *picturae*. Junius occasionally describes his emblems as *symbola*, a term also used by Achille Bocchi and Sambucus. A letter to the reader (p. 65) gives us an idea of Junius' concept of emblems. They should be intriguing, thought-provoking, and sharpen the reader's wit («ingenium acuere»). Their charm depends on their capacity to fascinate the reader, to keep him a long time in a state of anxious suspense («quo suspensum diutius et sollicitum lectoris animum tenent»). The greater the intellectual effort, the greater will be the pleasure once the enigma has been solved. A good specimen contains a moral thought which is shrouded by a pleasant obscurity as if it were a veil («solidi quid et praeclari iucunda obscuritate quasi obtento velo tegunt»). This rather unspecific account is in line with Sambucus' theory; but the emphasis placed on protracted suspense is a novelty.

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³⁶ In Joannes Sambucus' collection (1564), too, one third of the emblems has specific dedications; see A.S.Q. VISSER, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image. The Use of the Emblem in Late Renaissance Humanism*, Leiden 2005.

Regrettably, we do not know what Junius thought of Sambucus' very difficult preface³⁷.

Brevity is another novel element in early emblem theory. In the dedicatory letter he declares that he pursues briefness, which forced him to describe both the *pictura* and the meaning of each emblem in the narrow compass of four-line epigrams³⁸.

Does he live up to his rule of protracted suspense? In the emblems discussed below he does not. The texts in question are certainly interesting and elegant, but the intended meaning is expressed in a plain and straightforward manner. In the second emblem, the suspense created by the intriguing motto *Amoris ingenui tormentum* ('The torment of honorable love') is immediately solved by the epigram.

Junius partly intended his emblem book to strengthen his social network, a function which a related literary form, the *album amicorum*, fulfilled as well. Interestingly, an interleaved copy of his emblems has been preserved, which once belonged to the Frisian Solinus, or Tzalingus, a Sixma, a younger contemporary of Junius. He used his copy as his personal *album*. The inserted leaves show a number of painted coats of arms and inscriptions, dated between 1569 and 1577 from various university towns (Heidelberg, Louvain, Frankfurt, Douai, Cologne) and, finally, Franeker, a town in Friesland. There are also two painted portraits³⁹.

In some of Junius' emblems, vestiges of proverbs can be recognized. I shall attempt to trace the making of two emblems, one of which is based on expressions in Junius' own *Adagia*, the other on an adage from Erasmus' collection. Secondly, I will show that Erasmus' adage in its

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³⁷ Discussed in WESSELING, *Testing Modern Emblem Theory* cit.

³⁸ «Plusculum operae positum est cum in reddenda symbolorum ratione, quae obscurior paulo est, eo quod brevitatem captanti singulis versuum quadrigis et picturae typum et symboli rationem includere necessum fuerit, tum in explicando picturae apparatu, ut ne pictor, quia locis disiungimur, quidquam hic desideraret» (f. A2v). The first clause and the last one refer to the commentaries, which provide explanations for the reader and instructions for the artist/designer.

³⁹ The copy, now in the Glasgow University Library, is described by BLACK, *Introduction* cit. On Tjalling van Sixma (documented as still alive in 1580) see VAN DER AA, *Biographisch* cit., VI, p. 221. Numerous copies of Alciato's emblem book served as *alba amicorum*; see K. PORTEMAN, *The Early Reception of Alciato in the Netherlands*, in «Emblematica», IV, 1989, p. 246.

emblematic adaptation by Junius furthered the spread of an extremely popular theme (fig. 5).

Animi scrinium servitus (56)

Luscinia veris nuncia
mutescit inclusa caveae:
est servitus scrinium animi
linguamque vinclo praepedit.

(Slavery is a box for the soul. A nightingale, harbinger of spring, / falls silent when caught in a cage. / Slavery is a box for the soul, / it binds and obstructs the tongue.)

Junius has combined two sayings from later Greek literature, which both pertain to freedom of speech. He also quotes them in his *Adagia* (nos. 709 and 708). In the first distich he paraphrases a proverb from Philostratos: ἡ ἀηδὼν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ μὴ ᾄδει ('A nightingale does not sing in a cage')⁴⁰. The related item in Junius' proverb collection is entitled *In cavea non canit lusciniā*. Actually, he had taken it from Joannes Alexander Brassicanus' *Proverbiorum symmicta*. Erasmus himself had pillaged this collection, which had appeared in 1529⁴¹.

The second distich is based on a simile in the treatise *On Sublimity* (attributed to Longinos). Junius paraphrased it in his *Adagia*, no. 708, entitled *Animae scrinium servitus* ('Slavery is a box or "case" for the soul'; slavery is like a container in which the soul is enclosed). The theme of the Greek passage is the decline of eloquence and its causes. Junius quotes with approval Longinos' argument that freedom and democracy are prerequisites for a flowering of eloquence, which is bound to

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⁴⁰ *Vitae sophistarum* 1.21 (p. 29, lines 16-21 ed. C.L. Kayser).

⁴¹ In *Adagia* 709 Junius silently used the material of Brassicanus, no. 79, entitled *In cavea minus bene canit lusciniā*. Junius occasionally refers to the philological annotations of scholars such as Pier Vettori (*Adagia* 284 (= 294), 378, 379, 478, 801), Ermolao Barbaro (167, 588, 650), Guillaume Budé (105, 426, 661), Ioachim Camerarius (379, 695), Caelius Rhodiginus (or Lodovico Ricchieri; 379, 403), Giglio Giraldis (599), Beatus Rhenanus (792), and Celio Calcagnini (whom he harshly criticizes; 57, 379, 575). On Erasmus' use of Brassicanus' collection, see ASD II, 4, p. 305, note; and ASD II, 8, pp. 13-14.

5. HADRIANUS JUNIUS, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin 1565, emblemata LVI;
Animi scrinium servitus.

decay under tyranny, breeding flattery and repression. He repeats and expands this argument in his commentary on the emblem itself. He then translates the concluding part of Longinos' explanation in the following way: «Just as the low cages in which Pygmies are brought up not only prevent their growth but also restrict their freedom because of the fastening which constricts the mouth, so all slavery, even the most justified, is a cage for the soul». This statement from Longinos (44.5) is the subtext of the second distich in the emblem's *subscriptio*. Junius has replaced the exotic Pygmies in Longinos' simile with a banal and familiar motif: the nightingale which is caught in a cage.

In calling the nightingale 'harbinger of spring', Junius apparently had in mind a line from Ovid's *Fasti* (2.853), in which a swallow is greeted as «veris praenuntia». He may also have thought of a fragment from Sappho (quoted in the *Suda*), who uses the same epithet in reference to a nightingale⁴². It seems that the epithet is the prerogative of the swallow in European literature. On the other hand, the nightingale is frequently associated with the swallow, as in the well-known myth of Procne and Philomela, who are transformed into birds, and in Aesop's fable of the nightingale and the swallow. Besides, a traditional belief has it that the nightingale sings mainly in spring-time⁴³.

(fig. 6) The second emblem which invites discussion is inspired partly by an adage from Erasmus, partly by Petrarch's *Rime*. It became extremely popular.

Amoris ingenui tormentum (49)

En ut igneum facis coruscae lumen
insilit culex protervus ac necat se:

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⁴² *Suidae lexicon*, s.v. ἀηδών 651, ed. A. Adler: ἡρος ἄγγελος ἡμερόφωνος ἀηδών. Relevant passages in Greek literature are listed in D.W. THOMPSON, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, Oxford 1895, s.v. ἀηδών and χελιδών. See also O. KELLER, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig 1913, II, pp. 114-115, and J. POLLARD, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, Plymouth 1977, pp. 14, 31, 110, 113-114, 164-166. Junius discusses an expression using the swallow as a sign of returning spring in Aristophanes (*Knights* 419) in *Adagia* 621, entitled *Hirundo aestatem loquitur*. He refers to Erasmus, *Adagia* 559, entitled *Nova hirundo*.

⁴³ POLLARD, *Birds in Greek Life* cit., p. 43.

6. HADRIANIUS JUNIUS, *Emblemata*, Antwerp, Plantin 1565, emblemata XLIX; *Amoris ingenui tormentum*.

haud secus suos amans misellus igneis
persequens crucem invenit suumque funus.

(*The torment of honorable love*. See how the reckless moth jumps into the light of the quivering flame and kills itself. So too a wretched lover, pursuing his fiery passion, ends up in torment and death.)

The structure of the epigram is conventional and in line with Junius' account in the dedicatory letter. As in the epigram on the nightingale, the first distich gives a pointed description of the *pictura*, the second one contains the moral application. The motif of the moth which, attracted to a flame, kills itself, is taken from the *Adagia* of Erasmus (no. 851, entitled *Pyraustae interitus*), who in his turn drew on the Greek proverb collection of Zenobios. Junius himself quotes Erasmus' explanation in his comment on the emblem⁴⁴. The *culex* (gnat, in classical Latin) is apparently a moth: Junius closely associates the insect with the *pyrausta* described by Erasmus⁴⁵.

Erasmus (following Zenobios) applied the expression 'a moth's death' to people who provoke their own destruction. Junius' more specific application to a man in love goes back to Petrarch: the theme of the emblem – as an insect is attracted by a light or flame, so too a lover, attracted to his beloved, is tormented and burnt to death – is central in a sonnet for Laura⁴⁶. At Junius' own suggestion, a line from a different poem from the *Rime* (207.79) has been added to the woodcut: «Così de

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⁴⁴ JUNIUS, *Emblemata*, p. 140 «Culex insectum flammae splendore mire gaudet; itaque lucernis advolitat moxque exustis alis concidit atque interit, unde et 'pyraustae gaudium' et 'interitus' in proverbium abiit». See ERASMUS, *Adagia* 851 and 2208. The source of the expression *pyraustae interitus* is Zenobios 5.79 (whom Erasmus refers to as Zenodotus); see *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, III, Aeschylus, ed. S. Radt, Göttingen 1985, no. 288, p. 388.

⁴⁵ In his *Nomenclator*, however, a polyglottal dictionary first printed in 1567, he defines *culex* as a fly in a general sense (*omnis vermiculus alatus*) and next gives vernacular translations which nearly all mean 'gnat' (German *muggen*, *schnaack*, Dutch *muesie*, French *moucheron*, Italian *zanzara*, Spanish *mosquito*). He identifies the *pyrausta* with the *pyrigonos* described by Aelianus (*De natura animalium* 2.2), which is said to live in fire; but he fails to give vernacular equivalents for this insect (He also refers to it in *Animadversa* 6.7.).

⁴⁶ *Rime* 141 «Come talora al caldo tempo sòle / simplicetta farfalla al lume avezza / volar negli occhi altrui per sua vaghezza, / onde aven ch'ella more, altri si dole: // così

ben amar porto tormento» ('Thus I bear the torment of loving well'). The same poem, a *canzone* about the wretched lover who is consumed by his burning desire, has also inspired the second distich of the emblem.

The motto, *Amoris ingenui tormentum* ('The torment of honorable love'), is based on Petrarch's line just quoted, «Così de ben amar porto tormento». But why does Junius render «ben amar» as «amor ingenuus»? There is another subtext at play here: a poem by Horace, in which the fire of love is a recurrent metaphor. In it the poet teasingly challenges a young friend to reveal whom he is in love with. Whoever she is, Horace says, she makes you burn with fire you need not be ashamed of, since your love affairs are always with free-born ladies, 'any woman you fall for is always well-born', «ingenuoque semper amore peccas» (*Carmina* 1.27). After the boy has finally revealed his secret, Horace exclaims: 'What! that woman? A monster, a real vamp! You deserve a better flame!' («digne puer meliore flamma»). It follows that the motto means 'the torment of honorable love', of being in love with a respectable woman, that is. One wonders if all of Junius' readers caught the allusion to Horace; it is not mentioned in his notes on the emblem. Yet the allusion is important, in that it adds a comic element to Petrarch's line: by drawing attention to Horace's poem, Junius gives a playful, frivolous, and ironic turn to Petrarch's lament.

An enigmatic detail in the emblem picture is the two women on either side of the central image. The point Junius wishes to make is that not only adulterous passion but also chaste love, «pudicus amor», can be fatal. In his notes he recalls that even decent and faithful ladies have perished of burning love for their husbands. For example, the widow

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sempre io corro al fatal mio sole / degli occhi onde mi vèn tanta dolcezza / che 'l fren de la ragion Amor non prezza, / e chi discerne è vinto da chi vòle». The conceit recurs in Tasso, *La Gerusalemme liberata* 4.265-270, where the irresistible Armida is the flame: «Come al lume farfalla, ei si rivolse / a lo splendor de la beltà divina; / e rimirar da presso i lumi volse, / che dolcemente atto modesto inchina; / e ne trasse gran fiamma, e la raccolse, / come da foco suole esca vicina». Prior to Petrarch, the theme appears in poets of the *Duecento* (Giacomo da Lentini and Chiaro Davanzati); see PRAZ, *Studies* cit., p. 93. In his dialogue on *imprese* Paolo Giovio describes the device of the beautiful Ippolita Fioramonda, Marchioness of Scaldasole in Pavia, who would wear a dress «di color celeste, seminata a farfalle di ricamo d'oro, ma senza motto, volendo dire e avvertire gli amanti che non si appressassero molto al suo fuoco, acciò che talora non intervenisse loro quel che sempre interviene alla farfalla, la quale per appressarsi all'ardente fiamma da se stessa si abbrucia» (p. 40, ed. Doglio).

of the legendary hero Capaneus (one of the Seven against Thebes), who threw herself onto his pyre, and Portia, the spouse of Brutus (Caesar's assassin), whose death in battle prompted her to kill herself by swallowing burning charcoal⁴⁷. He took this bit of information from Valerius Maximus' praise of marital love. The second part of Junius' epigram shows traces, in fact, of Valerius' prose, who solemnly assures Portia that all generations to come will attend her with due admiration for her love and self-sacrifice (4.6.5 «Tuos quoque castissimos ignes, Porcia [...] cuncta saecula debita admiratione *prosequentur*»). From Junius' notes it appears that he was as serious as the Roman moralist about the sad fate of Portia.

As we have seen, the epigram and motto are the result of a combination of diverse literary ingredients: Erasmus' explanation of a Greek adage, a sad theme in Petrarch's *Rime*, a comic poem by Horace, and a serious passage from Valerius Maximus. It is the typically humanistic product of an intertextual technique, a playful and ingenious assemblage of motifs, quotations, and reminiscences from various sources (fig. 7).

We have thus far analyzed Junius' emblem by focusing on the text and his notes. As regards the woodcut, it is essentially identical with a *pictura* in *Le imprese heroiche et morali* (Heraldic and moral devices) by the Florentine Gabriello Symeoni. This small collection, which was first printed at Lyon in 1559, became a best-seller, specifically in combination with either Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese* or Claude Paradin's *Les devises heroiques*⁴⁸. One *pictura* in Symeoni's collection is designed for a friend in love («per un amico innamorato»). It shows a burning candle and a fluttering insect (see fig. 7), which Symeoni describes as a moth (*farfalla*, *pyraustes*). The text on the *pictura* reads: «Cosi vivo piacer conduce a morte» ('Thus lively pleasure leads to death'). Symeoni applies the device to a man in love and offers a twofold interpretation in prose. A lover's body, he argues, is dead, because his mind, the main part of his soul, abides with the beloved. He follows

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⁴⁷ These *exempla* are taken from, respectively, HYGINUS, *Fabulae* 243.2 and Valerius Maximus' eulogy of marital love, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 4.6 (*De amore coniugali*), 5. Valerius is mentioned in Junius' commentary, but Hyginus is not.

⁴⁸ The similarity was pointed out by A. HENKEL, A. SCHÖNE, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1967, p. 910. On Symeoni's collection see PRAZ, *Studies* cit., p. 497; VOET, *The Plantin Press* cit., nos. 1949 ff.; ADAMS, RAWLES, SAUNDERS, *A Bibliography* cit., II, F. 527; and «*Con parola breve e con figura*»: *Libri antichi di imprese e emblemi*, Lucca 2004, no. 18.

DEVISES

Così viuo Piacer conduce à morte.

Così viuo piacer conduce à morte . Par
le Papillon de son naturel, aimant la clarte du
feu auquel indiscretemēt il se consōme peut estre
entendu, celuy qui par trop imprudement aime
quelque chose, saquiert deshōneur et dōmage.
Amis

7. GABRIELLO SYMEONI, *Les divises ou emblemes heroiques*, in *Les devises heroiques*, de M. Claude Paradin, du Seigneur Gabriel Symeon, et autres Auteurs, Antwerp, Plantin 1561, f. 160v; *Così vivo Piacer conduce a morte*.

this 'Platonic' notion with an explanation of Christian origin: being enamored of another creature, man tends to forget the Creator and to incur some scandal or other, as a consequence of which his body and soul are bound to perish. This fate, Symeoni observes jestingly, usually befalls wealthy fools in love who have lost their heads⁴⁹. Incidentally, the source of the first, Platonic, interpretation is not Plato himself but Marsilio Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium*, who quotes Plato as saying that the soul of a lover 'is dead in his own body, but alive in that of someone else' («Ille, inquit, amator animus est proprio in corpore mortuus, in alieno corpore vivens»)⁵⁰.

From the similarity of Symeoni's *pictura* and its application it appears that it played a major part in the genesis of Junius' emblem. Junius contributed the following changes and additions. He supplied an epigram in the manner of Alciato⁵¹ and the motto *Amoris ingenui tormentum*. Petrarch's line, the subtext of the motto, was engraved on the woodcut (in accordance with his instruction in his notes), taking the place of «Cosi vivo piacer conduce a morte». On his own initiative, the artist has depicted the two faithful widows celebrated by Junius. The meaning of the emblem is obvious, the only enigmatic detail being the two women on the *pictura*. The reader needs Junius' notes to identify them.

Lastly, we should consider another factor that may have been active in Junius' mind: the old Dutch proverb *een vlieghe die vlocht soe langhe om die keerse, datsie daer ten lesten een mael in valt* ('a fly goes on fluttering about the candle until it finally falls into it')⁵².

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⁴⁹ Ed. Lyon 1574, pp. 186-187 «Appropriandolo [the meaning of the device] al corpo, ei non è dubbio alcuno (secondo Platone) che uno innamorato è morto in se stesso, vivendo il suo pensiero (che è la propria vita dell'anima) intorno alla cosa amata. [...] Ma attribuendo moralmente quest'amore all'anima, egli è certissimo che mentre che l'huom si delecta intorno a una bellezza corporale [...] dimenticando bene spesso il Creator per la creatura, e cadendo in qualche scandolo, vengono finalmente a perdere il corpo e l'anima. Il che accade ordinariamente a certi ricchi sciocchi innamorati, che volendo parlar di amore non sanno in qual parte del corpo eglino s' habbian la testa».

⁵⁰ FICINO, *Commentaire sur Le Banquet de Platon, De l'amour. Commentarium in Convivium Platonis, De amore*, ed. P. Laurens, Paris 2002, 2.8, p. 43.

⁵¹ The metre in this case is trochaic, «trochaicum sotadicum trimetrum», as Junius notes in his commentary (p. 140).

⁵² See P.J. HARREBOMÉE, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, 3 vols., Utrecht

The emblems discussed bear witness to the impact of adages and proverbs. They also exemplify how emblems transcend the narrow confines of national literatures. In fact, the genesis of scores of emblems can only be fully appreciated within the larger context of European literature and iconography.

Junius' play with Italian poetry reveals a familiarity with Petrarch's sonnets. Other emblems in his collection are also adorned with verses from the *Rime*: no. 16 «Et tutto abbraccio et nulla stringo» (I embrace everything, yet I hold nothing), 39 «Il mal mi preme, et mi spaventa il peggio» (Evil oppresses me and worse evil frightens me), 40 «Ardo dappresso et da longi mi struggo» (Being near I burn and from afar I melt), and 47 «De duol mi struggo, et di fuggir mi stanco» (I waste away with grief and fleeing wears me out).⁵³ Two quotations are not taken from Petrarch, to wit no. 20 «De questo mi contento et meglio spero» (With this I content myself and hope for something better) and 28 «Basta ch'io vivo» (It suffices that I am alive).

Junius' predilection for Petrarch's poetry owes something to his friendship with his English patron Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Surrey is known for having introduced, together with Thomas Wyatt, the Petrarchan sonnet into English. During his stay in England (ca. 1543-1550) Junius had been physician to Surrey's father, Duke of Norfolk, and tutor to his son⁵⁴.

Junius learned Italian during a sojourn in Italy (1538-1540); after a stay in Siena he moved to Bologna, where he was given some employment by Count Filippo Pepoli and acquired a doctoral degree in philosophy and medicine. With Pepoli's son Cornelio he frequented the house of Andrea Alciato⁵⁵. His willingness to learn the *volgare* is worthy of note, since his model and predecessor, Erasmus, had never bothered

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1856-1870, I, p. 370; III, pp. 241-242; and F.A. STOETT, *Nederlandsche Spreekwoorden, Spreekwijzen, Utdrukkingen en Gezegden*, Zutphen 1943, no. 1039, pp. 404-405.

⁵³ *Rime*, 134.4, 244.1, 194.14, 209.14.

⁵⁴ See I.M. VELDMAN, *Enkele aanvullende gegevens omtrent de biografie van Hadrianus Junius*, in «Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden», LXXXIX, 1974, pp. 377-378; J.A. VAN DORSTEN, *The Radical Arts. First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance*, Leiden 1970, pp. 131-134. Junius pays homage to Surrey in his *Adagia*, no. 426. A biography will be found in W.A. SESSIONS, *Henry Howard, the Poet Earl of Surrey: a Life*, Oxford 1999.

⁵⁵ See below, Appendix I.

to make this effort, despite his stay in Italy (1506-1509)⁵⁶. Junius' interest is also apparent from his *Nomenclator*, a polyglottal dictionary (first printed in 1567 at Antwerp). At the beginning he gives a list of 'recent' authors that he had consulted, among whom he names Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, a number of fifteenth-century humanists (Lorenzo Valla, Angelo Poliziano, Ermolao Barbaro) and, surprisingly, «Orlandi auctor»: Ariosto or, less likely, Matteo Maria Boiardo.

Junius' contribution to the flood of emblem books proved highly successful. His collection was printed seven times in the sixteenth century. Beside this, it was translated into Dutch (by Marcus Antonius Gillis) and French (by Jacques Grévin). These translations went through, respectively, two and three editions in the sixteenth century. All editions were published by the famous Plantin press⁵⁷. Twenty of his emblems, among them the specimens discussed above, were taken over and expanded in the first emblem book of an English author to appear in print: Geoffrey Whitney's anthology *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises* (1586), which was published at Leiden, by Raphelengius «in the house of Christopher Plantyn»⁵⁸.

Junius' emblem about the moth attracted to a flame strongly promoted the spread and popularity of Petrarch's *conceito*. It became the model for emblems in two later collections, by Heinsius and Rollenhagen respectively⁵⁹. Daniel Heinsius, active at Leiden University, was a

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⁵⁶ See L.-E. HALKIN, *Érasme et les langues*, in «Revue des langues vivantes», XXXV, 1969, pp. 566-579: 575-576; WESSELING, *Dutch Proverbs* cit., p. 98.

⁵⁷ See VOET, *The Plantin Press* cit., III, nos. 1476-1487.

⁵⁸ See pp. 101 and 219. On the author and his sources see H. GREEN, *Whitney's "Choice of Emblemes"*. A *Fac-simile Reprint*, London 1866, pp. xxvi-lxxiv and 233-252. The beginnings of emblem writing in England are also discussed by R. FREEMAN, *English Emblem Books*, London 1948, pp. 37-61. A reassessment of Whitney's collection is given by J. MANNING, *Whitney's Choice of Emblems: a reassessment*, in «Renaissance Studies», IV, 1990, pp. 155-200. On Junius and Whitney see D. GORDON, «Veritas filia temporis». *Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», III, 1939-1940, pp. 228-240, and on Whitney's stay at Leiden, J.A. VAN DORSTEN, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists*, Leiden 1962, pp. 123-127, 131-138.

⁵⁹ See I.M. VELDMAN, *Love Emblems by Crispijn de Passe the Elder: Rollenhagen's 'Emblemata', 'Cupid's Bow', 'Youthful Pleasures' and Other 'Charming and Useful' Prints*, in *The Emblem Tradition* cit., pp. 111-156: 115-116.

philologist and a versatile poet. His collection of love emblems, *Quaeris quid sit amor?*, marked the rise of a popular subgenre, the erotic emblem book (1601). His part in this collection was relatively modest, in that he supplied poems to a set of engravings prepared by Jacques de Gheyn. The initiative was due to an anonymous emblem lover (*liefhebber*), who had selected twenty-four pictorial themes from Junius' *Emblemata* and other collections, as can be gathered from Petrus Scriverius' preface to Heinsius' collection of Dutch poetry (*Nederduytsche poemata*, 1616)⁶⁰. Whereas Junius provided instructions for *picturae*, Heinsius supplied poems to an existing set of *picturae*. In this case, the priority of the pictorial image is evident.

Several emblems in *Quaeris* are inspired by or modelled on items in Junius' collection. Emblem no. 8 bears the Petrarchan motto «Cosi de ben amar porto tormento» (fig. 8). Heinsius' poem, composed in the spirit of the Italian poet, reads:

Den liefelicken schijn van haer twee schoone ooghen
 Die trecken my tot haer wanneer zy sich vertooghen,
 Vertooghen ah eylaes, ick schyne my te zijn
 Verloren als ick ben van d'oorsaek van mijn pijn.
 By d'oorsaek van mijn pijn woud' ick wel altijd wesen,
 Als ick ben by't verderf, zoo schijn ick te ghenesen.
 Ick vliegh' rondtom het vier, ick blijf in eenen standt
 Ten zy dat ick my self' vind ganschelick verbrandt.

(The lovely radiance of her two wondrous eyes / draws me to her the moment they appear, / appear, alas, it seems to me that I am / lost through the source of my torment. / It's near the source of my torment that I would love to stay forever. / Next to my doom I seem to recover. / I fly around the fire, I keep the same position, / although I find myself completely burnt.)

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⁶⁰ THEOCRITUS A GANDA, *Quaeris quid sit amor*, s.l., s.a. [but Amsterdam 1601]; see R. BREUGELMANS, *Quaeris quid sit amor?*, in «Quaerendo», III, 1973, pp. 281-290; H. DE LA FONTAINE VERWEY, *Willem Jansz en de Nederlandse emblematiek: 1. Daniel Heinsius als Nederlands dichter*, in Id., *Uit de wereld van het boek*, III, Amsterdam 1979, pp. 97-113; K. PORTEMAN, introduction to P.C. HOOFT, C.G. PLEMP, R.J. DE NERÉE, *Emblemata amatoria. Afbeeldingen van minne. Emblèmes d'amour* (Amsterdam, 1611), Leiden 1983, pp. 6-11; ADAMS, RAWLES, SAUNDERS, *A Bibliography cit.*, I, F296-317. Heinsius' *nom de plume* Theocritus (a Ganda) obviously refers to the Greek bucolic poet, but is also a translation of the Hebrew name Daniel, 'God is my judge'.

8. DANIEL HEINSIUS, *Quaeris quid sit amor?*, Amsterdam [1601], n. 8;
Così de ben amar porto tormento.

9. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 79 J 30, ANNA STEYN, Song-
 book, f. 5r; *Così de ben amar porto tormento.*

The poem as a whole is inspired by Petrarch's *canzone* (*Rime* 207) mentioned above, which contains the line «Cosí di ben amar porto tormento» (79)⁶¹. The image of the fly or moth is taken from the sonnet (*Rime* 141) cited above. The *pictura*, designed by De Gheyn, is modelled on that of Junius. A pedestal has taken the place of the table. Further, the artist has replaced the faithful spouses on either side of the central image by figures that are less *recherchées* and easier to identify: a couple in love and, on the other side, a lonesome lover holding a dagger: is he on the verge of killing himself? Around the tondo there appears an epigram by (Hugo) Grotius,

Lumina delectant culices perimuntque petita:
Sic nobis spes est optima causa mali.

(Moths take pleasure in light, but when they get near they die. / Likewise our highest hopes are the cause of pain.)

In enlarged editions, entitled *Emblemata amatoria*⁶², Heinsius added an epigram in French:

Credule moucheron, qui aimant ton damage
Recherche la lueur, qui te doit consumer.
Apprends a mes despens, a deuenir plus sage,
Car le mal qui me tue, n'est que de trop aimer.

(Trustful fly, which from love for your own harm / are looking for the light that's bound to consume you, / learn at my expense how to become wise, / for the evil that kills me is loving too much.)

Other specimens in *Quaeris* are also borrowed from Junius. Emblem 4 with the Petrarchan motto «Ardo d'appresso, et da longhi mi struggo» ('Being near I burn, and from afar I melt', *Rime* 194.14), which shows a burning torch next to a fire, is nearly identical with emblem 40 («Amoris ignis perpetuus») in Junius. On the *pictura* of Heinsius' emblem, a cupid

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⁶¹ Compare lines 14-15 «Li occhi soavi ond'io soglio aver vita, / de le divine lor alte bellezze», 30-32 «L'anima, poi ch'altrove non à posa, / corre pur a l'angeliche faville; / et io, che son di cera, al foco torno», and 39-40 «et di ciò [i.e. her glances] insieme mi nutrico et ardo. / Di mia morte mi pasco, et vivo in fiamme».

⁶² *Emblemata amatoria* (ff. 7v-8r), following *Het ambacht van Cupido. Emblemata nova amatoria*, Leiden 1613.

has been added. In a less obvious way, his emblem «Il mal mi preme et mi spaventa il peggio» ('Evil closes in on me and worse evil frightens me', *Rime* 244.1) is modelled on emblem 39 («Malo oppressus, deterius formidat») in Junius. A mouse caught between a trap and a cat has taken the place of a pigeon in a cage confronted by an eagle.

Gabriel Rollenhagen, a German friend of Heinsius, compiled a large collection, entitled *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (A Kernel of choice emblems), in close collaboration with Crispijn de Passe the Elder, who designed and produced the engravings⁶³. Print no. 64 shows the familiar candle standing on a table, with an insect flying onto the flame. The motto, «Cosi de ben amar porto tormento», is repeated in the *subscriptio*, in which it is coupled with the following line: «Et mor'ogn'hor! lieto è, Contento» ('And to die at any hour is joyful'). Another distich appears underneath:

Musca velut sequitur flammam ac sese iniicit igni,
Sic Veneris telis laeta iuventa perit.

(As a fly follows a flame and throws itself into the fire, / so does the cheerful youth perish by Venus' arrows.)

The *Nucleus* has another print showing a candle and insect. Its motto is *Così vivo piacer conduce a morte* ('Thus lively pleasure leads to death', no. 40). This emblem is modelled, it appears, on that of Symeoni, discussed above. There is no table or pedestal. The *subscriptio* reads:

Così vivo piacer conduce a morte
O che rio [sic] et acerba sorte.

(Thus lively pleasure leads to death. / O evil and bitter fate). (fig. 9).

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⁶³ Cologne/Arnhem 1611. Rollenhagen refers to the engraver in his dedicatory letter to the archbishop of Magdeburg, «Inveni etiam egregium et solertem chalcographum Crispinum Passaeum, qui mihi ultro suam operam detulit», 'I also found an excellent and skilful engraver, Crispijn de Passe, who spontaneously offered me help' (Veldman's interpretation [*Love emblems* cit., p. 117] 'who moreover has shown his own work to me' is erroneous). For descriptions of Rollenhagen's emblem books see ADAMS, RAWLES, SAUNDERS, *A Bibliography* cit., II, F511-512.

A veritable high-society game, emblems were adapted and reprocessed time and again, with ever new variations and inventions. This can be further illustrated through a unique and richly decorated manuscript, the recently discovered song-book of Anna Steyn, a young lady from Haarlem (1588-1618), which can be dated to ca. 1611-1612⁶⁴. The manuscript, in oblong format, was probably intended as a gift to Anna. It contains love-songs and amorous poems, covering nearly 200 pages (some other pages are filled with water-colour drawings). The presence of blank leaves may point to the intended use of the manuscript as a personal album, allowing Anna and friends of hers to add entries or drawings. It also includes an emblem, whose theme is, again, insects flying into a flame (see fig. 9). It is modelled on Heinsius' emblem discussed above. His love poem is reproduced *in toto*. A striking element is the rebus⁶⁵, which has taken the place of the conventional *pictura*. Here the prototypical combination of text and image is blended into an indissoluble unity, since the pictorial part is integrated in the epigram: poetry and *pictura* in one. A novel feature in the emblem genre, the rebus ensures the intriguing character which Sambucus and Junius required. Decoded, it reads:

Dus [vlieghe]n] wij [int vyer] door liefden groot
Wy soucken [sol-aes] wy vinden de [doot]

(Thus we [fly into the fire] for love so great.
While seeking [sol-ace], we encounter [Death].)

The musical note depicted stands for 'sol', the die, for 'aes' (ace). 'Solaes' means 'pleasure'⁶⁶. This pictogram was well known in literary circles of Haarlem: it was a standard part of a rebus-motto on the coat

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⁶⁴ MS Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 79 J 30, f. 5. See M. SCHAPELHOUMAN, A. LEERINTVELD, *Liedboek van Anna Steyns, Haarlem 1611-1612*, in «Bulletin van de Vereniging Rembrandt», VIII, no. 2, 1998, pp. 10-13; A. LEERINTVELD, *Het liedboek van Anna Steyns*, in «KB Centraal. Huisorgaan van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek», XXVII, no. 6, 1998, pp. 4-5. A detailed description (with a wealth of archival data on Anna's family) is in I. and P. VAN THIEL, *Anna Steyn en de schrijvers en tekenaars in haar liedboek*, in «Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum», LI, 2003, pp. 37-63.

⁶⁵ On the use of rebus by Netherlandish rhetoricians see F.C. VAN BOHEEMEN, TH.C.J. VANDERHEYDEN, *Rebustaal op Hollandse rederijkersblazoenen*, in «De zeventiende eeuw», XV, 1999, pp. 131-140; J. VAN DORSTEN, A. HAMILTON, *Two Puzzling Pages in Ortelius'*

of arms of the local Chamber of Rhetoric *De Wijngaertrancken* (1600). The famous Haarlem painter Maarten van Heemskerck had designed the arms in 1550⁶⁷. We can safely assume that Anna had no trouble to understand the rebus offered to her.

The emblem bears a signature, perhaps 'CvB' (C. van Beresteyn?)⁶⁸.

We have followed the transformations of Junius' emblem (based on an adage discussed by Erasmus and inspired by an *impresa* of Symeoni and a *conchetto* from Petrarch) in subsequent printed collections (Whitney, Heinsius, Rollenhagen) and, finally, in the song-book of Anna Steyn. Clearly, it scored a hit. Its success was probably due to the pervasive vogue of Petrarchism which informed love poetry in Europe well into the seventeenth century⁶⁹.

Petrarchism played no role in another remarkable instance of Junius' influence: a poem in Russian, composed in Moscow by the court poet Simeon Polockij (1628-1680), a writer of occasional and religious poetry. He possessed a number of emblem books, including those of Junius and Joachim Camerarius. His two collections of poetry have remained in manuscript form. One poem is adapted from Junius' emblem on the moth and the flame. Polockij has given it a spiritual turn: his theme is not the doom of erotic desire, but that of religious zeal. The moral drawn by him is: people who overboldly pursue knowledge of God are bound to perish through their own hubris⁷⁰.

Album Amicorum, in *Times and Tide. Writings offered to A.G.H. Bachrach*, ed. C.C. Barfoot, Leiden 1980, pp. 43-53.

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Ad Leerintveld, Curator in the Royal Library, The Hague, for information kindly given.

⁶⁷ I.M. VELDMAN, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch humanism in the sixteenth century*, Amsterdam 1977, pp. 124-128. *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700. Maarten van Heemskerck*, part II, ed. I.M. Veldman, G. Luijten, Roosendaal 1994, p. 246. A slightly different version of the rebus-motto appears on f. 37v of Anna's song-book: «Wij [rapen] geneuchten [deur] der [druiven] Soetichey» ('We gather pleasure through the grapes' sweetness').

⁶⁸ On the family Van Beresteyn see P. VAN THIEL, *Anna Steyn* cit., pp. 39, 43-47. In 1618 Anna married Paulus van Beresteyn.

⁶⁹ See L. FORSTER, *The Icy Fire. Five Studies in European Petrarchism*, Cambridge 1969.

⁷⁰ *Vertograd mnogocvetnyj*, f. 574r, quoted by J.B. BEDAUX, *Simeon- Z. Embleem en emblematisch gedicht in het werk van Simeon Polockij*, in «Kunstlicht», V, 1981, pp. 26-31,

Pursuing our leitmotif any further lies outside the scope of this essay. It would eventually lead us to Goethe and, *bien étonnée*, Marlene Dietrich – strange bedfellows! Goethe's *Selige Sehnsucht* in *West-östlicher Divan*⁷¹ has a couplet which addresses a butterfly in the following way:

Keine Ferne macht dich schwierig,
Kommst geflogen und gebannt,
Und zuletzt, des Lichts begierig,
Bist du Schmetterling verbrannt.

(No distance is too hard for you to overcome, / you come flying, captivated,
/ and in the end, craving the light, / you, butterfly, get burnt).

One of Marlene Dietrich's greatest songs is *Ich bin von Kopf bis Fuss auf Liebe eingestellt*⁷². A *femme fatale*, she compares herself with a blazing fire:

Männer umschwirren mich
wie Motten um das Licht,
und wenn sie verbrennen ...
ja dafür kann ich nicht.

(Men swarm around me / like moths around the light, / and if they get burnt ... / why, I can't help it).

There is good reason to take a second look at Anna Steyn's song-book, since it holds another surprise for lovers of emblems (fig. 10).

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p. 27; see also A. HIPPLEY, *The Emblem in the Writings of Simeon Polockij*, in «The Slavic and East European Journal», XV, 1971, pp. 167-183. I wish to thank Ania Dalecki for information kindly given.

⁷¹ See W.S. HECKSCHER, *Art and Literature. Studies in Relationship*, ed. E. Verheyen, Baden-Baden 1985, pp. 118-120; and F. MÜNICH, *Vom Feuertod der Mücke: Eine Untersuchung über die Verbreitung eines lyrischen Bildes, vornehmlich in der deutschen Dichtung, in Lebendige Tradition. 400 Jahre humanistisches Gymnasium in Würzburg. Festschrift zur 400 Jahrfeier des Wirsberg-Gymnasiums und zum 75jährigen Bestehen des Riemenschneider-Gymnasiums*, ed. G. Krenig, O. Schönberger, Münsterschwarzach 1961, pp. 243-284 (not seen by me; I owe this reference to Stephan Busch).

⁷² The text was written by Friedrich Holländer for the film *Der blaue Engel*.

10. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 79 J 30, ANNA STEYN, *Song-book*; *Il mal mi preme e mi spaventa il pegno*.

The unadorned *pictura* shows a mouse in terror; the motto reads «Il mal mi preme, et mi spaventa il pegio» ('Evil oppresses me and a worse evil frightens me'). It is derived from Heinsius' emblem mentioned above, which in its turn is based on Junius' emblem «Malo oppressus deterius formidat» ('Oppressed by evil he fears a worse one'. No. 39).

The poem reads:

Princes die dick met my tvyer hebt gesmaect
 Daer ick in stick. Als ghy my hebt geraect
 Met u gesicht
 Waer in tvyer werckt altyt
 O Venus Nicht
 Maeckt my dit vyer eens quyt.

(O Lady, who often tasted with me the fire / in which I choke, if thou hast struck me / with thine eyes / in which the fire always works, / O maiden of Venus, / release me from this fire.)

At least in the Netherlands, Junius acquired the status of an authority in the field of emblematics, as the third in line after Alciato

and Sambucus⁷³. Forty years after his death, Cornelis Plemp sought to enhance the importance of his own *Emblemata*⁷⁴ by carping at those of Junius. In the preface, addressed to P.C. Hooft, he argues for a longer, spicier, and satiric *subscriptio*:

Fas emblematis multis subscribere versus,
 fas quoque, quos non fert Iunius ipse, sales.
 Iunius haud scripsit, sed pingi emblemata iussit,
 vix super his ausus pauca poeta loqui.

(It is appropriate to include many lines in emblems, / and proper to make witty remarks, which Junius himself did not tolerate. / Junius did not compose emblems, but gave instructions for pictures. / He hardly dared to write a few lines himself.)

The question is what Plemp meant by *sales*. It is true that the emblems of *Junius ipse* do not contain jokes or pungent remarks, let alone references to controversial issues. But then, neither did those of Sambucus⁷⁵. In search of patronage, both men refrained from making risky remarks. Incidentally, in the third line Plemp probably refers to Junius' notes, which make up the second part of his emblem book.

Plemp's own poems range from four to thirty-two lines in length. Even more remarkably, his emblems bear no titles or mottoes. He preferred, it appears, a two-part structure.

3. Junius' Supplement to the *Adagia* of Erasmus

Junius' supplement to Erasmus' *Adagia*, entitled *Adagiorum centuriae VIII cum dimidia*, has received no attention at all in modern times,

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⁷³ See K. PORTEMAN, *Emblem Theory and Cultural Specificity*, in *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory 1500-1700*, ed. P.M. Daly, J. Manning, New York 1999, pp. 3-12: 7-8.

⁷⁴ CORN. GISELBERTUS PLEMPIUS, *Emblemata quinquaginta*, in ID., *Amsterdamum monogrammon – Quisquilae – Emblemata quinquaginta*, Amsterdam 1616.

⁷⁵ On the harmless little witticisms in Sambucus' collection see A. VISSER, *Ridicula Ambitio: the Social Function of Humour in the Emblems of Joannes Sambucus*, in «*Humanistica Lovaniensia*», LIII, 2004, pp. 199-207.

because it has remained in the shadow of its more prominent and far more impressive model. Junius himself realized that Erasmus outshone the scholars of his own and those of Junius' generation⁷⁶. He published his collection in 1558 at Basel with Froben, Erasmus' favorite publisher, who had by then already brought out the *Adagia* thirteen times and was to print it again in 1559. Junius' work was never reprinted separately, but from 1571 onwards it went through many editions in combination with Erasmus' monumental collection and with other, much smaller ones.

In his preface Junius goes into the purpose of his work. It is a supplement to the magnificent collection of the great Erasmus, in which, however, numerous proverbs were missing – which is only natural considering the large number of classical authors that still emerge daily⁷⁷. (In this justification of his predecessor, Junius refers to the flood of ancient texts that were being printed.) Reading proverbs, he goes on, helps us to understand obscure passages in classical texts. Moreover, one can employ them for stylistic adornment. Erasmus had used both considerations in his own introduction on adages.

The supplement comprises 840 items, the bulk of which derives from Greek literature; only a tenth (ca. 85) is taken from Latin authors. He not only supplies hundreds of proverbial sayings that had been overlooked by Erasmus: he also corrects the master's explanations of seven adages⁷⁸.

Apart from a difference in size, there is one point on which his work differs from Erasmus' collection. After explaining an adage, Erasmus frequently indulges in observations on contemporary matters and issues. More than once he exposes abuses in social, political, and religious life. In doing so, he expanded his discussion of several adages into real essays.

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⁷⁶ *Batavia*, Leiden 1588, p. 234: «Ille [Erasmus] fulgore suae claritatis caeteris prope-modum tenebras obduxit».

⁷⁷ Erasmus himself realized that even his ever-expanding *Chiliades* would not encompass all the proverbs transmitted by the ancients: his work would always be open to additions and corrections, «praesertim vetustis autoribus qui hactenus delituerunt in lucem emergentibus». It is this consideration which Junius echoes. Erasmus reiterates it in the prefaces to the successive editions of his collection; see *Ep.* 269 (1513), p. 522, lines 20-22; 1659 (1526), p. 248, lines 32-35; 2773 (1533), beginning.

⁷⁸ See *Adagia* 90 (entitled *Gavia in stagnis*), 124 (*Cilicica insolentia*), 140 (*Embarus es*), 248 (*Cyclopica vita*), 462 (*Ter sex iacit*), 483 (*Mandrabuli in morem*), and 557 (*Patroclum sub specie*; the unnamed commentator at the end is Erasmus).

Prominent examples are *Sileni Alcibiadis*, *Scarabeus aquilam quaerit*, and *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. By contrast, Junius rarely brings up matters of his own day. Admittedly, he too is concerned with the moral usefulness of proverbs and frequently gives examples of how to apply them, but he confines himself to brief and unspecific suggestions. For example, the expression «Dorice incedere» ('to go about dressed in the Doric fashion'; the girls of Sparta used to dress scantily, *Adagia* no. 47) can be aptly applied to frivolous and unchaste girls.

An exception is the lengthy digression on Junius' late friend and patron Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. In the last months of the reign of Henry VIII, Surrey had fallen into disgrace, been tried on charges of treason and executed (1547). In the *Adagia* (no. 426) Junius defends his unfortunate friend (a bit late, one might say), insisting at length on his innocence and loyalty.

The digressions on contemporary matters, which have formed such an attractive feature of Erasmus' *Adagia* up to the present day and contributed to its success (three larger political essays were also published separately)⁷⁹, never became a standard element of proverb collections. In this respect his work is unique.

4. *The uncontroversial nature of Junius' supplement*

Erasmus himself, while living in an age of relative freedom, remarked that it is unsafe to bring up political matters such as the territorial claims of monarchs⁸⁰. Junius, on the other hand, who published his *Adagia* after the accession of Philip II and during the Council of Trent, had to reckon with a steadily increasing repression. This explains to some extent his reticence on controversial issues. He remains silent on contemporary society and politics even when a given adage involves such questions as freedom of speech and repression. Only sporadically

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⁷⁹ By Froben at Basel; see F. VANDER HAEGHEN, M.T. LINGER, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, II, Bruxelles 1979, E. 259 and 212. See also ERASMO DA ROTTERDAM, *Adagia. Sei saggi politici in forma di proverbi*, ed. S. Seidel Menchi, Torino 1980.

⁸⁰ *Adagia* 3001, entitled *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, ASD II, 7, p. 36, lines 713-715 «Scio non esse mei similibus de principum negotiis audacius disputare, quod, ut tutum sit, prolixius tamen est quam ut huic loco conveniat».

does he refer to issues with religious or moral implications. The passages concerned are the following.

1. The verb *exorbitare* (deviate), he observes, can be applied in a metaphorical sense to those who reject a true and established belief and scorn conceptions shared by all scholars. He exemplifies this by reference to the theory of the rotation of the earth, «which once was proposed by Cleanthes of Samos, and recently by Copernicus, against the consensus of all astronomers»⁸¹. Indeed, Copernicus' revolutionary theory, as launched in 1543, found scant approval before the end of the century. Even Philippus Melanchthon, the Lutheran humanist and educational reformer, discarded it as absurd and unchristian⁸². From Junius' remark it appears that he, too, considered it an aberration of an individual mind.

It may seem odd that Junius should name Cleanthes of Samos as the ancient author of the theory of the rotation of the earth. This erroneous attribution to Cleanthes – its real author being Aristarchus of Samos – proves that the source underlying his information was Plutarch's *The Face on the Moon*. We even know the edition that Junius used, for a copy of the *Moralia* with his own annotations has been preserved⁸³. In this 1542 edition he read:

Aristarchus thought that the Greeks should bring an action for impiety against Cleanthes the Samian on the grounds that he attempted to save

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⁸¹ JUNIUS, *Adagia* 389, entitled *Amphaxonein*: «Dicetur [...] de iis qui a vulgata veraque opinione recedunt et longo usu receptam a doctis sententiam fastidiunt, quomodo Cleanthes Samius olim et nuper Copernicus coelum stare sedemque telluris circumrotari asseverarunt praeter astronomorum omnium consensum».

⁸² In his *Initia doctrinae physicae*, Wittenberg 1550 (first ed. 1549), I, ff. 39v-40v, Melanchthon puts forward biblical evidence against the Copernican theory. On the reception of this theory see T.S. KUHN, *The Copernican Revolution: Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*, Cambridge 1971⁴, pp. 185-228; B. BILINSKI, *Il pitagorismo di Niccolò Copernico*, Wroclaw 1977, pp. 74-93.

⁸³ This copy of Plutarch's *Moralia opuscula*, Basel 1542, which is now in the Amsterdam University Library (sign. Hs. III *B 2), contains numerous *marginalia*, which are in the hand of Junius, as can be demonstrated by comparison with the handwriting of the notes in a copy of Plutarch's *Parallela*, Basel 1533, preserved in the same library (sign. Hs. III *B 1). This copy surely belonged to Junius, who entered on the title-page his note of ownership, «Sum Hadriani Junii Hornani Medici».

phenomena by assuming that the heaven is at rest while the earth is revolving along the ecliptic and at the same time is rotating about its own axis⁸⁴.

In the margin Junius wrote accordingly: 'Aristarchus summoned Cleanthes before court for impiety on the grounds that in his view the heaven is at rest, while the earth is revolving' («Aristarchus Cleanthen impietatis arcessivit, quod coelum stabile, terram volutari censuerit»).

Modern editors of Plutarch's treatise have long realized that the text of the beginning of this passage, as transmitted by the extant manuscripts and early editions, is corrupt, to the effect that the subject (Cleanthes) and the object (Aristarchus) have been interchanged. In fact, the author of the theory of the motion of the earth was Aristarchus the Samian, and it was Cleanthes who accused him. In short, Junius' mistake is due to a corruption in his source text.

Incidentally, Copernicus does not use *The Face on the Moon* in his *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. When naming those of his predecessors who supported the motion of the earth, above all the Pythagorean philosopher Philolaos, he quotes from (pseudo-) Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* (3.13, cited in the preface to the Pope). He did once briefly mention Aristarchus as a supporter of the mobility of the earth, but suppressed the reference for unclear reasons⁸⁵.

2. As do all humanists, Junius censures the Scholastic philosophers and theologians for involving themselves in quiddities and for using a debased Latin jargon. An expression on humbug has inspired the following sneer: 'Practitioners of the liberal arts that are addicted to the darkness of Tartaretus and his predecessor Peter of Spain are bent on splitting hairs and wasting time on trifles'⁸⁶. The Scotist theologian

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⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 780 (in modern editions of the *Moralia*: 923 A): 'Ἀρίσταρχος ᾤετο δεῖν Κλεάνθη τὸν Σάμιον ἀσέβειας προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς κινουῖντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐσθίαν, ὅτι φαινόμενα σώζειν ἀνὴρ ἐπειράτω μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος, ἐξελίττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξοῦ κύκλου τὴν γῆν, ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄξονα δινομένην. Junius underlined this passage in his copy. In the margin, he corrected ἐσθίαν to ἐστίαν. Modern editors read Ἀρίσταρχον and Κλεάνθη see the notes in the edition by H. CHERNISS, London 1957, *ad locum*.

⁸⁵ See T. HEATH, *Aristarchus of Samos. The Ancient Copernicus*, New York 1981 (first ed. Oxford 1913), p. 301; T.W. AFRICA, *Copernicus' Relation to Aristarchus and Pythagoras*, in «Isis», LII, 1961, pp. 403-409.

⁸⁶ *Adagia* 468, entitled *Tricas conduplicare Tellenas*: «Adagium est quo uti licet in eos

and philosopher Pierre Tartaret (d. 1522), who was active at Paris, published expositions of the logic of Aristotle and of Peter of Spain (*Expositio in Summulas Petri Hispani*), as well as of natural philosophy, metaphysics and ethics, which maintained their popularity from the 1490's until well into the 17th century⁸⁷. The expression 'pigs' music' («suilla harmonia»), says Junius, aptly applies to the barbaric Latin of the Sorbonne professors⁸⁸. He would know, since he had spent a few years in Paris, between his stay in Italy and his arrival in England.

3. Discussing the expression 'sceptical doubt' («Pyrrhonia haesitatio», *Adagia* 559), Junius blames a 'man of great repute' for having avoided in every possible way taking a position in a recent religious dispute. No further details are given. Another adage, «Fures ipsi accusant» ('The thieves themselves bring charges', no. 612) prompts him to censure certain 'peevisish' persons who never go to church, for shouting 'There are no preachers nowadays!'⁸⁹.

4. He ridicules officials of the episcopal see of Utrecht for their absurdly rigid observance of traditional regulations. He recounts at some length the treatment meted out to Jacob Teyng or Ceratinus, like Junius a native of Hoorn, when he as an aspiring priest was tested by an Episcopal examining board at Utrecht. Someone asked Ceratinus, 'the most learned man in Louvain', a banal question about a rule of Latin grammar, which the candidate failed to answer. He was immediately shown the door of the solemn chamber. It was only through the

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qui in meris et ineptissimis nugis occupantur, quales sunt artistae Petri Hispani Tartaretique tenebris addicti».

⁸⁷ *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v.; *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. C.B. Schmitt et al., Cambridge 1988, pp. 794-795, 837. On Peter of Spain (d. 1277) see the introduction by L.M. DE RIJK to his edition of the *Tractatus* or *Summule logicales*, Assen 1972. On the decline of medieval logic from about 1530 and the changes in the teaching of logic brought about by humanism, see *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy. From the rediscovery of Aristotle to the disintegration of scholasticism, 1100-1600*, ed. N. Kretzmann et al., Cambridge 1984², pp. 787-807.

⁸⁸ *Adagia* 529, entitled *Suilla harmonia*: «de ineptis et obstreperis [...] ac molesto barba-roque sermone obgrunnientibus, cuiusmodi est odiosa Sorbonistarum et qui ab artibus nomen usurpant natio».

⁸⁹ «Tales sunt morosi quidam qui clamitant non esse concionatores verbi, quum nusquam ipsi pedem domo efferant quo sacris concionibus intersint» [intersunt ed. cit.].

intervention of a prestigious Louvain professor, perhaps Goclenius, that he was recalled and in the end ordained⁹⁰.

Ceratinus (d. 1530) was indeed a learned humanist. An expert in Greek, he outshone by far Rescius, the admittedly mediocre professor of Greek at the Louvain Collegium Trilingue, whom he tutored for some time. He was appointed to Leipzig University in 1525 on the recommendation of Erasmus, but gave up his prestigious position for obscure reasons in the same year, to teach in the Collegium at Tournai. The incident recorded by Junius must have occurred shortly before the beginning of 1527, when Ceratinus' ordination as a priest was put into effect⁹¹.

5. An expression on a parvenu reminds Junius of Jules the Ligurian, alias pope Julius II (d. 1513), who allegedly owed his ecclesiastical career to the nepotism of pope Sixtus and had once been a sailor⁹². Junius certainly took this bit of information from the *Julius Excluded from Heaven*, a notorious satire which is commonly attributed to Erasmus⁹³.

These then are all the references to controversial matters that occur in Junius' *Adagia*. His reticence cannot be accounted for sufficiently in terms of the intentions that guided him in composing his collection. Certainly, his purpose is to elucidate obscure passages in ancient literature and to provide his readers with the means for stylistic embellishment, but he does occasionally touch on contemporary and

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⁹⁰ *Adagia* 404, entitled *Isthic vellus non carpitur*.

⁹¹ See *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Ceratinus; H. DE VOCHT, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, II, Louvain 1953, pp. 323-330. Junius also praises Teyng, who called himself Ceratinus (a Graecism) after his birth-place Hoorn, in *Batavia*, Leiden 1588, p. 235.

⁹² *Adagia* 543, entitled *A scapha in triumphalem quadrigam*: «quemadmodum Iulius Ligur post sedentariam operam in ducendo scalmo diu navatam, Sixti pontificis beneficio insignibus ecclesiasticorum honorum ornatus, tandem ad pontificatum maximum emersit».

⁹³ See *Iulius exclusus e coelis*, in *Erasmi opuscula*, ed. W.K. Ferguson, The Hague 1933, p. 71, lines 148-153. The question of Erasmus' authorship is discussed by M.J. HEATH in the introduction to his translation, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. A.H.T. Levi, XXVII, Toronto 1986, pp. 156-160. Bibliographical references also appear in F. Heinimann's note to Erasmus, *Adagia* 2386, entitled *A remo ad tribunal*, ASD II, 5, p. 283, lines 981-987. On the rumours concerning the origins of Julius II see the note by S. Seidel Menchi to *Adagia* 2201, entitled *Sileni Alcibiadis*, *ibid.*, p. 187, lines 561-562.

controversial issues, as we have seen. Whether it was fear of getting into trouble with secular and ecclesiastical authorities, or rather a conciliatory attitude that held him back from voicing his opinion in political and religious matters, we will probably never know⁹⁴. One can only establish that he sympathized with the Dutch Revolt against Spain: he sided with the Prince of Orange, to whom he was physician in 1573-1574 and to whom he dedicated his last work, *Batavia*⁹⁵. He celebrated in verse the relief of Leiden and its recently founded university, together with its first curator, Janus Dousa⁹⁶. It has been suggested that he sympathized with the Family of Love, on the grounds of his contacts with members of this sect⁹⁷. In his writings, however, I do not discern any element that could point to heterodox tendencies. All we know is that he hated the Anabaptist leader David Joris, against whom he wrote, after Joris' death, a scathing satire⁹⁸. He also produced a large amount of devotional poetry, part of which lies hidden in a miscellaneous manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁹⁹. Its contents support his claim of orthodoxy, expressed in a letter to Cardinal Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot¹⁰⁰.

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⁹⁴ See also D. VAN MIERT, *The Religious Beliefs of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)*, in *Acta conventus Neo-Latini Cantabrigiensis: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Cambridge 2000*, ed. R. Schnur, Tempe, Arizona 2003, pp. 583-594.

⁹⁵ See his letters to Jacob Musius in *Epistolae*, Dordrecht 1552 (= 1652, henceforth abbreviated *Ep.*), pp. 486-490.

⁹⁶ See his letter to Nic. Vorstius, April 1575, *ibid.*, pp. 490-492 and those to Jacob Musius, pp. 493-497; and *Iani Douzae Nova poemata. Item Hadriani Iunii Carminum Lugdunensium sylvia*, Leiden 1575.

⁹⁷ See VAN DORSTEN, *The Radical Arts* cit., p. 134. The author also refers to the surprising inconsistency of Junius' dedications: he honoured Philip II, but (in other works) even Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth. I am inclined to see in Junius' continuous search for patronage the explanation for this inconsistency. On the Family of Love see A. HAMILTON, *The Family of Love*, Cambridge 1981.

⁹⁸ See WESSELING, *David Joris 'Son of God'* cit.

⁹⁹ MS Dupuy 951, ff. 195-304; see L. DOREZ, *Catalogue de la Collection Dupuy*, Paris 1899, II, pp. 678-685, and P.O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, III, London 1983, p. 327 a.

¹⁰⁰ *Ep.*, pp. 469-471.

Appendix I: Junius' stay in Italy

Junius had a familiarity with Italian poetry, as we have seen. He became proficient in Italian during his stay in that country (see *Ep.*, pp. 27, 158). He sojourned in Siena in 1538, as a tutor to the young Ulrich Fugger, and visited the Terme di Caldana near Venturina (*Ep.*, pp. 278, 342-343; the Matheus Curtius mentioned there is Matteo Corti, who taught medicine at Bologna University from 1538). From May 1539 he was living in the household of the Bolognese Count Filippo Pepoli, who had given him employment¹⁰¹. Cornelio Pepoli, with whom he frequented the house of Andrea Alciato (*Ep.*, p. 98) was, like Giovanni, one of Filippo's numerous sons¹⁰². In February 1540 Junius acquired the doctoral degree in philosophy and medicine¹⁰³. As early as January 1540 he expressed his desire to leave for France; he arrived in Paris in the same year (*Ep.*, pp. 26, 96).

He had also visited Venice (*Ep.*, p. 140) and Rome, where he met Bishop (later Cardinal) Otto Truchsess von Waldburg («cardinalis Augustanus», *Ep.*, p. 289)¹⁰⁴.

Appendix II: Junius' emblem *Amoris ingenui tormentum* in the early translations

In the Dutch translation of the *Emblems*, by Marcus Antonius Gillis¹⁰⁵, published by Plantin in 1567, the epigram reads:

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¹⁰¹ JUNIUS, *Epistolae selectae*, ed. P. Scheltema, Amsterdam 1839, p. 19; *Ep.*, p. 25; *Adagia*, no. 805.

¹⁰² On the Pepoli family I consulted the pedigree in MS B 698/2, no. 95 of the Biblioteca Comunale at Bologna; G. GUIDICINI, *Cose notabili della città di Bologna etc.*, Bologna 1868, I, p. 308; L. FRATI, *Opere della bibliografia bolognese che si conservano nella Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna*, Bologna 1889, II, p. 1302; and P. GUIDOTTI, *Il drammatico processo al conte Giovanni Pepoli (1585)*, in «il Carrobbio», XII, 1986, pp. 203-215.

¹⁰³ G. BRONZINO, *Notitia doctorum sive catalogus doctorum qui in collegiis philosophiae et medicinae Bononiae laureati fuerunt ab anno 1480 usque ad annum 1800*, Milano 1962, p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ See C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica Medii aevi*, III, Münster 1923, p. 29.

¹⁰⁵ *Emblemata Adriani Iunii medici. Ouergheset in Nederlantsche tale deur M.A.G.*, Antwerp 1567. The translator was Marcus Antonius Gillis van Diest; see M. ROOSES, introduction to the reprint of Junius' *Emblemata*, Antwerp 1902, pp. 6-7, and VOET, *The Plantin Press* cit., III, no. 1482.

Het torment der oprechter liefden

Siet hoe dees vlieghe haer selven brenghet ter doot,
 vlieghe in een brandende keerse sonder mijen:
 alsoo en vint een arm vrijer, die sijn liefde bloot
 altijd navolcht, niet dan druck en lijn.

(*The torment of true love*. See how this fly brings about its own death, flying into a burning candle without delay: so too a poor lover, who constantly pursues his passion, finds only distress and torment.)

Jacques Grévin's translation, entitled *Les emblesmes du S. Adrian le Jeune [...]* *Faicts François, et sommairement expliquez* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1570), has brief commentaries at the end of the volume.

Tourment de franc amour (no. 49)

Voyez comment à la chandelle
 Le Mouscheron brusle son aesle,
 Et en la fin se fait mourir:
 Ainsi par une flamme ardante
 L'Amant se brusle et se tourmente,
 Pensant apres son feu couurir. [sic]

The commentary reads (pp. 76-77):

Comparaison des amoureux avecque les mouchérons qui vollent à l'entour de la chandelle, et en la fin se bruslent: Car plus un amant approche de sa maistresse et plus il se consume, comme la mouche. La diuise est: Pour bien aymer ie porte un pareil tourment. Ceste comparaison est bien exprimee en ces vers François:

Ainsi qu'un papillon vollant
 De nuict autour d'une chandelle,
 De son plein gré se va bruslant
 Lors qu'il approche de son aesle:
 Ainsi, malheureux que ie suis!
 Euitier mon mal ie ne puis:
 Et bien que tel ie me cognoisse
 Heureux pourtant ie me confesse.

Ce pauvre animant non content
 D'essayer la vertu premiere
 De la clarté ou il pretend,
 Se brusle approchant la lumiere:
 Ainsi non content de vous voir
 Le desire de plus sçavoir,
 Et vous connaissant dauantage
 Le trebusche dedans l'orage.