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Towards a Corpus of the Hungarian Emblem Tradition (Literary emblematics and emblem-reception in Hungary 1564-1796)

Hungary is one of the last unresearched areas on the map of European emblematics. Apart from the *Emblemata* of János Zsámboky (1564), which is one of the most significant contributions of Hungarian literature to the international heritage of emblems. Including the considerable special literature related to it,¹ foreign research today knows more about e.g. the Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Polish or Slovakian emblem literature than the history of the genre in Hungary.² The reason for this, above all, is that emblem research in Hungary has been a neglected field for a long time, and even today, we can speak about it only to a limited extent.³ Neither literary⁴ nor art historical⁵ works can do without

¹ András Varga, "Zsámboky János" [a bibliography], in: *A Zsámboky-könyvtár katalógusa (1587) Gulyás Pál olvasatában* (Szeged, 1992), 273-281.

² Wolfgang Harms, "Wörter, Sachen und emblematische 'Res' im 'Orbis sensualium pictus' des Comenius", in: *Gedenkschrift für William Foerste*. Hg. Dietrich Hofmann (Köln & Graz, 1970), 531-542. Dmitrij Tschizewskij, "Emblematische Literatur bei den Slaven", in: *Emblem und Emblematikrezeption, Vergleichende Studien zur Wirkungsgeschichte vom 16. bis 20. Jahrhundert*. Hg. Sibylle Penkert (Darmstadt, 1978), 140-153. Paulina Buchwald Pelcowa, *Emblematy w drukach polskich i polski dotyczących XVI-XVIII wieku*. Bibliografia. (Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków, 1981).

³ Cf. Tibor Klaniczay, "Holger Homann: Studien zur Emblematik des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 79 (1975): 246-247.

⁴ Tibor Komlovski, "Egy manierista 'Theatrum Europeum' és szerzője", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 70 (1966): 85-105, espec. 100. Andor Tarnai, "Lehrreiche Gedanken — Jeles gondolatok — Pensées instructives" in Béla Köpeczi & László Sziklai (eds), "Sorsotok előre nézzétek". *A francia felvilágosodás és a magyar kultúra*. Tanulmányok (Buda-

occasional references to the role of emblematics. However, apart from the activity of the Szeged iconographic workshop⁶ and the growing number of reprint and facsimile editions,⁷ organized research has not been carried out, and specialized investigations, aside from a few exceptions⁸ are missing.

Emblematics is interpreted as a special art form, defined by the picture and the text together embedded in a system of literature. At the same time it is also a mode of symbolic thought connecting the visual motif and the abstract meaning.⁹ Beyond this general definition ac

pest, 1975), 107-142, espec. 129-131. Imre Bán, *Eszmék és stílusok* (Budapest, 1976), 175-177. Károly Csúri, "Két ismétlés-típus irodalomelméleti státusáról", in Iván Horváth & András Veres (eds), *Ismétlődés a művészetben* (Budapest, 1980), 309-333, espec. 318-320, 325-328. József László Kovács, "Rimay és a XVII. század emblematikája", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 86 (1982): 637-644. Ferenc Biró, "A természet gyermekei és a haza fia. A fiatal Batsányi és az 1770-es évek nemesi irodalma", *Literatura* 10 (1983): 184-192, esp. 187. László Szörényi, "Mária, a magyar történelem tanuja, Koptik Odo: Thalleis", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 91-92 (1987-1988): 440-448. Magyar nyelvű halotti beszédek a XVII. századból, intr. Gábor Kecskeméti & Hajnalka Nováky (Budapest, 1988), 15, 16, 30-31. István Csáky, *Politica philosophiai Okoskodás szerint való rendes életemek példája (1664-1674)*, ed. Emil Hargittay (Budapest, 1992), 22.

⁵ Géza Galavics, "A győri barokk művészet kezdetei", *Ars Hungarica* 1 (1973): 97-126. Géza Galavics, *Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen. Török háborúk és képzőművészet* (Budapest, 1986), 30-32.

⁶ Tibor Fabiny (ed), *Shakespeare and the Emblem. Studies in Renaissance Iconography and Iconology* (Szeged, 1984). Tibor Fabiny, "Rossz izlés vagy művészi érték? (Megjegyzések az embléma elméletéhez)", in Fabiny—Pál—Szőnyi (eds), *A reneszánsz szimbolizmus. Ikonográfia, emblematika, Shakespeare* (Szeged, 1987): 21-38.

⁷ Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* [Antverpiæ, 1654], facsimile ed. by August Buck (Budapest, 1982). Kristóf Lackner, *Florilegus Ægyptiacus in agro Soproniensi. Maiestatis Hungariæ aquila* [Keresztur, 1617], facsimile ed. by József László Kovács (Budapest, 1988). Mátyás Hajnal, *Az Jesus szívet szerető szíveknek aytatosságára... könyvechke* [Bécs, 1629], facsimile ed. by Béla Holl (Budepest, 1992).

⁸ László Varga, "Sámboky (Sambucus) János emblémái, I-II", *Könyv és Könyvtár* 4 (1964): 193-226; 5 (1966): 181-243. Imre Téglásy, "Hercules Hungaricus. Egy Sambucus-embléma előtörténete és utóélete", in: *A reneszánsz szimbolizmus* [note 6], 193-221. Imre Téglásy, *A nyelv- és irodalomelmélet kezdetei Magyarországon. (Sylvester Jánostól Zsámboky Jánosig)* (Budapest, 1988).

⁹ Dietrich Walter Jöns, "Die emblematische Predigtweise Johann Sauberts", in: *Rezeption und Produktion zwischen 1570 und 1730. Festschrift für Günther Weydt*, ed. by Wolf Dietrich Rasch, Hans Geulen, Klaus Haberkamm (Berlin—München, 1972), 137-158. Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem. Structural Parallels Between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1979), 8. Peter M. Daly, *Emblem Theory. Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of*

cepted by more or less all emblem researchers lies a vast area of concepts, typologies and definitions of the various literary and art historical emblems and emblem books.¹⁰ These discussions about the status of the emblem as a genre, the three-part form as a model and the role of the additional elements connecting with the tripartite structure, the so called expanded forms, and the definition and classification of emblem books are not absolutely over yet.¹¹

the Emblem Genre (Nendeln, 1979). Dieter Mehl, "Emblémák az angol reneszánsz drámában", in: *A reneszánsz szimbolizmus* [note 6], 165-189, espec. 166. Peter M. Daly (ed.), *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York, 1988). Wolfgang Neuber, "Imago und Pictura. Zur Topik des Sinn-Bilds im Spannungsfeld von Ars Memorativa und Emblematik (am Paradigma des 'Indianers')", in: *Text und Bild, Bild und Text*. DFG-Symposion 1988. Hg. Wolfgang Harms (Stuttgart, 1990), 245-261.

¹⁰ Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (München, 1964); Hessel Miedema, "The Term Emblem in Alciati", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 234-250, esp. 235; L. Kaute, "Emblem", in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rom—Freiburg—Basel—Wien, 1974), 1:618-622; Gregor Martin Lechner, *Emblemata. Zur barocken Symbolsprache*, 26. Ausstellung des Graphischen Kabinetts und der Stiftsbibliothek. Jahresausstellung 1977, 15. Mai bis 26. Oktober (Stift Göttweig / Niederösterreich, 1977), 3-11; Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, 1979), 179-196; Bernhard Scholz, "Didaktische Funktion und Textkonstitution im Emblem", *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 13 (1981): 2, 10-35; Dieter Sulzer, "Emblem", in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Berlin & New York), 3: 1379-1391; Wolfgang Harms, "Emblem/Emblematik", in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin & New York, 1982), 9: 552-558; G. Richard Dimler, "Literary Considerations in the Consideration of the Jesuit Emblem", *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 14 (1983): 101-110; Cornelia Kemp, "Emblem", in: *Marienlexikon* (St. Ottilien, 1989), 2: 331-334.

¹¹ Peter M. Daly, "Shakespeare and the Emblem: The Use of Evidence and Analogy in Establishing Iconographic and Emblematic Effects in the Plays", in: *Shakespeare and the Emblem* [note 6], 117-187; Ingrid Höpel, *Emblem und Sinnbild. Vom Kunstbuch zum Erbauungsbuch* (Frankfurt, 1987); Richard Cavell, "The Emblem as (Hiero)glyph", in: Bernhard F. Scholz, Michael Bath, David Weston (eds), *The European Emblem*. Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference 11-14 August, 1987 (Leiden—New York—København—Köln, 1990), 167 ff, esp. 167-168; G. Richard Dimler, "Jesuitische Emblem-bücher, Zum Forschungsstand", in: *Sinnbild—Bildsinn. Emblem-bücher der Stadtbibliothek Trier*. Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung. Red. Michael Schunck (Trier, 1991), 169-174, esp. 172; Michael Schunck, "Emblem-bücher in der Stadtbibliothek Trier. Ein Bestandskatalog", in: *Sinnbild—Bildsinn*, 199-225, esp. 199; Karel Portemann, "'Embellished with Emblems': About the Incorporation of Emblems in Other Genres in Dutch Literature", in: Alison Adams & Anthony J. Harper (eds), *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety*. Selected Papers of the Glasgow International Emblem Conference, 13-17 August, 1990 (Leiden—New York—Köln, 1992), 70-89; Ingrid Höpel, "Das mehrstündige Emblem: Zu Geschichte und Erscheinungsform eines seltenen Emblemtyps", in: *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe*, 104-117.

As a first step, we have compiled a checklist of emblematic prints related to Hungary. In this bibliography, in addition to emblem books in the strict sense and theoretical and emblematically illustrated works,¹² there are specimens of applied literary emblematics, too (e.g. frontispieces and flyleafs).¹³ We have considered the three-part structure of the emblem only as an ideal paradigm, and tried to take into consideration the various mixed, extended and contracted forms and the marginal cases as well.¹⁴ In the bibliography we have only taken into account works described on the basis of autopsy. The catalogue excludes emblematic manuscripts,¹⁵ theses,¹⁶ *alba amicorum*,¹⁷ while it includes emblem descriptions with texts only and prints without pictures describing emblematic decorations. "Related to Hungary" means that the bibliography includes—in addition to the works of Hungarian authors and authors having worked in Hungary—all the prints by foreign authors which were published in Hungary, and the topic of which is related to Hungary. The list, which will certainly have to be extended significantly, at the moment consists of 132 items.

While it is naturally impossible to present the various outward forms, functions, and aspects of Hungarian emblematics within one lecture, we nevertheless find it necessary to venture at a draft but as complete as possible comprehensive evaluation. Among the feasible approaches we have chosen the historical-chronological method based on a formal inventory, and we shall make attempts to demonstrate the locally peculiar as well as the common European characteristics of the Hungarian emblem tradition as seen in its functions, the picture-text relation, the circumstances of production, and the main types of emblem books.

We shall not deal with the rhetorical, dramatical, and poetical use of

¹² Peter M. Daly, "The Union Catalogue of Emblem Books and the Corpus Librorum Emblematum", *Emblematica* 3 (1988): 121-133, esp. 129.

¹³ Dietmar Peil, *Zur "angewandten Emblematik" in protestantischen Erbauungsbüchern. Dilher—Arndt—Francisci—Scriver* (Heidelberg, 1978).

¹⁴ Alison Saunders, "The Long and the Short of it: Structure and Form in the Early French Emblem Book", in: *The European Emblem* [note 11], 55-83, esp. 57, 65.

¹⁵ Péter Farbaky, "A budai ágostonos (majd ferences) templom és kolostor", *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 39 (1990): 166-197, esp. 168-169.

¹⁶ György Rózsa, "Thesenblätter mit ungarischen Beziehungen", *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987-1988): 257-289.

¹⁷ (Ferenc Földesi), *Album amicorum*. OSzK Kézirattár, kiállításvezető (Budapest, 1991); cf. Cornelia Kemp, "Vita Cornelianiana: Das emblematische Stammbuch von Theodor de Bry bis Peter Rollos", in: *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe* [note 11], 53-69.

emblematics, nor with applied emblematics outside literature, which form further unwritten chapters in the history of the reception of emblems in Hungary.

Picture-text relation

Investigating the relation between the picture and the text in general, three main types can be distinguished. The first type includes regular emblem series created by connecting the picture and the text. These are emblem books in a strict sense: thirty individual works are listed in this group up to now. Considering further editions too, this means sixty prints which amount to nearly half of the entire bibliography.

The second type includes prints which contain only texts. Their number comes close to that of the emblem series. Most of them give an actual picture description in place of the image, a smaller amount of them does not. This high proportion of "word" emblems (emblems with texts only) may be taken as a Hungarian peculiarity. It happened several times that a foreign emblem book originally having been published with pictures was republished in Hungary without or with fewer engravings, and by chance in an abridged form (Drexel, Gerhard, Haefen, Hugo). The answer to this phenomenon might be found in the absence of the appropriate patron or the engravers needed.

Prints containing emblematic engravings around the title page are listed as the third type. The engraving can be found mostly in frontispiece or flyleaf functions, less frequently on the first page with a text, as a heading or after the title page. The relation of the illustration to the work can vary;¹⁸ it's usually connected with the whole work or its main thoughts, less frequently it has a tight connection to one part of the work.

Conditions of production

Among the authors of the prints, forty-nine are Hungarians and eight foreigners. The list of the foreign authors, which shows Jesuit dominance, proves the direct Hungarian reception of major European emblem

¹⁸ Sabine Mödersheim, "Biblische Metaphorik in Daniel Cramers 80 *Emblemata moralia nova*", in: *The European Emblem* [note 11], 107-116, esp. 109; cf. Sibylle Penkert, "Grimmelshausens Titelkupfer-Fiktionen. Zur Rolle der Emblematik-Rezeption in der Geschichte poetischer Subjektivität", in: *Emblem und Emblematikrezeption* [note 2], 257-285; Bernd Roeck, "Titelkupfer reichspublizistischer Werke der Barockzeit als historische Quellen", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 65 (1983): 329-361.

books: John Barclay, Jeremias Drexel, Johannes Gerhard, Benedict Haefthen, Hermann Hugo, Ignatius Loyola, Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, Antonius Sucquet. Ignatius Loyola is not present, of course, as an emblem author, however an edition of his *Exercitia spiritualia* is illustrated by some pieces of an emblematic picture series made for another publication. The delay in the reception of foreign authors is shown by the following example: although one of Drexel's works was published five years after the author's death one of Sucquet's works was published only fifty-one years later while the rest of the works had to wait for the Hungarian publication for more than one hundred years.

Most of the Hungarian emblem authors were catholic, and mostly monks, or priests. Jesuits dominate far above all: approximately one fifth of the whole material consists of Jesuit emblem books, which is the international average.¹⁹ The Piarists are the next in line, and apart from them, just a few Benedictine, Augustine and Franciscan monks can be listed among the authors. It frequently occurs with the Jesuit and Piarist publications that the author of the emblems is not one person, but a religious community. The protestant ecclesiastical authors are Lutheran preachers without exceptions. Among the secular persons we can find doctors, chemists, palatines, mayors, civic judges, secondary school and university teachers, and the rector of a lyceum. This division of authors also refers to the fact that emblems was a way of entertainment mainly for the aristocracy, the nobility, churchmen, higher civic and intellectual figures. Most of the authors are represented with one work only. Altogether there are eleven authors or author-communities with 2-3 works and only three authors or author produced 4 or 5 emblematic works (Kristóf Lackner, János Gyalogi, Gábor Hevenesi).

There are references to thirty-four designers and/or engravers of the pictures in 32 of the works.²⁰ Sometimes we can find engravings by two

¹⁹ G. Richard Dimler, "The Imago Primi Sæculi: Jesuit Emblems and the Secular Tradition", *Thought* 56 (1981): 433-448; G. Richard Dimler, "The Jesuit Emblem Handbook: A Report", *Emblematica* 1 (1986): 198-204.

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Johann Ulrich Biberger, Johann Philipp Binder, Franz Ambros Dietell, Johann Frank von Langgraffen, Johann Rudolf Füssli, Izrael Hiebner, Friedrich Hintz, Joseph Jäger, Wolfgang Joseph Kadoriza, Si(gismund) Ko(rontaly), Johanna Sibilla Küssel (Krausen), Matthäus Küssel, Mauritz Lang, Johann Martin Lerch, G. Lichtensteger, J. K. Martin, Jacob Müller, Georg Nicolai, Engelhard Nunzer, M. J. Pfeiffer, A. Reitter, Christian Hermann Roth von Rothenfels, Tobias Sadeler, Elias Schaffhausen, Joseph et Andreas Schmuzer, J. S. Schott, Franz Benedikt Spillmann, Johann Stridbeck, Johann Daniel Ther Portten, Anton Tischler, Andreas Trost, Johann Christoph Winkler, Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, Sebastian Zeller.

or more artists of different qualities in the same work. Most designers and engravers are mentioned in only one work. Investigating the places of activity of the engravers and designers, the Jesuit center, Nagyszombat [Trnava, Sl.] rises above the rest among the Hungarian engraving centers with six engravers. Apart from that, the role of the engravers from Pozsony [Bratislava, Sl.] and Eperjes [Prešov, Sl.] seems significant. Vienna has an important role among the foreign engraving centers with ten engravers in twelve emblematic works related to Hungary. The next one is Augsburg with four, Graz and Nuremberg with two and two, and Linz with one engraver. Most of the engravers' names are well-known from the different genres of duplicated graphics. A part of their emblematic works related to Hungary, however, has been neglected by art history.

The image of the local emblem centres, drawn on the base of the places of activity of engravers, is tinged further by the places of publication. Nagyszombat rises far above the other Hungarian places of printing: one quarter of the registered prints were published here. This can be explained by the operation of the Jesuit university printing office. Pozsony is second with its fifteen prints. Three to five publications came out in Eger, Kassa [Košice, Sl.], Lőcse [Levoča, Sl.], Kolozsvár [Cluj, Ro.], Szeben [Sibiu, Ro.] and Pozsony-Pest. The rest of the cities have only 1-2 publications. Among the foreign places of printing, Vienna is in the first position with more than twenty prints, followed by Antwerp with nine editions of two works by Zsámboky [Sambucus]. Apart from these, the role of Graz seems significant with three works. At other places the publication of emblematic prints related to Hungary can be considered as occasional only (Altdorf, Frankfurt, Lauingen, Marburg, Passau, Tübingen, Weissenfels). The presence of Altdorf on the list indicates the connection with one of the important workshops of European emblematics.²¹

Investigating the publication dates, the late appearance of the emblematic tradition in Hungary becomes obvious. Apart from the Zsámboky publications in the 16th century, printed emblematics in a Hungarian context first appeared only in the 1610s, in Kristóf Lackner's activity, who, beside being a humanist was the mayor of the West-Hungarian burgher city, Sopron. Further development can be observed later, from the 1660s until 1720 during which period emblem books were published for the first time. From the 1710s onward reeditions and publications containing only text come into prominence and this second

²¹ Cf. Frederick John Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy. Medals and Medal Orations 1577-1626* (London, 1974).

phase lasted until about 1770, the last registered print coming out in 1796. The application of emblematic illustrations around the title page can be considered virtually a continuous practice in the 17th and 18th centuries; these illustrated title pages can be found mostly in the period between 1650 through 1740. Concerning the absolute number of prints, almost two thirds of the whole material was published in the 18th century, which reflects even more the long second blossoming of the genre in Hungary. This delay also applies to the Jesuit emblematics, the golden age of which, according to Richard Dimler's research,²² falls between 1621 and 1700. But in Hungary we place the greatest production between the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century.

The dominance of Latin is clear: about three quarters of the publications were published in Latin. The proportion of Hungarian publications does not amount to one fifth of the prints, and German publications constitute half of the Hungarian ones. In addition to this, one French, a Flemish, and a Slovakian publication can be found in the bibliography. The proportion of translations is quite low, which indicates that instead of adaptations, the reeditions of Latin works and the individual production of emblems were dominant.

The proportion of new editions is about a quarter of all the publications. These authors, whose works were published more than once, can be considered the most popular emblem authors in Hungary. The works of Saavedra Fajardo, János Rajcsányi, Mátyás Hajnal and Johann Conrad Barth, as well as two works by Jeremias Drexel were published twice. One work of Gábor Hevenesi and one by Péter Bod were reprinted three times, of János Zsámboky for the seventh, of Johannes Gerhard for the eighth time and a book or parts of it by Antal Vánossi ran into nine editions.

The main types of emblem books

We'll base our introduction to the main types of emblem books on a partly modified version of Heckscher and Wirth's category-system.²³ We won't deal here with the publications which contain only texts. The Hungarian material actually does not fill all the categories of the Heck-

²² G. Richard Dimler, "A Bibliographical Survey of Jesuit Emblem Authors in German-Speaking Territories. Topography and Themes", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 45 (1976): 129-138, esp. 135.

²³ William S. Heckscher & Karl August Wirth, "Emblem, Emblembuch", in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1967), 5:85-228, espec. 153-154.

sch—Wirth typology, thus, for example, emblem books with erotic, alchemical and iconological contents are entirely missing. Most of the works can be classified in the "heroic" group related to individuals as well as religious topics, while the number of didactic-encyclopaedic emblem books is lower.

The basic characteristic of the Hungarian material is the high proportion of emblematic prints related to certain occasions and events. They form almost half of the entire material. A part of the occasional prints are related to the great turning points of human life (birth, marriage, death, funeral) and to other family and academic events (birthday, nameday, anniversary of death, bachelor's, master's and doctor's examinations). The second group is formed by occasional prints related to representative manifestations of secular notabilities (crowning, military victory, installation of a palatine, election of civic magistracy, resignation of a civic judge). The third group includes publications on church feasts (temple consecrations, canonization of saints, Jesuit mission and college jubilees, conclaves, cardinal, archbishop and bishop ordination and entry). We have not found examples for such sophisticated—and in other parts of Europe well-known—representations which depict court- and civic-civil pageants, emblematic tournaments, ballets, or fireworks.²⁴

Within the first larger group including publications related to individuals, the print published on the occasion of Katalin Perényi's death, for example, represents the type concerning death and funerals (1693).²⁵ The work consists of twelve verse-elogiums with the glorification of the dead person's family, life, and virtues. There is an emblem (symbolum) at the beginning of each elogium with a motto, an explication and a text from the Scriptures engraved in the picture. It is followed by a multi-paged elogium, with an ode and a picture-verse attached to it sometimes. Other examples for the type are the two funeral orations for Pál Esterházy (1713).²⁶ The *castrum doloris* and the illustration of its fifteen emblematic parts were attached to both on six mezzotint pages. Both preachings are based on the explication of the emblems, with the glorification of the dead person's life, deeds and qualities in the centre.

²⁴ Eberhard Fähler, "Emblematische Feuerwerke", in: *Emblem und Emblematischer Rezeption* [note 2], 47-56.

²⁵ *Brachy ton areton hodoiporikon, seu synoptica virtutum enarratio...* (Claudiopoli, 1693).

²⁶ Stephanus Kontor, *Encomium ad solennes exequias... Pauli Estoras de Galantha...* (Tyrnavia, 1713); András Vargyassi, *Sol mysticus. Az az... Esterhás Pál... szomorú exequiain... prédikállotta...* (Nagyszombat, 1713).

A less-known work of János Zsámboky belongs to the category of the political and military emblem books.²⁷ He praises in it Juan d'Austria, the general of the Lepanto battle, with sixteen emblems showing military acts and virtues (1572). Another publication belonging here is the work of the most significant 17th-century Hungarian emblem author, Kristóf Lackner (1625).²⁸ He summarises the military virtues in eight chapters of this emblematic quotation-collection dedicated to Ferdinand II. Each chapter is headed by an emblem. The 18th-century example of this type is Antal Vánossi's work, which glorifies the military and political deeds of Emperor Charles VI (III) from 1718 (1719).²⁹ On the flyleaf and in the four emblem pictures the ruler appears as the sun surrounded by a C, the initial letter of his name.

The earliest example of advice-collections made for princes was created by Kristóf Lackner: it is the emblematic description of the Hungarian crown and is dedicated to King Matthias II. and Palatine György Thurzó (1615).³⁰ This is an emblematic-hieroglyphic "royal mirror" in which the precious stones and enamel paintings (32 altogether) of the crown, engraved entirely or partially, symbolize various royal virtues. The other example of the type is Johannes Weber's work, published in 1662, an emblematic exposition of qualities and virtues needed for governing the city.³¹ The frontispiece contains four, while the engraving after the title page contains twenty-six individual emblems. The work explains these. There is a third type of engraving in the book, too. This illustrates the well-known exemplum of the *asinus vulgi* and indicates the close connection of emblematics to the exemplum and the

²⁷ Joannes Sambucus, *Arcus aliquot triumphal. et monimenta victor. classicae...* (Antverpiæ, 1572).

²⁸ Christophorus Lackner, *Galea Martis, hoc est, bona militia pro publica salute epitomice* (Tubingæ, 1625); cf. József László Kovács, "Emblematika, hieroglifika, manierizmus. (Fejezet Lackner Kristóf művészi világából)" 1-2. *Soproni Szemle* 25 (1971): 3-17, 97-108, esp. 15-17; József László Kovács, *Lackner Kristóf és kora (1571-1631)* (Sopron, 1972), 82-86.

²⁹ Antonius Vanossi, *Poesis Entheia. Super Præsentem Europæ Sortem* (Viennæ, 1719).

³⁰ Christophorus Lackner, *Coronæ Hungariæ Emblematica* (Lavingæ Suevorum, 1615); cf. Kovács, "Emblematika" [note 28], 8-10; Kovács, *Lackner* [note 28], 77-82.

³¹ Johannes Weber, *Janus Bifrons seu Speculum Physico-Politicum. Das ist Naturlicher Regenten Spiegel...* (Löcse, 1662).

proverb.³² Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea principis christiano-politici* was first published in Hungary more than a hundred years after the first edition, partly as an appendix of doctors' theses (1748, 1759).³³ The usually exact or here and there simplified reengraved versions of the original plates can be found—with one exception—in both editions.

The work of the Jesuit Johannes Picker is an example of an emblem book dedicated to corporations, in which he greets the new masters of philosophy at the University of Nagyszombat (1702).³⁴ The book sets actual "types" as examples for the masters by explicating emblems on the basis of classic quotations. The types refer to a better fate of the homeland and the ways one can serve it.

Within the second large group of emblem books including works with religious contents, prints related to saints form a separate category. The representative of Jesuit-stoic emblematics, Gábor Hevenesi prepared an emblematic glorification of Szaniszló Kosztka's³⁵ and Alajos Gonzaga's³⁶ lives and virtues with 24-24 copperplates in 1690. János Rajcsányi's work, which was published twice (1704, 1710), belongs to the type of emblem book explaining various church doctrines.³⁷ He shows the way the atheist is converted, through seven dialogues. At the beginning of each dialogue there is an emblem, which can serve as a starting point for the explication of the main doctrines of the Christian faith.

The group includes the type of emblem book which sets the devotion of Jesus' heart in the centre. Mátyás Hajnal's collection of meditations

³² Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, "Asinus vulgi", in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Berlin & New York, 1977), 1: 867-873. Nils-Arvid Bringéus, "Asinus vulgi oder die Erzählung von Vater, Sohn und Esel in der europäischen Bildtradition", in L. Petzoldt & S. de Rachewiltz (eds), *Der Dämon und sein Bild. Berichte und Referate der dritten und vierten Symposions zur Volkserzählung Brunnenburg (Südtirol 1986)* (Frankfurt?m.—Bern—New York—Paris, 1989), 153-86.

³³ Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici, centum symbolis expressa* (Pestini, 1748).

³⁴ Johannes Picker, *Imago Sapientiae Honori... Philosophiae Neo-magistrorum... Promotore... Gabriele Szerdahelyi...* (Tyrnavia, 1702).

³⁵ Gabriel Hevenesi, *Academicus Viennensis sive B. Stanislaus Kostka...* (Viennae, 1690). Cf. József Turóczi-Trostler, "Keresztény Seneca. Fejezetek a kései humanizmus európai és magyarországi történetéből", in: József Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar irodalom — világirodalom. Tanulmányok* (Budapest, 1961), 2: 156-218, esp. 200-11.

³⁶ Gabriel Hevenesi, *S. Ephebus sive B. Aloysius Gonzaga...* (Viennae, 1690).

³⁷ Johannes Rajcsányi, *Itinerarium Athei, ad veritatis viam deducti...* (Viennae, 1704).

published in 1629 with 18 and in 1642 with 20 pictures is a typical example of Jesuit emblematics.³⁸ The model of the engravings was Antoine Wierix's well-known series, and Hajnal knew the Luzvic-Binet edition, too. The engravings were replaced by woodcuts in the 1642 edition. The traditional structure of the emblem disintegrates: the motto is missing and the six-line verse under the picture summarized in verse is explained by long meditations in prose. Hajnal did not adopt the meditations of the Luzvic-Binet edition, but wrote new ones. He changed the order of the pictures, and on the other hand translated the verses.³⁹

The abridged Hungarian translation of *Via vitae aeternae* by Antonius Sucquet (1678) is a typical example of emblem books teaching the proper Christian life (*via recta*).⁴⁰ The number of pictures is the same as in the Antwerp edition of 1620, and the unknown engraver tried to follow the details of the Bolswert-engravings properly. The protestant version of the type is the 1745 Hungarian translation of Johann Gerhard's meditation book, originally titled as *Quinquaginta meditationes sacrae* (Jena ³1614), which was published several times before the end of the 18th century.⁴¹ Only ten pictures can be found in the Hungarian edition instead of the fifty-one engravings of the original. The translator rearranged the original text into rhyming prose, divided the meditations into ten parts, attached a picture before each part, which completes the summary of the part with a separate motto and an explanation in verse.⁴²

Benedict Haeften's *Regia via crucis* (1629) can be classified as the type of other religious emblem books, though its Hungarian translation came out only in 1772.⁴³ The Hungarian version—opposed to the 39 illustrations of the original—includes only two emblematic engravings.

³⁸ Mátyás Hajnal, *Az Jesus szivet szerető sziveknek aytatossagara... könyvechke* (Bécs, 1629). Cf. Ignatius Loyola, *Exercitia spiritualia* (Tyrnavia, 1675).

³⁹ [Frigyes Brisits], "Előszó Hajnal Mátyás: Az Jesus szivet szerető sziveknek aytatossagara... könyvechke. Bécs 1629" (Budapest, 1932), 3-7. Cf. also Ferenc Zemplényi, "Egy jezsuita emblematikus: Hajnal Mátyás", in: *A reneszánsz szimbolizmus* [note 6], 203-214; Béla Holl, "Hajnal Mátyás Szíves könyveske, Bécs 1629" [An essay completing the facsimile edition] (Budapest, 1992), 14-19.

⁴⁰ Antonius Sucquet (transl. György Derekay), *Az örök életnek utya...* (Nagyszombat, 1678).

⁴¹ Johann Gerhard (transl. József Inczédi), *Liliomok völgye...* (S. l., 1745).

⁴² Zoltán Trócsányi, "Egy illusztrált protestáns barokk könyv. Az első magyar makáma", in: Zoltán Trócsányi, *A történelem árnyékában* (Budapest, 1936), 99-104.

⁴³ Benedictus Haeften (transl. Márton Jenei), *A keresztnék közönséges uta...* (Pest, 1772).

The model for one of them, which, so to say, summarizes the meaning of the whole work, was a plate of the 1635 Antwerp edition.

In the third large group of emblem books including the so called encyclopaedic works, Zsámboky's *Emblemata* has a prominent position. This is one of the best-known works of 16th century European emblematics, and for this reason we shall not treat it here. A late representative of the encyclopaedic type is the Jesuit Antal Vánossi's *Idea sapientis* from 1724.⁴⁴ The work is a political, moral-philosophical handbook giving a summary of the most important rules regulating human life in three parts. The three parts deal with questions of the ethics, politics and economics (family life) in the centre. The explanation of the answers to the questions takes place with the help of the emblems.

Gábor Szerdahelyi (also a Jesuit) connected emblematic illustrations of natural and weather phenomena with moral, philosophical and political explanations (1702).⁴⁵ The work, divided into twelve dissertations, is illustrated by a total of 2+82 engravings which originate from several hands. The "conclusio" answering the "questio" is always related to the symbolic-allegoric picture provided with a motto.

Finally, one example for the type of emblem books elaborating the texts of antique philosophers is the already mentioned Gábor Hevenesi who in his *Succus prudentiæ* (1680, further editions: 1690, 1701) gives a summary of the Christian-stoic wisdom and ethics with the help of mainly quotations and paraphrases of Seneca.⁴⁶ The work consists of fifty chapters, with a motto at the beginning of each, an allegoric-symbolic copperplate under the motto, a moralizing thesis, and its detailed explanation under the picture.

Types of applied literary emblematics

Applying emblems or emblematic structures on engravings placed around the title page of a book might occur in any work. One version is when the entire composition forms a single emblem. Another possibility is when the emblematic parts fit in a larger allegoric composition. The motto and the explanation are often missing, or sometimes they can be found in the title, in the dedication, in the preface, or in the text of the

⁴⁴ Antonius Vanossi, *Idea Sapientis Theo-politici*... (Viennæ, 1724).

⁴⁵ Gabriel Szerdahelyi, *Meteorologia Philosophico-politica*... (Tyrnaviæ, 1702). Cf. Turóczi-Trostler, "Keresztény..." [note 35], 204-205.

⁴⁶ Gabriel Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiæ, sive discursus ethici*... (Viennæ, 1680). Cf. Turóczi-Trostler, "Keresztény..." [note 35], 203-204.

work. Based on the illustrations' relation to the work three main types can be distinguished.

In the first type the addressee of the dedication is in the centre of the engraving; the contents of the work is not referred to. The interpretation and explanation of these imprese-like illustrations are usually included in the dedications. Thus, for example, the philosophical theses defended under the presidency of István Tarnóczy were dedicated to Ferenc Rákóczi I, elected Prince of Transylvania (1665);⁴⁷ the theses defended under the presidency of Gáspár Szarka were dedicated to György Szelepcsényi, archbishop of Esztergom (1671).⁴⁸ An emblematic illustration referring to the patron can be seen at the beginning of both publications.

The second type includes engravings decorating occasional prints which visualize the contents of the work for the occasion, or with an emblematic reference to the person or persons taking part in the event. The interpretation of the emblems is usually included in the work itself. The emblematic engravings decorating the speech made for the consecration of the church in Boldogasszony;⁴⁹ or for Pál Antal Esterházy's birthday;⁵⁰ or for the nameday of Sigismund Khevenhüller, Lower Austrian governor;⁵¹ or at the funeral of Ferenc Sigray;⁵² or for the wedding of Maria Theresia, belong to this type.⁵³

The third type includes engravings which illustrate in non-occasional publications the whole contents of the work, corresponding exactly with parts of the work or with a summarizing character. We can find such solutions in various publications, e.g., in a collection of biblical

⁴⁷ Stephanus Tarnóczy, *Philosophia, quam autoritate et consensu... Rectoris... cæterorumquæ Doctorum... facultatis Philosophicæ... publice propugnabit...* (Cassoviæ, 1665).

⁴⁸ Caspar Szarka, *Assertationes ex Universa Philosophia...* (Tyrnaviæ, 1671).

⁴⁹ Joannes Sebacher, *Der zum Vierten Erbaute Tempel Salamon...* (Nagyszombat, 1703).

⁵⁰ Æmilianus von Ludwigsdorff, *Der von dem Hauss seines Vatters in frembde Land... abreysende... Paulus Carolus Esterhazi de Galantha...* (Wien, [1720]).

⁵¹ Æmilianus von Ludwigsdorff, *Der durch einen schönen Ceder-Baum... Herrn Sigismundi Friderici... Khevenhüller... an Namens-Tag... Ehren-Rede...* ([Wien], 1724).

⁵² Domonkos Bánics, *Bé-takartatott, és ki-nyittatott könyv, az az... Sigray Ferencz... elnyugovása...* (Poson, 1727).

⁵³ Carolus Andreas Bel, *Oratio Solennis de auspiciatissimo connubio... dominæ Mariæ Theresiæ... ac... domini Francisci III. Ducis Lotharingiæ...* (Altorfii, [1736]).

maxims,⁵⁴ a moral-philosophical work,⁵⁵ a meditation handbook,⁵⁶ an introduction to the religious state of a region,⁵⁷ or to the political, geographical and historical situation of the country.⁵⁸

After the previous preliminary survey we can state that it would be too early to draw general conclusions on how much the Hungarian material is a representative part of the European emblem tradition. By all means, it seems certain from all this that the history of the genre in Hungary cannot be compared for example to the Italian or Dutch development. Apart from a few outstanding achievements it can only be a modest contribution to the history of reception of the European emblematics. The Hungarian material nevertheless reflects the general trends of the development of the genre: the main types of emblem books, the connecting genres, the motifs, the special emblem types, a significant part of the picture-text interferences were all known in Hungary, but all this occurred with considerable delay, in a reduced form, and with the strong dominance of the edifying, religious-moral aim and the verbal ingredients.

⁵⁴ Petrus Eisenberg, *Drey hundert, fünff und sechzig Auszerlesene, Güldene Lebens-Regeln: Ausz dem Büchlein Syrachs...* (Bartfeld, 1652).

⁵⁵ Georgius Berzeviczy, *Quattuor Columnæ Sapientium, quibus Regnorum incumbit tranquillitas...* (Tyrnaviæ, 1690).

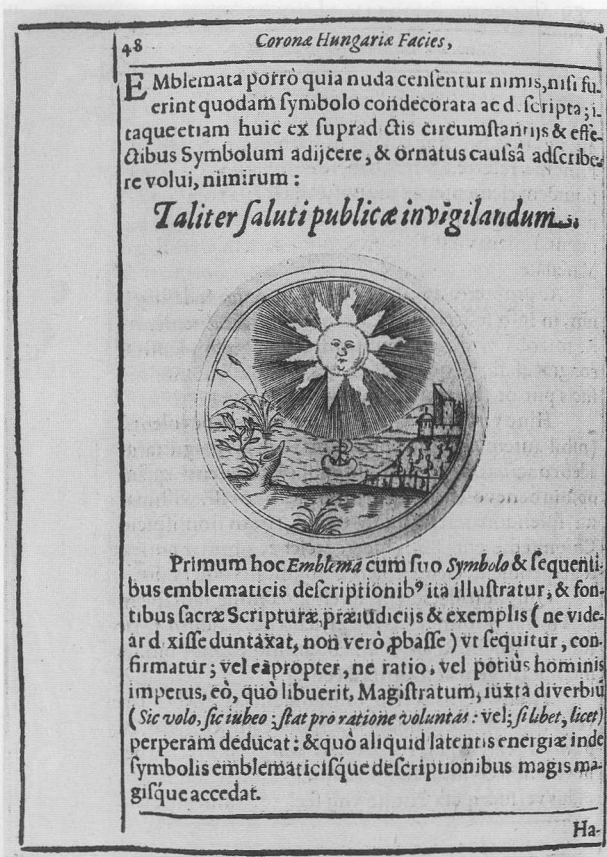
⁵⁶ Johannes Nádas, *Cor Amoris Dei* (Viennæ, 1743). Cf. Gábor Tüskés — Éva Knapp, "Cimlapillusztrációk egy 17. századi magyar jezsuita szerző aszketikus munkáiban". *Magyar Könyvszemle* 107 (1991): 230-257, esp. 239-240.

⁵⁷ Joannes Gyalogi, *Theophili Romano-Catholici, Hungari in Psalmos, quorum meditatione, amoris Divini ignis exardescit, elegiæ XII.* (Tyrnaviæ, 1726).

⁵⁸ Karl Gottlieb Windisch, *Politisch-geographisch- und historische Beschreibung des Königreichs Hungarn* (Pozsony, 1772).



1 Joannes Sambucus, *Arcus aliquot triumphal. et monimenta victor. classicae* (Antverpiæ, 1572). Arcus 4; “Neptun. Ultor”. (Original: 200 by 144 mm.)

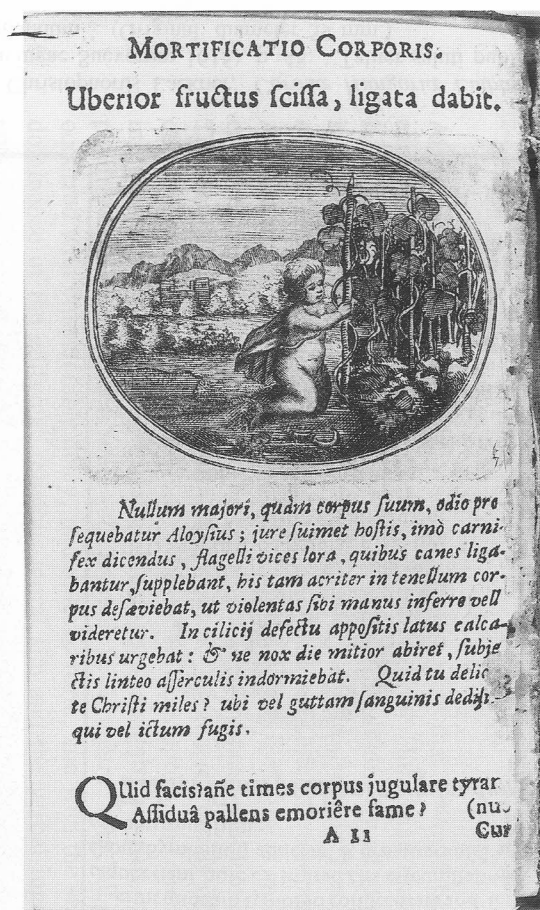


2 Christophorus Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae Emblematica* (Lavingae Suevorum 1615), p. 48; “Taliter saluti publicae invigilandum”. (Original: diameter 59 mm.)

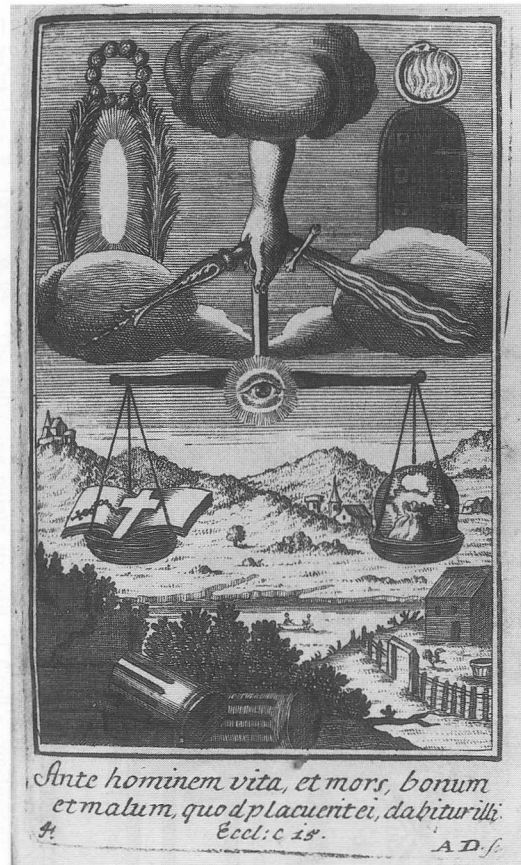
Biberger, (original: 283 by 183 mm.)



3 Antonius Sucquet (transl. György Derekay), *Az örök életnek uttya* (Nagyszombat 1678), Emblem 7; (Meditation on the life after death, original: 140 by 100 mm).



4 Gabriel Hevenesí, *S. Ephebus sive B. Aloysius Gonzaga* (Viennæ, 1690), p. A11 (original: 50 by 62 mm).



5 Johannes Rajcsányi, *Itinerarium Athei, ad veritatis viam deducti* (Viennae 1704), placed after p. 76; Emblem 4: (without motto, before chapter on the predestination), engraved by A. Dietell, (original: 106 by 64 mm).



6 Stephanus Kontor, *Encomium ad solennes exequitas... Pauli Estoras de Galantha* (Tyrnavæ, 1713), placed after p. A2: "Insignia facta probarunt", "Vis sva vis at potens erat", = "Delectabatur utriusque", engraved by J. U. Biberger, (original: 283 by 183 mm).



7 Benedictus Haeften (transl. Márton Jenei), *A keresztnék közönséges uta* (Pest, 1772), p. 11. Engraved by S. Zeller, original: 187 by 147 mm.



8 Johann Gerhard (transl. József Inczédi), *Liliomok völgye* (Posony, 1774); placed before p. 7 (A4): "Oh Boldogtalanság" [Infelicity], (original: 145 by 100 mm).