

COMPANION
TO
EMBLEM STUDIES

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The Emblem in Hungary

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On the European map of emblematics—at least, for an outside observer—Hungary is one of the last blank spaces.¹ In Hungary, too, as in most European countries, emblematics is integrated into a differentiated literary system, and has always had a close connection with definite ideological, religious, political, and other trends. Emblems and emblematic material were not only a mirror of cultural and literary developments but also an active and creative factor in the history of Hungarian culture and that literature.

In an international context one can summarize that Hungarian emblematics did not include theoreticians of European importance, even though theoretical reflection was continually present, and the influence of European authors can easily be shown. And although the relative dearth of theory was coupled with significant wealth of practice, in Hungary nobody who cultivated the emblem has been ranked with the great European authors, except for János Zsámboky (Sambucus). A main feature is the reception of European tendencies and the activity of second- and third-ranked authors. Cultivating the emblem for its own sake was pushed into the background by comparison with employing it in the various genres. A typological variety commensurate with that of southern and Western European countries is missing; the connection between emblematics in literature and in the visual arts has at best an occasional character. Emblematics in Hungary has no such definite profile as it does, for example, in the Netherlands; and it was less inventive. This can be explained by the fact that in Hungary emblematics did not appear as the result of an organic development as it did, for example, in Italy and in France, but only established itself in the wake of borrowings and in various indirect ways.

The literary use of emblematics in Hungary can be divided into three main types: (i) emblem books, *stricto sensu*; (ii) printed books with emble-

¹ This essay is based on the following book in which further details, references, illustrations, a list of emblem books and emblematic prints, and a comprehensive bibliography can be found: Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, *Emblematics in Hungary. A Study of the History of Symbolic Representation in Renaissance and Baroque Literature*. Frühe Neuzeit, vol. 86. Tübingen, 2003.

matic illustrations; and (iii) literary texts, in which the picture element is replaced by a textual description of something visual, which can be either a description or a quotation. A list of emblem books and emblematic prints includes a total of some 150 items from the period 1542-1826. The list shows that a significant number of the main types of emblem book, of the genres which incorporated or had contact with the emblem, and of the interaction between picture and text were known also in Hungary. But this surfaced with a certain time lag, in reduced form, and with a strong predominance of the edifying, religious-moral purpose and of the verbal component. The strong influence of the German language is conspicuous even at first glance. Among the engraving centers abroad Vienna had the chief role; beside it the engravers of Augsburg, Graz, Nuremberg, and Linz appear in the corpus. Among the foreign locations of printing presses Vienna stands in the first place, followed by Antwerp and Graz. Although it indicates the connection with a further important workshop of European emblematics. The breakdown by language shows a clear preponderance of Latin: about three-quarters of the publications were printed in Latin. Hence the presence of those Latin emblematic books here. The proportion of prints in Hungarian does not even amount to one-fifth of the total; those printed in German amount to one-half of those in Hungarian. Beside the constant presence of Latin, emblematic works in the vernacular begin to appear in the first third of the seventeenth century, first in German and later in Hungarian. Only from the middle of the eighteenth century do publications in the vernacular begin to take place of those in Latin.

Emblematics in Literary Theory

From the research that has been done so far on literary emblematics in Hungary it is clear that progress is being hampered not only by the inherent complexity of emblematic forms of expression and their protean nature but also by a persistent haziness about the theoretical basis involved. In the sixteenth century there was little theoretical writing about the emblem as such, except in prefaces to emblem books and the occasional remarks made in a volume of imprese. In poetic treatises of the time, imprese, emblems, and other symbol systems are treated as though there were little c

² See Tibor Klaniczay, "Marót Károly, *Amicitia* (Szeged 1939)." *Review of Egyetemes Philológiai Közöny* 70 (1947): 130-132.

no difference between them.³ These forms of expression had common roots and what was said about any one of them could easily be adapted to another, and this may explain why, in both in theory and practice, expressions such as hieroglyph, emblem, impresa, symbol, and *imago*, were used synonymously—or, rather, as blanket terms to cover them all.

Emblem theories in Hungary—as in the rest of Europe—were not pure theories but rather peculiar admixtures of theory and practice. Only seldom did theory have a direct impact upon practice, and practice was always more powerful than theory. To a significant extent, what theory there was described and systematized the practice of the time—a practice which remained a good deal more complex than any of the theories allows.⁴

In the sixteenth century, the emblem was considered to be a new form of expression, and its place in the theoretical scheme of things had not been fixed in classical or medieval works on rhetoric. This is one reason why its treatment in handbooks of rhetoric and in poetics varies as much as it does. What works of this nature do have to say about emblematic material can be divided into four main categories: (i) information consisting of a compilation of examples;⁵ (ii) implicit theoretical statements;⁶ (iii) explicit theories, often supported by examples;⁷ and (iv) negative attitudes.⁸ All four often appear in

³ See Dieter Sulzer, *Traktate zur Emblemantik. Studien zu einer Geschichte der Emblemtheorien*. Ed. Gerhard Sauder. St. Ingbert, 1992; Ludwig Volkman, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance. Hieroglyphik und Emblemantik in ihrer Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen*. Leipzig, 1923.

⁴ See Éva Knapp, “A jezsuita emblémaelmélet humanista kapcsolatai.” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 99 (1995): 595-611, especially 607-610.

⁵ See Georgius Beckher, *Orator extemporaneus*. Várad, 1656, II: *in specie*, 194-195, 198-199, 244-251, 268-270, 270-275, 299-305, 322, 382-383, 394-395, 401, 418, 421-422. See also Andor Tarnai, “A váradi Orator extemporaneus.” In *Klaniczay-emlékkönyv*. Ed. József Jankovics. Budapest, 1994, 365-378.

⁶ See Andreas Graff, *Methodica poetices praecepta in usum Scholae Solnensis edita*. Trencsén, 1642; Andreas Graff, *Lex mihi ars studium eloquentiae absolutum*, I. *Elemental*, II. *Systemate*, III. *Gymnasio*. Lócse, 1643; Guilielmus Bucanus, *Ecclesiastes: Seu De methodo concionandi tractatus duo*. Várad, 1650; Michael Buzinkai, *Institutionum rhetoricarum libri duo*. Patak, 1658.

⁷ See Philippus Ludovicus Piscator, *Artis poeticae praecepta methodice concinnata et perspicuis exemplis illustrata*. Gyulafehérvár, 1642, 144-147; Lucas a S. Edmundo (Moesch Lukács), *Vita poetica per omnes aetatum gradus deducta*. Nagyszombat, 1693; Stephanus Losontzi (Hányoki), *Artis poeticae subsidium*. Pozsony, 1769; see also István Kilián, “Figurengedichte im Spätbarock.” In *Laurus Austriaco-Hungarica. Literarische Gattungen und Politik in der zweiten Hälfte des 17.*

the same work and in different combinations. The theoretical remarks of emblem authors can be divided into two, chronologically separate groups: (i) comments directed fundamentally at the creative element of the emblem;⁹ (ii) theories orientated towards reception.¹⁰

The Hungarian material reflects, though on a small scale, the gamut of European theories—and this despite the fact that in Hungary no independent emblem and impresa treatises were generated, no translations made from European treatises, and no rhetorical or poetic work centered on the emblem is known to us. Research has also demonstrated that in Hungary emblem theorists, concerned as they were mainly with reception and reproduction, produced nothing radically different from what we find in the

Jahrhunderts. Ed. Béla Köpeczi and Andor Tarnai. Budapest and Vienna, 1988, 119-179, especially 137; Imre Bán, "Losontzi István poétikája és a kései magyar barokk költészet." *Studia Litteraria* 2 (1964): 29-42; Cyprianus Soarius (Soarez), *Tabulae rhetoricae Cypriani Soarii*. Lőcse, 1675, 77-78; Imre Bán, *Irodalomelméleti kézikönyvek Magyarországon a XVI-XVIII. században*. Budapest, 1971, 52; Cyprianus Soarius (Soarez), *Manuductio ad eloquentiam*. Nagyszombat, 1709, 193, 201-203; Antonius Hellmayr, "Institutio ad litteras humaniores, facili methodo ad usum communem discendi docendique accomodata, Dictata anno primo repetitionis in Hungaria Szakolczae inchoatae, nempe 1734. R.P. Antonio H . . . y professore latino." Budapest University Library MS F 33; see also Flóris Szabó, "A költészet tanításának elmélete és gyakorlata a jezsuiták győri tanárképzőjében (1742-1773)." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84 (1980): 469-485; Georgius Szerdahely, "Aesthetica sive doctrina boni gustus ex philosophia pulchre deducta in scientias et artes amoeniores, 1778." Budapest University Library MS F 20; i Szerdahely, *Aesthetica sive doctrina boni gustus*. Buda, 1778; Szerdahely, *Aesthetika avagy a jó ízlésnek . . . tudománya. Szerdahelyi György . . . után írta Szép János*. Buda, 1794. See also Béla Jánosi, *Szerdahely György Aesthetikája*. Budapest, 1914; István Margócsy, "Szerdahely György művészetelmélete." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 93 (1989): 1-33.

⁸ See Stephanus Kaprinai, *Institutio eloquentiae sacrae*. 2 vols. Kassa, 1758-1763, 1:38-41, 137-139, 593-620; 2:624-627.

⁹ See Johannes Sambucus (Zsámboky), *Emblemata*. Antwerp, 1564: "De emblemate," 3-7; Imre Téglásy, *A nyelv- és irodalomelmélet kezdetei Magyarországon. Sylvester Jánostól Zsámboky Jánosig*. Budapest, 1988, 92-117; Christophorus Lackner, *Florilegus Aegyptiacus in agro Sempronensi*. Keresztúr, 1617, A5/b-A7/b. See also József László Kovács, "Emblematika, hieroglifika, manierizmus. Fejezet Lackner Kristóf művészi világából, I-II." *Soproni Szemle* 25 (1971): 3-17, 97-108; Kovács, *Lackner Kristóf és kora (1571-1631)*. Sopron, 1972.

¹⁰ See Antonius Vanossi, *Idea sapientis theo-politici* Vienna, 1725, "Praefatio authoris ad lectorem"; Péter Bod, *Szent Irás értelmére vezérlő magyar Leksikon*. Kolozsvár, 1746; "Elöl-járó beszéd az Isten-félő jó indulatu Olvasóhoz" [Foreword to the kind reader], c3/b-d3/b.

rest of Europe, either in theory or practice. One feature they shared with their counterparts from beyond the borders—apart, that is, from uncertainties over terminology and the co existence of different points of view—was their inability to locate the emblem in any systematic account of literary devices and genres, and that, in their attempts to define it, they continued to confuse it with other forms of expression. Hungarian theorists continued also to regard the emblem not merely as a literary form but as one that had close connections with the understanding and communication of ideas and religion. The Hungarian material also charts the stages of the process by which the emblematic genre came to be fixed, specialized, and popular, and enables us to trace the penetration of this form of expression into other genres.

The direct influence of humanist and late humanist emblem theories was insignificant. What influence these may have brought to bear occurred indirectly, affecting in some measure creative practice and occasioning certain shifts in emphasis over time. Jesuit emblem theories, which grew rapidly from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, did have a clear impact. Some of the elements we find in humanist theory and practice, like the syncretist tendencies demonstrable in such South German Lutheran authors as Arndt, Gerhard, and Harsdörffer, appear alongside the ideas of Jesuit authors in the oeuvre of two Protestant writers on literary theory, Georgius Beckher and Ludwig Philipp Piscator. Historical and cultural factors apart, this strong Jesuit influence also ensured that the humanist world appeared in Hungarian emblematics only in a relatively weak and hidden fashion. At the same time the influence of so called “secondary emblematics,” developed by the reshaping of humanist theory and practice—together with those genres that were linked to specific occasions—is more marked in theoretical writing, in collections of examples, and in emblem practice. One further peculiarity is that the *argutia* theory of such seventeenth-century Jesuit emblematisers as Masen and Tesauro was never taken up and linked directly with emblematics by Hungarian literary theorists.

If we were to suggest that theories were of prime importance, then we would have to admit that Hungarian emblem practice, which is far richer than theory, can be understood only with difficulty or not at all. It is clear that, in Hungary, practice cannot be viewed merely as something dependent on theory. Theories may contain the foundations of a whole variety of practical applications, but the theories themselves never give us an accurate description of actual practice. The disquisitions we do find concerning

principles only deal with some of the questions that matter from the point of view of actual practice, and the influence of many of those theories made itself felt only indirectly, if at all. The Hungarian experience also illustrates the mutual influence of independent emblem theories, of remarks made about emblems in handbooks of rhetoric and poetics, and of practice. The channels of reception of both theory and practice do not always coincide: the real extent of any international influence can be assessed only from the manuscripts and printed editions of European works of rhetoric, poetics, and emblem theory that can be found in Hungarian archives and libraries, from editions produced in Hungary of European writers on the subject (some of them in Hungarian translation), and from the emblem books which were in use in Hungarian educational establishments.

The three main characteristics of emblem theory discourse in Hungary are as follows:

- (i) Prologues, remarks found in poetics and treatises on rhetoric, and lists of authors and works cited as models to be imitated do not—except in the case of Zsámboky—conform to humanist or late humanist criteria of *theoria*. They also betray a peculiarly limited terminology of emblem theory, and do not provide for any independent and coherent system of precepts.
- (ii) The humanist view of the emblem, which influenced Renaissance theories of genre, can be found in Hungary, but it never played a leading role here.
- (iii) From the mid-seventeenth century, theoretical writing on the subject came under the sway of the Jesuit-inspired functional and normative view of the emblem, designed to direct attention to reception and production.

Watching how these theories took shape over time, we can also see that, in the second half of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth, the influence of mannerism was predominant. The influence of the writings of some European authors on emblematics (Alciati, Valeriano, Giovio, and Achille Bocchi) can be traced. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ideas of Jesuit theorists (Caussin, Masen, Pietrasanta, and Balbin), which would in turn help to shape those of the later humanists (Aresi and Picinelli), become mixed up with other influences. The rhetorical handbooks published at this time in Hungary indicate the penetration of emblematic modes of expression into the area of prose writing, and they preserve the new formal and functional variants and help turn them into the prevailing orthodoxy. We can find this

tendency not only in the “double view” that appears in emblem theory at this time, but also in the writings and translations undertaken by Hungarian aristocrats who were also devotees of literature. In the private libraries of the aristocrats there appeared, alongside humanist emblematics, the late humanist and Jesuit emblem books of the seventeenth century. This is the liveliest period of emblematic activity in Hungary, when outside influences were felt most strongly and were sought most actively.

The eighteenth century is characterized above all by passive reception and belated adaptation. One reason for this must have been the effectiveness of Jesuit efforts at overregulation. But it also has to do with the fact that the theoretical framework of concepts such as *imago*, symbol, and emblem slowly disintegrated and evolved, leading to a decline in the vogue for emblems in Hungary as well as in the rest of Europe.

Emblematic Mirror of the Prince (Fürstenspiegel) and Associated Material

Works of the type known as the mirror of the prince, as well as collections of advice for rulers, usually sprang up in Europe in places where courtly culture was especially highly developed. The increase in the number of such productions in Hungary at the beginning of the seventeenth century went hand in hand with a transformation in their quality. By the eighteenth century the fashion for such works had begun to die out—or, rather, had grown in a different direction. There are examples of works originally written in Hungary and of others that were translated into Hungarian; most of those that are of Hungarian origin are associated with Protestant political thinking or with bourgeois and aristocratic ideology.¹¹

The first Hungarian work in the tradition of the mirror of the prince that can be considered emblematic is by Kristóf Lackner. It was published in 1615, a mere three years after the first seventeenth-century example of the genre, the translation of Antonio de Guevara by György Szepsi Korotz.¹² Dedicated to Mathias II, King of Hungary, and to the noble György Thurzó, whom it praises as responsible for bringing peace to the country, it has an engraving showing the front and rear views of an emblematic crown closely

¹¹ See Emil Hargittay, “A fejedelmi tükör műfaja a 17. századi Magyarországon és Erdélyben.” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 99 (1995): 441-443.

¹² See Christoph Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae Emblematica descriptio*. Lauingen, 1615.

modeled on the Holy Crown of Hungary. Both engravings have symbolic motifs slotted into the cloisonné enamel panels decorating the crown and its plinth. The 32 pictures, which were also printed separately by Lackner, come complete with mottos and symbolize the virtues of an ideal ruler. Their meanings are explained by classical, biblical, and humanist quotations as well as by prose *subscriptions* supplemented by *exempla*. Lackner also provides a detailed description of the gems decorating the crown, thus furnishing his reader with a symbolic mineralogy as well as a set of moral precepts.

One can assign to this same group another work by Lackner, the *Maiestatis Hungariae aquila* (Keresztur 1617), which consists of an emblematic representation of the royal virtues of the kings of Hungary. On the copper engraving that follows the title page, there is an emblem showing an eagle with the coats of arms of Hungary and of the city of Sopron and, beneath these, the much smaller coat of arms of Demeter Náprágyi, archbishop of Kalocsa and administrator of the bishopric of Győr. The motif of the eagle on the town gate of Sopron was Lackner's idea; it was also he who designed and engraved the illustration in the book. The first chapter of the work explains the coat of arms of the dedicatee, Náprágyi; the rest consists of an interpretation of the emblem at the beginning of the book and of the symbolic meaning of the other two coats of arms.

The most important writer in Hungary to work in this genre of the emblematic mirror of the prince during the second half of the seventeenth century was János Weber, a physician and apothecary by training and, later, chief justice of Eperjes (Prešov). A talented man-of-affairs, he published his Latin and German work *Janus bifrons* at Lőcse (Levoča) in 1662, on the occasion of his inauguration as chief justice.¹³ The title page is decorated with nine emblems on the themes of the power of the ruler and city government. The edition survives in two states (or variants), each with a different dedication. One is dedicated to Count Johann Rottal, administrator of Hungarian affairs in Vienna, and the other to György Szelepcsényi, archbishop of Esztergom. Of the three further engravings in the first variant, one shows the author, the second the city of Eperjes (Prešov), and the third the flag-bedecked interior of the Lutheran church in Eperjes (Prešov), filled with a festive crowd of people. The second variant has another engraving following the title page, and this one bears the legend "*Felicitas Principum*"

¹³ Emil Hargittay, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Ungarn. Johann Weber (1612-1684)." *Berliner Beiträge zur Hungarologie* 7 (1994): 77-94.

[Felicity of princes]; on each of the two columns supporting the structure are thirteen symbolic representations of royal virtues. This variant also boasts a further engraving depicting the *exemplum* of the *asinus vulgi* with, running beneath it, a Latin epigram containing the moral of the story for the ruler and a German proverb. An appendix contains four more emblems, each with a six-line epigram on the subject of the author's children.

After Weber had been elected chief justice of Eperjes (Prešov) for a fourth time, he again turned to the genre of the mirror of the prince. The bilingual *Lectio principum* published on this occasion at Lőcse (Levoča) in 1655 has also come down to us in two variants: one without pictures and the other a deluxe version illustrated with four engravings, some of them familiar to readers of the earlier work. In the deluxe version, the ornamental title page has as its background a portrait of Emperor Leopold together with one of the author and a representation of his coat of arms, just as we find it in the *Janus bifrons*. On page 3, which has the inscription "Sic itur ad astra" [This is the way to the stars] there is an illustration of Weber's transfiguration in *impresa* style, showing him rising into the air on an allegorical carriage, while page 4 is identical to the "Felicitas principum" [Felicity of princes] from the earlier work, with its 26 royal virtues. The reuse of these two engravings suggests that the two works really belong together, and the identical pages show the enduring taste for emblematic modes of expression.

Weber's third work combines the genre of the emblematic mirror of the prince and the symbolic interpretation of the coat of arms granted to the city of Eperjes in 1588 by Ferdinand I.¹⁴ On the first page of this 430-page work, published in 1668 on the occasion of his resigning his judicial office and dedicated to the 45 trade guilds of the city, is an engraved depiction of the city's coat of arms, set above a townscape of Eperjes (Prešov). The eight chapters that follow interpret the elements of that coat of arms.¹⁵ According to Weber, each of the symbolic figures and objects in the coat of arms symbolizes one of the virtues essential to a ruler. As in his two earlier works—to which he himself makes reference—the emblems only serve Weber as a pretext to develop his ideas about the personality of the ruler and the governance of a country or a city. A further similarity is that here, too, Weber develops ideas concerning the prince and the realm through a moral and political interpretation of parts of the human body.

¹⁴ *Wappen der königl. Freyen Stadt Epperies*. . . . Lőcse, 1668.

¹⁵ See Orsolya Bubryák, "Weber János Wappen der königlichen freyen Stadt Epperies címü müvéröl." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 99 (1995): 335-343.

Apart from these three works by Weber, there is a courtly, ethical work published in 1674 in Latin and Hungarian by István Csáky.¹⁶ The reason for including here a work like this, is that, in addition to many historical examples and references, it contains no fewer than 40 descriptions of textual emblems. The most frequently quoted emblem author, among the many cited, is Jakob Masen, and there are 31 references to his *Speculum*. The work contains three references to Alciato, two to Valeriano and Typotius, and one each to Achille Bocchi and Saavedra Fajardo. This translation is significant, above all, because it is one of the first to express in Hungarian some mid-seventeenth-century Jesuit political theories and, with along them, the humanist and Jesuit emblematic tradition. Two editions of the work appeared in Hungary and the existence of several manuscript copies as well attest to its being used as a reference work in schools and universities. The prime purpose of citing and describing emblems here is to secure the attention of the reader and to justify the propositions advanced, making, at the same time, abstract discussions visual and thus helping to fix them in the memory.

Characteristic of the late arrival in Hungary of both the genre of the mirror of the prince and emblematics proper is the fact that the most widely known and influential European compilation of political emblematics, the *Idea principis christiano-politici* of Diego Saavedra Fajardo (Munich 1640), was not published in Hungary until more than 100 years after the appearance of the first Latin edition. Two eighteenth-century Hungarian editions of the work were published by J.G. Mauss in Pest, in 1748 and 1759 respectively. The earlier edition was printed by Schilgin in Vienna and the later one in Buda, by Landerer. Of the 1748 edition two variants are known: one paid for by Nicholas Pálffy of Erdöd and the other by Leopold Nádasdi. The latter variant was published as an appendix to a doctoral dissertation. The publication of the 1759 edition was financed by György Fekete of Galánta. Save for a few minor discrepancies, the two editions are identical both with each other and with the earlier Latin editions: each contains 101 emblems and prose texts as well as a further emblem composed to mark the death of Saavedra Fajardo himself. The pictures were newly engraved, here and there in a somewhat simplified manner, the *picturae* found in some of the earlier editions, and the images are accordingly reversed.

¹⁶ See István Csáky, *Politica philosophiai Okoskodás-szerint való rendes életnek példája* (1664-1674). Ed. Emil Hargittay. Budapest, 1992.

Also connected with the emblematic mirror of the prince tradition are the symbolic advice collections intended for rulers. An early example of this small subgenre comes in the form of a congratulatory publication of 1618, compiled by the Jesuits living in the Nagyszombat (Trnava) college to mark the coronation of Ferdinand II.¹⁷ The work lists the kings of Hungary from St. Stephen down to the beginning of the seventeenth century and then proceeds to offer advice, based on the symbolic representation of the kings involved, about how best to rule. At the center of each symbol stands a king. After naming the ruler, the *inscriptio* refers to the moral lesson in question and this is then followed by an *explicatio* in distiches. A pioneering example of publications of this kind is the *Symbola imperatorum* of Nicolaus Reusner, of which the Hungarian edition was published more than 150 years after the first edition appeared in 1588.¹⁸

The Buda edition follows exactly the tripartite division of the original and its text, and was published on the occasion of János Sigray's doctoral examination in philosophy.

The Emblem in Manuals of Philosophy, Politics, and Ethics

One area of didactic literature which can be relatively well defined consists of the compilation of manuals dealing with philosophical, political, and ethical questions affecting everyday life. Quite a number of works of this kind in the early modern period availed themselves of the possibilities offered by emblematic modes of expression. Early examples from Hungary would include the two works by Kristóf Lackner providing emblematic illustrations of Christian virtues—or, more precisely, of those virtues necessary for the successful pursuit of a war. The engraving on the verso of the title page of the *Emblematischer Tugend Spiegel* (Frankfurt 1618) depicts all the emblems representing individual virtues, while the eight further engravings in the work proper depict them individually, with each accompanied by a prose *explicatio* of varying length, consisting of a series of *exempla*. The *Galea Martis* (Tübingen 1625) comes divided into seven so called *classes*, with a oval-shaped emblem at the end of each. The central core of the interpretations consists of many quotations, maxims, and aphorisms taken from classical, medieval, and humanist authors, and Lackner also refers several times to European emblematic literature and to his own earlier work. He

¹⁷ *Apparatus regius*. . . . Vienna, 1618.

¹⁸ *Symbola imperatorum*. . . . Buda, 1761.

dedicated the work to Ferdinand II but wrote it, according to a note on the title page, in the public interest and, to judge by what is said in its two prologues, it was intended equally for civilians and soldiers.

In Hungary, most authors of emblematic manuals on virtue were Jesuits and thus represented the tradition of Christian stoicism. Gábor Hevenesi compiled his *Succus prudentiae*, which was twice printed (at Vienna in 1690 and at Nagyszombat [Trnava] in 1701), as an emblematic compendium of Christian wisdom and virtue, supported by quotations and paraphrases of Seneca. The work consists of 50 chapters and at the head of each there is a motto, beneath which comes an allegorical-symbolic engraving, followed by a moralizing thesis and a detailed interpretation of that thesis. Written in a spirit similar to that of Hevenesi, the *Meteorologia* of Gábor Szerdahelyi, published at Nagyszombat (Trnava) in 1702, presents the author's philosophical and political ideas, starting with questions concerning natural phenomena. The detailed responses to each *questio*, many of which include mention of recent advances in the natural sciences, conclude with a "conclusio politica" which is always headed by a picture that has both a motto and a symbolic meaning. In addition to the double engraving on the frontispiece, there are a total of 83 emblematic pictures in the book, by various artists. The work, although author attribution is doubtful, seems related to the Jesuit Reinzer's *Meteorologia*.

Christian virtues and the idea of the immortality of the soul are central to a manual compiled by Ferenc Partinger, an Austrian Jesuit who had worked for years in the Jesuit mission at Nagyszeben (Sibiu). Of this work, published at Nagyszombat (Trnava) as *Ratio status animae* in 1715 and several times later, we do not have a copy with engravings, but we do have the emblematically illustrated manuscript, which served as the basis for those printed editions.¹⁹ This four-part treatise of more than 500 pages develops its message over the course of 40 chapters, "symbolice, ascetice et polemice." Each chapter has a full-page emblem linked with it, consisting of motto, *pictura* and biblical quotation; the emblems encapsulate the main idea of the chapter concerned. Most of the pictorial motifs are known to us from other emblem books; the links between the three component parts seem, however, to be the work of the author.

¹⁹ See [Franciscus Partinger], "Ratio status animae immortalis, corona" (seventeenth century), Budapest University Library MS A 155.

The *Idea sapientis* (1724) of Antal Vanossi,²⁰ a man of Italian origin who had worked for some time in Hungary, can be seen as one of the signal achievements of eighteenth-century Jesuit emblematics, continuing as it does the traditions of the previous century. The tripartite emblematic structure “develops the material of Aristotle’s ethics and politics . . . into a manual of Christian politics and moral philosophy, and does so in the spirit of Saavedra and with the technique of Hevenesi.”²¹ According to the prologue addressed to the reader, the sources used here include Lipsius and Barclay. Vanossi summarizes the main religious and moral laws and rules governing human existence and groups them into ethics, questions of good social and political order, and family life. In each category, he asks a number of questions, and the answers he gives (“Doctrina”) are introduced by emblems consisting of motto, *pictura*, and four-line epigram. In addition to its emblematic frontispiece, the work contains a total of 51 emblems. The pictorial matter and the social views canvassed in this compilation reflect a characteristically seventeenth-century way of thinking. Yet this was one of the most popular emblem books of the eighteenth century. The Vienna editions of 1724, 1725, and 1727 were followed by its publication at Nagyszombat (Trnava), first in installments and then in its entirety, and of this latter, complete edition we have no fewer than three variants. It was later published in 1751 at Győr and Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and in 1766 once again in Nagyszombat (Trnava). The engravings to these Hungarian editions are the work of the well-known Nagyszombat (Trnava) engraver, Joseph Jäger, who simplified somewhat those he found in the Vienna editions and adapted them for an octavo format.

Emblematic Collections of Meditations and Prayers, and Theological Tracts

Emblem books with religious content amount in Europe, on average, to about one-third of the entire emblem output. In Hungary that ratio is somewhat higher, and yet some of the specialized types of emblem we find in the rest of Europe are missing. When one looks closely at publications in this category, it quickly becomes apparent that works by Hungarian

²⁰ See Daly and Dimler, *The Jesuit Series*. Part 5, forthcoming, J.1440-1446.

²¹ See József Turóczi-Trostler, “Keresztény Seneca: Fejezetek a kései humanizmus európai és magyarországi történetéből.” In his *Magyar irodalom—világirodalom: Tanulmányok*. Budapest, 1961, 2:205.

authors are in the minority and that most of the prints produced were translations and re-editions of originals published outside Hungary.

A typical, early example of Jesuit emblematics is the collection of meditations by Mátyás Hajnal, published first in 1629 with eighteen pictures and then in 1642 with 20.²² The model for the engravings organized around a heart motif, particularly prevalent in religious emblematics, was taken from the well-known Heart-of-Jesus series by Antoine Wierix;²³ and Hajnal was also familiar with the Luzvic-Binet collection of meditations. In the 1642 edition, those copper engravings were replaced by woodcuts, which later became separated from the work and appeared independently as illustrations to other publications, among them the *Spiritual exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola.²⁴ In this development, the traditional structure of the emblem becomes attenuated: as happens with the Luzvic-Binet edition, the motto of the pictures is missing, and a six-line poem beneath the picture serves to sum up the meaning of the illustrative material. The meaning of the pictures becomes a substitute for the Ignatian *compositio loci* and is summarized in a poem and then developed in prose meditations, both picture and epigram serving as integral elements in the Jesuit program of formal meditation.²⁵

One example of Jesuit exemplum collections is found in Gábor Hevenesi's *Calendarium Marianum*, published at Graz in 1685 and distributed as a present (*xenium*) to members of the Graz congregation of Our Lady of the Annunciation. For each day of the twelve months of the year Hevenesi gives a story of the ways Mary has helped men and women; and, in addition to the emblematic frontispiece, there is a picture for each month.

A good example of the emblematic illustrations to Jesuit prayer books is Pál Baranyi's *Viaticum spirituale* (Kolozsvár 1695). As well as the ornamental title page with its heraldic engraving, there are 21 emblems, mostly of them linked to the excerpts he reproduces from prayers. Baranyi's interest in emblematics is further attested by the fact that, in the dedication

²² *Az Jesus szivet szerető sziveknek aytatosságára . . . Könyvechke*. Vienna 1629 and Pozsony 1642. See Daly and Dimler, *The Jesuit Series*. Part 4, J.926.

²³ See Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ie. Première partie*. Brussels, 1978, 68-79.

²⁴ Ignatius de Loyola, *Exercitia spiritualia*. Nagyszombat 1679.

²⁵ Mátyás Hajnal, *Az Jesus szivet szerető sziveknek aytatosságára . . . könyvechke* (Vienna, 1629). Facsimile ed. Béla Holl. Budapest, 1992, 16. See Daly and Dimler, *The Jesuit Series*. Part 4, J.929; see also Ferenc Zemplényi, "Egy jezsuita emblemátikus: Hajnal Mátyás." In *A reneszánsz szimbolizmus. Ikonográfia, emblemátika, Shakespeare*. Ed. Tibor Fabiny, József Pál, and György Endre Szönyi. Szeged, 1987, 203-214.

of another collection of meditations and prayers, the *Lelki paradicsom* (n.p., 1700), he refers to one of Alciato's emblems.

Only one emblematic collection of meditations from a Lutheran author in Hungary is known to us. This, the Latin and German *Ornithica sacra* (Hall in Saxony 1682) of Johannes Sinapius, a Lutheran pastor from Trencsén (Trenčín) living in exile in Germany, is built around one of the favorite sources of motifs for emblematics: the world of birds. On the title page, Sinapius claims to have composed this emblematic ornithology—"spiritual bird catching" ("geistliche Vogel-Beitze") as he puts it—and dedicated it to the Magdeburg Margraves Louis and Philip. Within the covers of this volume are woodcut pictures of a total of 26 birds with supposed symbolic meanings; the pictures are accompanied by prose explanations of various lengths, with the Christian virtue concerned placed at their center. In these compositions, which he christens "allegoria," the name of the bird given above the picture is always in German, with the equivalent supplied in other languages, including Hungarian, beneath. In every case, this is then followed by the "Rede" [speech], the "Naturale," the "Cordiale," and the "Speciale" *explicatio*, each illustrated by a number of stories, quotations, and *adagia*. Some of the birds receive two *explicationes*.

The characteristically Jesuit strain of emblematic theological tracts is best represented by János Rajcsányi's compilation *Itinerarium Athei*, published first in Vienna in 1704, later at Passau in 1710, and at Nagyszombat (Trnava) in 1737. This work, neo-Stoic in character and mildly apologetic in tone, consists of seven dialogues charting the conversion of an atheist, with an emblem for each dialogue. The focus of the dialogues is provided by ideas about the existence of God, Providence, fate, predestination, the immortality of the soul, Hell, and the Resurrection. The emblematic pictures that preface each of the dialogues, most of which come without a motto, summarize the main points of the dialogue by means of a biblical quotation used as the *inscriptio*.

If we now turn to authors from outside Hungary, pride of place must go to one of the most popular Jesuit writers of seventeenth-century devotional literature and a man who repeatedly broke through denominational boundaries, Jeremias Drexel. About one-quarter of Drexel's entire output—put, that is to say, some ten works—can be counted as emblematic literature.²⁶ To take just one example, his most popular work,

²⁶ Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *The Jesuit Series*. Part 1: Montreal, 1997; part 2: Toronto, 2000.

the *De aeternitate considerationes* (Munich 1620), went through a total of nearly 100 editions, half of them in the vernacular. Among these was Gergely Szentgyörgyi's Hungarian translation.²⁷ This tract, rewritten from sermons for the Advent season, consists of a total of nine meditations, each of them divided into three parts. While the Hungarian translation does not contain illustrations, the majority of editions have, for each of the meditations, a copper engraving which serves as the basis for the meditation that follows.

A further type of emblematic Jesuit meditation is represented by Antoine Sucquet's collection published at Antwerp in 1620 and then in an abridged translation by György Derekey.²⁸ This is a work consisting of 32 meditations on how to attain life everlasting; an engraving precedes each of the meditations. Derekey's version of Sucquet's text is in a much shorter and only translates the prayers, the supplications with which the meditations conclude, and the textual interpretations of the pictures, the anonymous engraver doing his best to copy faithfully the Bolswert engravings that served as models for each of his 32 illustrations.

Also published in an abridged translation, like Sucquet's work, but this time with a much greater time lapse between its original appearance and its first Hungarian edition, was Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* (first published at Antwerp in 1624). In 1753, an abridged German translation of the *Pia desideria*, the work of Johann Baptist Huttner, was published at Buda as *Gottseeliger Begierden sechs erste Elegien*. The Buda edition gives the elegies in parallel with biblical quotations in both Latin and German, but the book has no pictures and it remains impossible to know why it only contains the first six elegies. This version constitutes a significant mutilation of the original and has, to a great extent, lost its emblematic character.

Dietmar Peil has shown that the first emblematic edition of Johann Arndt's *Vom wahren Christentum*, a work published several times in Hungary, was printed at Riga in 1678/9, more than 50 years after the death of its author.²⁹ One feature of the reception of Arndt in Hungary is that neither the 1708 edition printed at Lőcse (Levoča) by Kata Szidónia Petrőczy

²⁷ *Elmélkedések az örökkévalóságról*. Pozsony 1643. See also Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *The Jesuit Series*, J.232.

²⁸ *Az örök életnek utya*. Nagyszombat, 1678. See also Daly and Dimler, J.1429.

²⁹ See Dietmar Peil, *Zur "angewandten Emblemantik" in protestantischen Erbauungsbüchern: Dilherr-Arndt-Francisci-Scriver*. Heidelberg, 1978, 46-62; see also Peil, "Zur Illustrationsgeschichte von Johann Arndts 'Vom wahren Christentum', Mit Bibliographie." *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 18 (1977): 963-1066.

(*Jo illattal füstölgő Igaz sziv*), nor the 1741 edition with its false claim to have been printed in Sopron is illustrated. By contrast, the second edition, edited by Mátyás Bél (*Kerestyéni jószágos tselekedetekkel tellyes Paraditsom kertetske*, Nuremberg 1754), of István Huszti's translation of another popular collection of prayers by Arndt, the *Paradiesgärtlein*, first printed at Magdeburg in 1612, has six randomly distributed emblematic illustrations. Above the *pictura* in an oval frame is a Latin motto and below it, in a separate cartouche, a six-line verse *inscriptio* in Hungarian. The role of the emblems here, apart from signalling structural divisions in the work is to stress and summarize the central idea of the relevant part of the text.

A further example of the Hungarian reception of emblematically illustrated Protestant collections of meditations is József Inczédi's Hungarian translation of Johann Gerhard's *Quinquaginta meditationes sacrae* (Jena 1606), a work published many times during the seventeenth century.³⁰ In place of the 51 engravings usually found in illustrated editions of the work, there are just the ten symbolic pictures in the Hungarian edition. The translator has reproduced the texts of the meditations in rhymed prose and added to a few selected sections of text a picture summing up the main theme of that section. The pictures are surmounted by a framed motto and beneath is printed a four-line verse explanation.³¹ These are all engravings of familiar emblematic motifs but were made quite independently of the earlier, emblematically illustrated, German editions of the work.³²

One can also find different types of emblematic expression in other genres of religious literature, such as the school drama, and the sermon. The *drama symbolicum* and the purely emblematic declamation are relatively rare, while plays which are effectively generic hybrids in this respect (the so called *drama mixtum*) are relatively common as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. The greatest percentage of *drama fictum* was staged in the second half of the seventeenth century, the so called Golden Age of emblematics in Hungary. Symbolic elements affecting the whole of a play are best seen in the plot summaries and the action on stage, while performances tended to acquire a symbolic aura when the scenery had a direct bearing on the way the play was interpreted.

³⁰ *Liliomok völgye*. Szeben, 1745.

³¹ See Zoltán Trócsányi, "Egy illusztrált protestáns barokk könyv. Az első magyar makáma." In Zoltán Trócsányi, *A történelem árnyékában*. Budapest, 1936, 99-104.

³² See Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Emblematy w drukach polskich i polski dotyczacych XVI-XVIII. wieku. Bibliografia*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, and Łódź, 1981, nos. 55, 56.

The emblem examples cited by some Hungarian orators indicate that they were familiar with what Henricus Engelgrave, one of the most popular and influential seventeenth-century authors of emblem sermons, had to say on the matter, and Engelgrave's works are recorded in many Hungarian libraries at this period. An analysis of the terms used in sermons for emblematic forms of expression, make it possible to conclude both that the various terms used reflect a familiarity with European emblematic practice and a penchant for it, and that sermon literature in Hungary shows evidence of a close assimilation of that practice. For the sermon writer there are two basic forms of emblematic material: the sermon structured around a single emblematic picture (the *emblematic sermon*) and the *use of emblematic motifs*. Both forms were common in sermons at the time also in Hungary.

Emblematics in Laudatory Writing

A feature of Hungarian emblematic literature is the high proportion of printed material produced for special occasions and fulfilling what is basically a laudatory function. The genres and forms of expression encountered most often are laudatory orations, poems, and biographies, as well as emblem (or symbol) series of different kinds and lengths. A special place among authors of Neo-Latin laudatory writings must be reserved for János Bocatius (Bock), whose epigrams, written for various occasions, were later worked up into a book.³³ One-third of the six-line Bocatius poems, addressed to a variety of individuals and totaling 187 in all, are—unlike the author's earlier collections of poems—emblematic in structure. Fifty-one epigrams were published with a woodcut framed by a motto; eleven with a picture without a motto; and three more without a picture but with a motto (*sententia*). The woodcuts were originally (been) made for other purposes: for calendars and books of fortunetelling. The mottos, and also sometimes the pictures, are closely linked with the epigrams and usually refer to the name, office, personal qualities, or character of the addressee. The use of emblematic forms stresses the moral and didactic purpose of the composition and also the mythological allusions.

Nearly one-third of panegyric writings with emblematic elements consists of printed material dealing with death and funerals. A good example

³³ *Hexasticha votiva*. Bártfa, 1612.

is the publication of the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) Jesuits to mark the death of the Transylvanian noblewoman Katalin Perényi.³⁴ It has seventeen verse *elogia* praising her family, her life, and her virtue. Each *elogium* begins with a standard emblem (*symbolum*) complete with *inscriptio*, and *subscriptio* explanation, and a biblical quotation that cuts into the picture. There then follow the *elogia*, often several pages in length, to some of which is appended an ode or picture poem. The ornamental title page depicts an emblematic coat of arms on which some of the emblems that later appear in the text are reproduced in smaller format. At the end of the work, which is in Latin, there is a Hungarian “explanation of the pictures above” (“A fellyül-le-képzett példáknak magyarázattya”).

A second group of laudatory writings takes the form of emblematic publications praising monarchs and generals involved in the military and political events that shaped the image of a particular monarch. The earliest example is the little-known work by János Zsámboky celebrating the victor of the Battle of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, with sixteen emblems depicting his military deeds and virtues.³⁵ The work is a peculiar mixture of an emblem book, a chronicle of a military victory, and an imagined triumph in the Roman style. The depictions form, so to speak, a transition between the emblematic picture, the humanist architectural treatise, and the kinds of illustration normally associated with travelogues, the principal motifs being triumphal arches and other features familiar to us from ephemeral triumphal art. On the page facing the picture is a text consisting of motto and epigram, together with the inscriptions on the triumphal arches and memorial columns. In addition, in his introduction, Zsámboky gives us a separate explanation of the pictorial components of the compositions.³⁶ Eighteenth-century examples of works of this kind include Imre Csáky's series of 44 text emblems glorifying Prince Eugene of Savoy on the occasion of his victory at Zenta (Senta),³⁷ and three compilations by the Pauline monk

³⁴ *Brachy ton areton*. . . . Kolozsvár, 1693. See also Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *The Jesuit Series*, J.119.

³⁵ *Arcus aliquot triumphal*. Antwerp, 1572.

³⁶ See Francisco J. Pizarro Gómez, “Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero. A propósito del *Arcus aliquot triumphal et Monumenta victor classicae* de Joannes Sambucus.” In *Fourth International Emblem Conference, U. Leuven, 18-23 August 1996*. Abstracts. Louvain, 1996, 132-133.

³⁷ *Collata mutuo*. Nagyszombat, 1716.

Hermann Schmauchler consisting of a number of textual emblems glorifying the political and military achievements of Charles III (VI).³⁸

A third category involves emblematic prints published to mark an individual's assumption of, or retirement from certain civic and ecclesiastical office. We have one such compilation, for example, by the noble János Pálffy for the coronation of Maria Theresa.³⁹ It shows a triumphal arch made of sweetmeats for the coronation itself, on which the royal virtues of *Clementia* and *Justitia* are each depicted by four emblems and the hereditary provinces that now fell under the rule of Maria Theresa by twelve emblems. Pálffy's interest in emblematics is further demonstrated by the fact that, on his election as overlord, a publication appeared containing descriptions of the twelve emblems on the triumphal arch made of sweetmeats for that occasion and illustrating the life of the ruler and the virtues expected of him in office.⁴⁰

In Hungary, all the authors of laudatory emblematic material produced in connection with the conferring of academic distinctions (the so called *libri graduales*) were Jesuits. The man behind a publication congratulating three new holders of bachelors' degrees from the university of Graz, was Gábor Szerdahelyi.⁴¹ This work glorifies the victory of Leopold I over the Turks the previous year and links it with the miraculous shedding of tears by the Máriapócs icon, which the Emperor had had transferred to Vienna in 1697.⁴² Of the five full-page engravings in the work, the first depicts the Máriapócs devotional picture complete with laurel wreath and military insignia; the frame supporting the laurel wreath also has miniature versions of the four other emblematic illustrations found elsewhere in the work, each with its accompanying motto. All five engravings are followed by short prose interpretations and a laudatory ode rich in mythological and symbolic elements.

A quite separate category would include congratulatory publications produced to mark significant occasions in the life of a family: a birth or

³⁸ *Stupenda solis miracula!* Vienna, 1712; *Gaudiosa divinae Benedictionis corona*. . . . Vienna, 1716; *Omne trinum perfectum*. . . . Vienna, 1721.

³⁹ *Inscriptiones*. Pozsony, 1741.

⁴⁰ *Symbola quibus exornatus*. N.p., 1741.

⁴¹ *Laureatae lacrymae*. Graz, 1698.

⁴² See also the sermon- and emblem-collection *Abgetrocknete Thränen*. Nuremberg-Frankfurt, 1698. See Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, "Abgetrocknete Thränen. Elemente in der Wiener Verehrung des marianischen Gnadenbildes von Pötsch im Jahre 1698." *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1998): 93-104.

birthday, a saint's day, or a wedding. Most of these were intended as a record of the event, but some may also have had a further representational purpose. Series of this kind, with a number of textual descriptions of emblems, were composed, for example, on the occasion of the long-awaited birth of Crown Prince Leopold.⁴³ The terms "exhibitus" and "exhibitum," which figure in the headings, refer to the fact that the series was also publicly exhibited in the colleges at Szeben (Sibiu) and Pozsony (Bratislava). Common topics for such emblems are the praise of parents and the qualities expected in the newborn child, his future career, and the glory that would eventually come his way. Similar compilations were produced for the birth of József Illésházy⁴⁴ and the birthday of Pál Antal Eszterházy.⁴⁵ In the former, the terms "rota" and "figura" appear for the text emblems; the latter includes the interpretation of a single allegorical engraving.

A further category of laudatory composition consists of publications printed for jubilees of the Church and anniversaries associated with religious orders. An example of a production of this kind is János Gyalogi's compilation to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Jesuit mission at Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş).⁴⁶ Here we have twelve symbols, structured in the usual way to include picture inscription and description, lemma, and *explicatio* in distiches.

The emblematic biographies of Jesuit saints form the final group of laudatory writings. They constitute a particular episode in the history of the Jesuit emblem, and the Hungarian examples of the genre differ very little from the forms elsewhere in Europe.⁴⁷

Conclusions

It would appear that the general characteristics found in emblematic material across Europe will also be rediscovered in Hungary. Conspicuous by its absence is the printed emblem book based on amorous and erotic themes, and also the emblems stressing the visual side of sophisticated court

⁴³ *Plausus genethliacus*. Vienna, 1716; *Spes inclita regni*. Nagyszombat, 1716; Csaky, Emericus de Keresztszegh, *Domus Austriacae Cunae*. Vienna, 1716.

⁴⁴ *Venustae laudis*. Pozsony, 1722.

⁴⁵ Aemilianus Ludwigsdorff, *Der von dem Haus*. Vienna, 1720.

⁴⁶ *Anno, jubilaeo missionis Societatis Jesu*. Kolozsvár, 1750.

⁴⁷ See Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, "Emblematische Viten von Jesuitenheiligen im 17./18. Jahrhundert." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 80 (1998): 105-142.

and city culture. There is also little or no indigenous Hungarian engagement with alchemy, music, or emblem theory. The delay in the arrival of the emblem in Hungary as well as its comparatively slight impact can largely be explained in terms of the local historical and social situation, different literary traditions, and other circumstances. By comparison with the rest of Europe, the Hungarian material has a higher proportion of what we might call “occasional” publications; emblem books proper also appeared later and in smaller numbers. The proportion of emblematic works with pictorial illustrations is also much lower than in most western and southern European countries.

If we turn our attention to the relationship between picture and text, we can distinguish three main categories. The first consists of regular series of emblems with frequent links made between picture and text. Works of this kind—if we count second and later editions of the same title—make up almost half the entire corpus. The number of emblems in any given work varies enormously—between 3 and 130—but most have between 10 and 50. On occasion, a picture will be reused in another work. The second of our three types consists of unillustrated prints in printed books containing a textual description of the emblems. There are almost as many works of this kind as there are in our first category. Most have a textual description that has replaced the image itself; some, however, do not even have that. This high proportion of unillustrated emblems can be considered a further peculiarity of the Hungarian situation. There are even instances of emblem books, originally published elsewhere complete with pictures, being reissued in Hungary without engravings, or with a smaller number of them, or, in extreme cases, with excerpts only. The reasons for this may include a shortage of patronage and of skilled engravers. This reduction of the emblematic to the merely verbal—what we might term the “rhetorization” of the emblem—is also an indication of a decline in the fashion for works of this kind. Our third category consists of printed material with an emblematic engraving on or alongside the title page. Such engravings are used mostly as a frontispiece or ornamental title page, only appearing less frequently on the first page of the text as a header, or after the title page. The relationship of the picture to the work varies. Normally it has some connection with the themes of the work as a whole, but sometimes it simply refers to just a part of it.

An examination of the circumstances surrounding the creation of printed emblematic material shows that about 80 per cent of the authors involved were Hungarian, with the other 20 percent coming from abroad.

The list of foreign authors involved provides incontrovertible evidence of the vogue for European emblematics in Hungary. But, although one of Drexel's works may have been published in Hungary only five years after the death of its author, there are clear indications of Hungarian dilatoriness with regard to what was going on beyond the national frontiers: Sucquet's work was only published in Hungary 51 years after it first appeared, and several others had to wait more than 100 years before they, too, were published there. This delay is significant; in other eastern European countries the situation was different: works by Hugo and Gerhard were published in Poland very much more quickly.

The majority of Hungarian authors were Catholics and most belonged to a religious order; a smaller number were secular priests. The Jesuits predominate: about one-fifth of the entire corpus consists of Jesuit emblem books, a figure comparable to the international average. After the Jesuits come—some way behind—the Piarists. Apart from these, we have the odd author or two who was a Benedictine, Augustinian, Pauline, or Franciscan. Jesuit and Piarist publications were often not the work of a single person but rather of an entire religious community. Protestant authors involved were, without exception, Lutheran preachers, and among the secular compilers we find nobles, doctors, pharmacists, mayors, city judges, secondary school teachers, university professors, historians, and principals of secondary schools for girls. This breadth of authorship shows that in Hungary emblematics was cultivated primarily by members of the upper aristocracy in direct touch with court culture, by nobles, and by the Church. A few members of the upper middle class were also interested, as was a handful of intellectuals. Some of these authors are known to literary historians, yet few were significant literary figures. There are other authors who did not compile emblem books and used emblematic forms of expression only occasionally but who played a role in shaping literary emblematics between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth (e.g., János Ádám, János Rimay, Péter Beniczky, István Koháry, Ferenc Faludi, Pál Ányos).

Turning to the dates of publication, the late appearance of emblems in Hungary becomes even clearer. If we leave to one side the Zsámboky editions, which date from the sixteenth century, printed emblematics do not appear in Hungary until the 1610s with the activity of Kristóf Lackner. Following this, there was an upsurge from the 1660s onwards, lasting—at least with respect to first editions—until approximately 1720. From the 1710s, new editions and publications containing only text (and these were normally texts available elsewhere in the seventeenth century) come to

dominate the scene. This second flowering of interest lasts until around 1770. Overall, some two-thirds of the entire corpus was published in the eighteenth century, which is clear evidence of the length of time this kind of publication was flourished on Hungarian soil.

The ratio of translations is relatively low, a figure that suggests that, in comparison to vernacular adaptations, re-editions of Latin works and the production of autonomous Latin emblems was dominant. New publications account for about one-quarter of the total. Apart from emblematisers with several works to their names, it is the authors of works published more than once, who were best known in Hungary—János Zsámboky, Antal Vanossi, Gábor Hevenesi, Péter Bod, János Rajcsányi, and Mátyás Hajnal; and, among foreign authors, Johann Gerhard, Jeremias Drexel, Andreas Maximilianus Fredro, and Saavedra Fajardo.

At the end of this survey we can see that in Hungary, as in the rest of Europe, the emblem did not constitute a discrete and clearly defined literary genre. It would be more accurate to call it a particular mode of expression and process of transmission, the two defining features of which were the disintegration of traditional semiotic systems inherited from classical antiquity and situating conventional modes of expression in new contexts which imbued them with fresh meaning. From a historical standpoint, the emblem proved to be, in Hungary as elsewhere, a transitional form between the period when signs and motifs were regarded as having specific and fixed meanings and the modern period when we have developed a different and shifting concept of language and meaning. It was a period when what until then had been regarded as an essential and immutable link between signifier and signified gradually became an accidental one. In this sense, the emblem paved the way, so to speak, for the way metaphor was used by the Romantics, with their emphasis on a subjective, personal connection between signifier and signified. The way that the interdependence of signifier and signified was transformed into a relationship that was basically accidental may also explain why, in Hungary as throughout the rest of Europe, the various emblem compendia and iconographic handbooks cease to furnish us with an authoritative guide to the meanings involved in works written in the emblematic mode. One significant feature of the Hungarian experience was the way mythological commonplaces and, more generally, the world of classical antiquity continued up to the middle of the eighteenth century to stimulate emblematic productions which, in their turn, played an important role in keeping classical mythology and an interest in classical literature alive.

From the mid-seventeenth century onwards—about the same time that emblematic works in the vernacular first appeared in Hungary—one can see emblematic modes of expression taking on a popular guise for the first time, as part of a process in which didacticism becomes more important, and the role of the pictorial component dwindles by comparison. Propaganda began to assume center stage. The range of pictorial motifs narrowed; and one gets the distinct impression that the imagination of emblematisers was becoming exhausted. At the same time, while emblematic modes of expression continued to enjoy great favor in courtly circles, they also began—thanks largely to the Jesuits—to penetrate other layers of society, first the nobility and then the bourgeoisie. They began to play an important role as a mediator between different social classes and groups, thanks to the emergence of a standardized educational curriculum and a shared educational experience. Thus, one can interpret the history of emblematics in Hungary also as the history of how representational models and the various traditional features of the educational curriculum—among them the literary genres most closely associated with the emblematic mode—were popularized, in one sense. The Hungarian material displays the same tendency we find in the rest of Europe in favor of social mobility, artistic openness, and an affinity between emblematic forms of expression and the demands that appeared for new subject matter and fresh techniques.

At the same time as emblems began to penetrate the more popular levels of national culture, they, paradoxically, also became more specialized. We can trace the emergence of two main categories of emblematic publication: the first markedly moralizing and didactic, the second mainly serving religious and pious purposes. Emblematic material belonging to the first category arises principally as a result of the teaching of poetics and rhetoric in schools, and is structured around classical and humanist *topoi*, and collections of proverbs and adages. The second group is born out of Christian meditation and the tradition of biblical exegesis and symbolic theology, and is given a fresh impetus by the use by Jesuits of pictorial rhetoric, or *visibilitas*. There is a good deal of traffic between these two main categories and, as result, we see a wide variety of hybrid forms and clear evidence of mutual interaction, giving rise to thematic and structural variants. In the wake of the humanist emblem books, which were essentially anthological in character—containing, as they did, pieces that were largely independent one of another—we can trace the emergence in Hungary, in the first third of the seventeenth century, of series of

compositions arranged around a single theme, with individual emblems forming an integral part of a larger, overarching structure. By the middle of the eighteenth century, emblematic forms have become repetitive and hollow, and, by the turn of the century, they begin to disappear altogether.

The overriding purpose of employing emblematic forms of expression to illustrate works of literature was to explain and advocate behavior of a particular kind. As did their fellow practitioners elsewhere in Europe, Hungarian emblematisers used, for the most part, existing pictorial and textual formulae, familiar combinations of pictures and text, to direct the reader's attention and thought processes, and to transmit received wisdom. The underlying message of such compositions was often a complex one. The process is one in which one can trace the influence of emblematic ways of thinking across a wide range of genres and types of text, with form and function often very closely interconnected. Changes in form reflect the nature of the genre and the type of text in which emblematic modes of expression were now being employed. They also provided the emblematiser with a wide variety of possibilities without his ever having to break entirely with tradition. The use of emblematic modes of expression in genres and texts, which had previously been uncharted territory for expressions of this kind, led to the creation of new way of articulating personal, religious, and political concerns. Hungarian writers employed the emblem in particular in genres and texts of the *genus demonstrativum*, which referred to matters that were topical at the time.

Research has confirmed our hypothesis that, beyond a certain stage, it is neither useful nor productive to divorce the layers of meaning present in pictorial concepts from the symbolic forms of expression based on pictures and images; to do so would be as arbitrary as any hard and fast definition of modern critical concepts like picture, allegory, or symbol. In the poetics of the Renaissance, symbols—including emblems—were primarily component parts of the epigram; and in seventeenth-century poetics they appear predominantly in poems written for particular occasions. In such poems, there is a pronounced overlap between the pictorial interpretation of reality and reality as the point of departure for linguistic expression. In poems like these, the emblem and its associated rhetorical devices such as simile are not invoked as part of a particular interpretation of the world, but rather belong to the sphere of rhetoric and *ornatus*. They furnish vital clues as to the purpose of the work and its genre, as well as providing information about the role of the emblem itself. In this sense, many emblems are not unlike the similes familiar to us from rhetorical texts: they enhance the argument, shed

light on the issues involved, enliven the composition, expand on the theme, and provide variety; they also focus attention on the theme and direct the attention of the reader/spectator towards the message being conveyed. In rhetoric at the end of the seventeenth century, symbols were beginning to disappear from the glosses and explanations accompanying literary works. A common element of the emblem and the simile is the way they are used to extend meaning—a feature often dubbed *translatio* and which is closely related to the ways metaphor assumed an ever larger role in the systems of Renaissance and Baroque rhetoric. In this connection, the Jesuit rhetorical tradition clearly played a significant role in Hungary as in the rest of Europe; from the very beginning, Jesuit rhetoric had always emphasized the role of ekphrasis and metaphor in satisfying the twin requirements of *argutia* and *simplicitas*.