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# OLD POLISH EMBLEMS (INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEMS)

## 1

The author of the present paper being, as a literary historian, concerned mainly with the literary aspect of Old Polish emblems, it should be noticed at the beginning that, for the sake of clarity, the present paper will deal almost entirely with this aspect. According to the most general concept, the emblem exists at the borderline of plastic arts and the art of word. As a result emblems could and did appear as elements of garden decoration, exterior and interior design of buildings, as well as elements of stage setting or at last as emblem books.

"Książka emblematyczna" is a Polish term corresponding to the English "emblem book" or the German „Emblembuch”<sup>1</sup> and it also has corresponding terms in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century onomastics. The title of the famous collection by Andreas Alciatus was *Emblematum liber*. A more precise term, however, would be "emblems in books" since in practice emblems not always constituted the whole of particular books, very often being only a part of a collection of miscellaneous material. It seems to me that it would even be worth-while to introduce the term "literary emblem". Being aware of the fact that the readers will be more inclined to focus their attention on the "literary", written part of the structure of the emblem, the authors and publishers of emblem books not accidentally developed this very part. These tendencies resulted in a certain, though not total, distinction of the history of emblem books or rather literary emblems within the history of emblems. Being still emblems, works and collections of this type constituted at the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example R. Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, London 1948; W. S. Heckscher, K. A. Wirth, *Emblem, Emblembuch*, [in:] *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. V, Stuttgart 1958, column 85 - 228.



time a part of recorded language, literature and, let us add: a part very strongly influencing the development of the 16<sup>th</sup> and especially of the 17<sup>th</sup> century literature.

Mario Praz's *A Bibliography of Emblem Books* — the fundamental, irreplaceable, though requiring some supplements, compendium of knowledge concerning world emblems — names over 600 collections of this type published mainly in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, although adjacent centuries produced rich and interesting works too<sup>2</sup>. In this world compendium of emblem literature we must notice particularly significant gaps as far as Old Polish emblems are concerned<sup>3</sup>. And this situation is not surprising if we realize that scientific interest in Polish literary emblems is still *in statu nascendi*<sup>4</sup>, although it certainly is a subject worth investigating and evaluating in the context — of course — of European culture with which it was connected so strongly and in so many aspects. The author of the present paper aims at providing a comprehensive presentation of Old Polish literary emblems, and at creating, *mutatis mutandis*, a Polish work corresponding to Rosemary Freeman's *English Emblem Books*, published in London in 1948. The present paper is in a sense an introductory outline of such a work.

## 2

Andreas Alciatus, who in 1531 published the first edition of his collection *Emblematum liber*, was already in the 16<sup>th</sup> and particularly in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. considered the originator of modern emblem writing. He

<sup>2</sup> M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, vol. II: *A Bibliography of Emblem Books*, London 1947.

<sup>3</sup> M. Praz mentions the second edition of the emblem book by S. H. Lubomirski (p. 99), by A. M. Fredro (p. 62), by T. Treter (p. 165), by A. Nieszporzkowic (p. 118), by W. Bartoszewski (p. 17), A. Młodzianowski (p. 114), by G. Rzączyński (pp. 145-146; cf. also Jacobus Monawius, p. 114), and the Polish translation of H. Hugon's *Pia desideria* by A. T. Lacki (p. 84) there making no reference, however, to the Polish version of *Emblemata Horatiana* done by S. Łochowski (Kraków 1647, 1648) which drew upon the collection by O. van Veen (Vaenius), and to many other Old Polish emblems which appeared in the printed form.

<sup>4</sup> So far the fullest treatment of it can be found in: J. Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn, arianin i poeta* (Zbigniew Morsztyn, an Arian and a Poet), Wrocław 1966, pp. 242-282, 395-400 (including also reproductions of 120 emblem images); by the same author, *Europejski i polski kontekst "Emblematów" Zbigniewa Morsztyna* (European and Polish Context of Zbigniew Morsztyn's „Emblemata”), [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Konrada Górskiego* (A Memorial Book in Honour of Konrad Górski), Toruń 1967, pp. 197-207 (and reprint). Cf. also R. Pollak, *Emblematy anonimowe z początków XVII w.* (Emblems by an Anonymous Writer from the Beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent.), [in:] *Miscellanea staropolskie*, 2 (Old Polish Mis-



was given the honourable title "Emblematum Pater et Princeps", although, according to our contemporary investigators, such as Mario Praz or Albrecht Schöne<sup>5</sup>, *Emblematum liber* showed many strong links with ancient tradition and even (though to a much lesser extent) with medieval tradition. As many as 50 subscriptions in Alciatus's collection came from the famous *Greek Anthology*. Some of the emblem images from Alciatus's book could once be seen on the walls of ancient Pompeii, accompanied by corresponding epigrams<sup>6</sup>. This tradition of antiquity survived even till the Middle Ages, for example in painting, in MS illuminations, especially as accompanying the Dances of Death, scenes from the lives of saints and in heraldry.

Alciatus's "liber", however, gave modern European emblem writing the standard, canonical form. The Alciatus type of the structure of the emblem is accepted in practice by the authors of later more and more numerous collections of similar kind. Speaking about emblems later writers of treatises and handbooks of poetics and rhetoric refer to Greek-Roman antiquity and even to Egyptian hieroglyphics, it being characteristic, however, that the canonical form of the emblem is for them that represented by Alciatus. More evident interests in emblems are found rather in later authors who wrote at the time of more and more successful career of emblems. As late as in Julius Caesar Scaliger's writings few remarks concerning emblem structures must be laboriously looked for among general observations on allegory and epigrams<sup>7</sup>. In Jacob Pontanus's work a separate chapter *De emblemate* (in lib. III, cap. X)<sup>8</sup> can be already found.

When compared to the previous century the 17<sup>th</sup> century brings much more theoretical and normative observations concerning the structure of

cellanea 2), ed. by R. Pollak, "Archiwum Literackie" ("Literary Archives"), vol. X, Wrocław 1966, pp. 110-131. Interesting notes on European emblems and iconology in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> cent. can be found in a recently published Polish work by W. Tatarkiewicz, *Estetyka nowożytna* (*Modern Aesthetics*), vol. III of *Historia estetyki* (*The History of Aesthetics*), Wrocław 1967, pp. 259-271. Cf. also J. Pelc, *Rola emblematów oraz konstrukcji im pokrewnych w twórczości Mikołaja Reja* (*The Emblems and the Similar Constructions in the Literary Works of Mikołaj Rej*), "Pamiętnik Literacki", LX: 1969, fasc. 4, pp. 65-101.

<sup>5</sup> M. Praz, *Studi sul concettismo*, Firenze 1946, pp. 1-57; A. Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., München 1968 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1964), pp. 20-24.

<sup>6</sup> Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, vol. I, London 1939, p. 22; Schöne, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, Lyon 1561, I used the 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. from 1586, pp. 135, 351-352, 430-431.

<sup>8</sup> J. Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum libri III*, editio secunda emendatio, Ingolstadii 1597, pp. 188-190.



emblems. They can be found in handbooks of poetics (also in the form of MSS), various treatises, prefaces and occasional comments by poets.

The atmosphere of the post-Tridentine times particularly favoured the development of emblems in Europe. The resolutions of the Council of Trent stressed the postulate of illustrating history and mysteries of Redemption by means of pictures<sup>9</sup>. The main stress was of course put on painting and sculpture, which could have greater appeal not only to illiterate people but also to those less familiar with books. Yet the value and usefulness of emblems, symbols, which were quite popular then, was also appreciated. The writers, especially the Jesuits, deal to a quite considerable extent with emblems and symbols, they recommend christianization of the Renaissance symbols drawing upon ancient sources and popular contemporary emblem motifs. To quote some examples we might mention here such writers as Possevinus — the author of *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum*<sup>10</sup>, Sarbiewski as the author of *Dii gentium*<sup>11</sup>, Silvestro Pietrasanta, the author of a considerable treatise *De symbolis heroicis libri IX* (Antverpiae 1634), or Philipppo Picinelli, the author of *Mundus symbolicus in emblematum universitate formatus, explicatus...*<sup>12</sup> Emblems are also highly appreciated among the dissenters. It is also characteristic that the great career of emblem writing towards the

<sup>9</sup> *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Consilii Tridentini...*, Coloniae 1577, pp. 343–348. Cf. É. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris 1932, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> A. Possevino's *Tractatio de poësi et pictura ethnica, humana et fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta, et sacra* (1593) is quite precisely discussed by B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. I, Chicago 1961, pp. 335–339, 346. Cf. also T. Bieńkowski, "Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum" Possevina jako teoretyczny fundament kultury kontrreformacji („Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum” by Possevino as Theoretical Foundation of the Culture of the Counterreformation), a communiqué delivered in April 1968 during a PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences) session on "The Problems of Polish Counterreformation", [in:] *Wiek XVII — Kontrreformacja — Barok* (The XVII<sup>th</sup> Century — Counterreformation — Baroque), ed. by J. Pelc, Wrocław 1970.

<sup>11</sup> *Dii gentium seu theologia, philosophia tam naturalis quam ethica, politica, oeconomica, astronomia, caeteraeque artes et scientiae sub fabulis theologiae ethicae a veteribus occultate* by M. K. Sarbiewski is still in the form of a MS but it is to be soon published in Biblioteka Pis. Polskich (Polish Writers Library Series).

<sup>12</sup> We give here the title of the Latin translation, which was more popular in Poland, published in Cologne in 1681, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. in 1687. The original Italian version appeared first in 1635: *Mondo simbolico o sia Università d'impresie scelte, spiegate, ed illustrate con sentenze, ed erudizioni sacre, e profane. Studiosi diporti dell'Abbate D. Filippo Picinelli Milanese ne i canonici regolari Lateranensi Teologo, Lettore di Sacra Scrittura, e Predicatore privilegiato. Che somministrano à gli Oratori, Predicatori, Accademici, Poeti etc. infinito numero di concetti. Con indici copiosissimi*. In Milano. Per lo Stampatore Archiepiscopale. 1635.



end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> century could be noticed in Europe both in Catholic and Protestant countries, and later, through Poland, they even reached the Orthodox Russia<sup>13</sup>. To give an example we could mention here the great international popularity of a handbook of iconography and emblems by Caesar Ripa: *Iconologia overo Descrittione dell'Imagini universali cavate dall'antichità et da altri luoghi... Opera non meno utile, che necessaria à Poeti, Pittori, & Scultori, per rappresentare le virtù, vitij, affetti, & passioni humane*. The first edition of this work appeared in Rome in 1593 (without the engravings), in 1603 appeared the next edition — enlarged and with many illustrations, followed by many new editions, among others in 1611, 1613, 1618, 1625, 1630. Besides, there appear translations: French, German, Dutch and English<sup>14</sup>. In Poland Benedykt Chmielowski in *Nowe Ateny* (*New Athens*) recognizes Ripa's handbook as one of the main authorities in this field, and he translates whole parts of it. We could notice, by the way, that based on Ripa and other recognized authorities<sup>15</sup> Chmielowski's detailed observations on hieroglyphics, emblems and symbols, though sometimes naively formulated, belong, together with other choicest fragments from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century MSS of poetics, to the most interesting and significant theoretical and normative observations concerning this problem, which were formulated in Poland.

The most important problem in the Renaissance and Baroque theoretical and normative observations on emblems and their structure is that of the complexity of this structure. A classic emblem should consist of three main parts: 1) the image, called "imago", "icon", "pictura", which could represent, for example, a tree, a plant, an animal, a human figure or a group of figures usually constituting particular allegory or personification, or historical, mythological or biblical figure or scene. 2) Under the image there was the inscription called also "epigraph", "motto" or "lemma", which usually consisted of short formulation of general truths, biblical versets, quotations from popular writers, poets, or short maxims. 3) The next component was the subscription; most often it had the form of the epigram, often distich, but sometimes it was a longer poem approaching the construction of the elegy; subscriptions in style of the elegium could be also found. Finally,

<sup>13</sup> D. Čiževskij, *Filosofija G. S. Skorovody*, Warszawa 1934, pp. 40 - 43, 46, 47; by the same author, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque*, s'Gravenhage 1960, p. 384.

<sup>14</sup> Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, vol. II, pp. 139 - 141; Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 385 - 428.

<sup>15</sup> B. Chmielowski, *Nowe Ateny... (New Athens...)*, part I, Lwów 1745, pp. 818 - 876.



certain poetics approved of a subscription in prose but fundamentally it was supposed to be a poem (*poësis*). In practice, however, a poetic subscription was sometimes accompanied by a comment (*commentarius*) in prose<sup>16</sup>.

All the three components of the emblem: the image, the inscription and the subscription were very strongly interconnected. The image was to represent a certain well known truth, idea, revealed in the Bible, expressed by some recognized person. Since it was assumed that the reader was not capable of absorbing visually the whole richness of thought contained in the image he was helped by the next two components. By means of a short laconic formula the inscription conveyed the very essence of the emblem, the main programmatic and didactic meaning. It was popular to consider the relation between the image and the inscription as corresponding to that between the body and the soul (for example Pontanus, Chmielowski, some MSS of poetics)<sup>17</sup>. By generalizing the essence of the accompanying image the inscription constituted a starting point and the leading idea of the subscription.

The accentuation of the tripartite structure of the emblem is sometimes accompanied by attempts to criticize improper use of the term which, though referring to the whole, is used as referring to particular parts. And thus, for example, Pontanus writes that the term "emblema" is sometimes almost metonymically used as an abbreviation referring to the very subscription, to the epigram contained in its function. Yet he clearly states that it is neither precise nor correct since the emblem consists of three components constituting one whole<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pontanus, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 - 190; S. Pietrasanta, *De symbolis heroicis libri IX*, Antverpiae 1634, pp. 157 - 164; F. Picinelli, *Mundus symbolicus...*, Coloniae 1687, *passim*; Chmielowski, *op. cit.*, p. 828; cf. also many MSS of poetics and rhetoric, among others: MS of the Library of the Learned Society of Poznań (Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk) 553, pp. 293 - 295; MS of the National Library in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa) Acc. 6734, leaf 28 - 30 *verso*; National Library MS Acc. 6740, leaf 61 *verso* - 62; Jagiellonian Library MS 4273, unnumbered leaf; MS of PAN Library in Cracow 1332, leaf 51 - 52 *verso* and 47 *verso* - 51; Ossolineum MS 1712/I, leaf 8; Ossolineum MS 1122/I, leaf 47; Ossolineum MS 1939/I, leaf 156 - 157; Ossolineum MS 2873/I, leaf 17 *verso*; Ossolineum MS 736/I, p. 65; Library of Kórnik MS 615, unnumbered leaf, and many others. Very valuable observations can be found in such works as: Heckscher, Wirth, *op. cit.*, column 85 ff.; Schöne, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 - 20; Tatarkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 260 - 261. Cf. also *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Herausgegeben von Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne, Stuttgart 1967, pp. XII - XIII and *passim* (in the editors' introduction).

<sup>17</sup> Pontanus, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Chmielowski, *op. cit.*, p. 828.

<sup>18</sup> Pontanus, *op. cit.*, p. 189; National Library MS Acc. 6734, leaf 29 - 29 *verso*; MS of the Library of the Learned Society of Poznań 553, pp. 294 - 295; Ossolineum MS 736/I, p. 65.



As understood by the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century people the concept of the "emblem" was not always clearly differentiated from that of the "symbol" or "hieroglyphic", though the authors of poetics stressed that the character of the "symbol" was more general than that of the "emblem". The images, inscriptions and subscriptions of the "emblem" have more developed structure than corresponding elements constituting the structure of the "symbol". Thus it was considered that the image of the "emblem" could represent some fable-like situations, fables, while the "symbol" by its very nature excluded such fictitious structures, and was based only on the similarity of two things, or an idea and a thing, one of them defining the essence of the other<sup>19</sup>.

Inscriptions in "symbols" were assumed to be shorter, completely obvious and easy to understand; inscriptions in the form of maxims, which were used in "emblems", were inadmissible here<sup>20</sup>. Some authors used the concept of the "emblem" exchangeably with that of the "symbol" since — to use E. Panofsky's terminology<sup>21</sup> — they very often stopped at the iconographic analysis or even at a pre-iconographic description without reaching a higher degree of iconological interpretation, or made it in a very simplified form.

A similar situation occurred in the case of differentiating the "emblem" and the "hieroglyphic", which was derived from old Egyptian tradition and writing. Here again it was stressed that the structure of the "hieroglyphic" consisted in certain things being considered representative referents of other things or ideas while in the "emblem" (which was a more extended structure) ambiguity and complexity of the correspondencies between the components was possible<sup>22</sup>. The following typical examples of the "hieroglyphics" were usually quoted: "the Sun", "the Moon" or "the Cockatrice" as signs of time, "the Pelican" as a sign of love full of devotion, "the Mouse" as a sign of de-

<sup>19</sup> MS of the Library of the Learned Society of Poznań 553, pp. 293, 295; National Library MS Acc. 6734, leaf 28 - 29; Jagiellonian Library MS 4273, unnumbered leaf. In 1687 Bohuslaus Balbinus stated: "Nulla res est sub sole, quae materiam Emblematis dare non possit" (B. Balbinus, *Verisimilia humanorum disciplinarum...*, Augsburg 1710, p. 234).

<sup>20</sup> Chmielowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 828 - 829; Ossolineum MS 2873/I, leaf 17 verso; Jagiellonian MS 4273, unnumbered leaf.

<sup>21</sup> E. Panofsky, *Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*, [in:] E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*, Garden City, N. Y., 1955, pp. 26 - 40.

<sup>22</sup> Some of the authors who were more concerned with the precision of their argumentation stressed that the hieroglyphic was, by its nature (according to the Egyptian tradition), only the image, and that it should avoid the lemma, inscription. Cf. Ossolineum MS 1939/I, leaf 157; Jagiellonian MS 4273, unnumbered leaf; National Library MS Acc. 6740, leaf 61 verso.



cline or the cause of decline<sup>23</sup>. Sometimes, however, the authors of poetics or treatises (including Silvestro to a certain extent<sup>24</sup>) use the terms "emblem", "symbol" and "hieroglyphic" exchangeably (in some or even in all the cases), paying no attention to the attempts to differentiate their meanings. Noticed already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the ambiguity of the word "symbol" made the attempts to achieve sharp differentiation more difficult. Nevertheless it was often realized that the "emblem" was — or at least might be — a structure consisting of a certain complex hierarchy of symbols constituting one whole.

Discussing the structure of the emblem Ripa, to some extent his Polish follower — Chmielowski, and many authors of handbooks of poetics, such as for example Pontanus, do not limit their discussion to literary emblems, which appeared in books, but deal with emblems in general, i.e., functioning also as a decorative element in interior and exterior design of buildings, decorating objects of daily use (for example glasses, bowls, furniture), arms (shields, swords). Let us quote here a headline preceeding Chmielowski's considerations on emblems and symbols: "Emblems and symbols very excellent, that can serve as ornaments of Churches, Palaces, rooms, gardens, etc."<sup>25</sup> But similar remarks can be found in some poetics. And thus, for example, Pontanus discusses widely the idea of using emblems as embellishments of buildings (for instance on the walls, floors), various objects and even garments<sup>26</sup>.

The fact that emblems were a peculiar borderline between the plastic arts and the art of word resulted in the situation that, in definite realizations, either the iconographic element or the lexical structures prevailed. We can also find opinions accepting the primacy of the image or the primacy of the inscription. This peculiar disturbance of the inner harmony of the three main components was even more clearly reflected in practice. It is worth-while to remember here that in the practical use of emblems functioning as ornaments very often incomplete structures could appear, for example, containing only the image and the inscription. This practice was so frequent that speaking about the structure of the emblem some authors, for instance Chmielowski in Poland, name only the two components, without mentioning the subscription<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. for example National Library MS Acc. 6734, leaf 30-30 verso; Jagiellonian MS 4273, unnumbered leaf; Chmielowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 818 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Pietrasanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 161.

<sup>25</sup> Chmielowski, *op. cit.*, p. 828 ("Emblemata i symbole bardzo wyboryczne, ktore mogą służyć ornamentom Kościołow, Pałacow, pokojow, ogrodow etc.").

<sup>26</sup> Pontanus, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>27</sup> Chmielowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 828-829. It is worth-while mentioning that in Renaissance dictionaries, for example in A. Calepin's *Dictionarium* (1558) or



On the other hand among the emblems in books a different kind of situation could be often found, namely, emblems or "lines under images" completely devoid of the iconographic element. What was left was only the inscription and the subscription, the image being often substituted by the description contained in the text of the subscription or appearing separately. The next link in the chain of transformations was limiting the role of the inscription, reducing it sometimes even to one-word headline. Yet even the subscription alone together with not very obvious inscription could still or already be an emblem as long as it contained a reference to and a description of some image which could even have not the form of a picture, but which was clearly drawn by the words of the writer who wanted to convey similar associations to the reader.

The 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century people stressed two main functions of the emblem. It was to teach the reader and to please, delight him. This was in agreement with two slogans accepted in the then concept of "persvasio", i.e., influencing the public: "docere" and "delectare"<sup>28</sup>. The third component of the "persvasio": "permovere", was less accentuated, but it could also be found though usually subordinated to the two previous ones<sup>29</sup>.

Theoretical and normative observations usually put the main stress on the idea that the concept expressed by the emblem should be generally understandable, "easy to decipher", and they paid less attention to present the principles of moving the public by surprising it with unexpected associations. Thus, it was a theoretical encouragement to observe the principle of using a generally intelligible sign; a sign which should be the established and once for all generally accepted metaphorical referent of a given thing. There were, however, warnings against the platitude of stereotype patterns which could be especially dangerous in this situation. Especially the inscription which, for the majority of the authors of poetics, was "the soul of the emblem" had to be chosen very carefully, clearly, yet ingeniously and, if possible, in a new, creative manner. The post-Tridentine postulate of the christianization of the anci-

in J. Mączyński's *Lexicon Latino-Polonicum...* (Królewiec 1564, leaf 102) "emblema" denotes only an indefinite mosaic, ornamentation patterns, and not a three or two part composition, or even a definite and meaningful "image".

<sup>28</sup> Cf. M. T. Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, I, 3, 4; M. K. Sarbiewski, *O figurach myśli jedna księga* (A Book on the Figures of Thought), [in:] M. K. Sarbiewski, *Wykłady poetyki* (Lectures on Poetics), translated and edited by S. Skimina, Wrocław 1958, p. 190 (Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich, S. B, No. 5). This formula appears very often, especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent., in handbooks of poetics and rhetoric.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. for example Pontanus, *op. cit.*, p. 189.



ent topic and the ancient emblem accessories made it possible to transform and give new life to old stereotype patterns. In practice a very important opportunity of showing creative invention was the subscription, the theory giving no rigorous rules concerning its form, length and content, which were left to the discretion of the writers<sup>30</sup>.

The social function of emblems was reflected in their classifications with respect to the meaning represented and conveyed by them. Poetics distinguished various types and various numbers of types of emblems, for example, Pontanus classifies emblems into three groups: "physica" — concerning things and matters; "historica seu mythologica" — concerning history and some legends and fairy tales; and "ethica" — dealing with some problems and giving moral instructions<sup>31</sup>. In other later MSS of poetics more differentiated classifications could be found. Thus, there were distinguished such groups as "sacra seu theologica", "heroica" propagating certain models of behaviour, or "apophthegmatica" illustrating famous sayings, etc.<sup>32</sup>

Yet the Renaissance and Baroque writers and public were most strongly conscious of the didactic function of emblems. Even the, so to say, aesthetic function was closely connected with the didactic one. Piotr Irzykowic's preface to Józef Domaniewski's *Emblemata niektóre* (Some Emblems) can be quoted here as one of the examples of a clear, direct formulation of the above conviction:

Emblems — those fine, incrustated masterworks of art,

Which can instruction and pleasure give in part

For those who reason in their life would like to follow,

And not to err like beasts that ignorant are and shallow,

In order that they know what to avoid, and how to spend their days,

How not to fall from virtue or how to mend their ways<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Very often it was only noticed that it should be a poem. And thus, for example, Pietrasanta says that there are no instructions or restrictions concerning the kind and structure of the subscription in verse, the only requirement being that it should correspond to the image and thus result in a harmonious whole (*op. cit.*, pp. 160 - 161) of the emblem.

<sup>31</sup> Pontanus, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 - 190.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. for example National Library MS Acc. 6734, leaf 29 verso — 30; Ossolineum MS 1939/I, leaf 156 verso; Ossolineum MS 1712/I, leaf 8; MS of the Library of the Learned Society of Poznań 553, pp. 293 - 294.

<sup>33</sup> J. Domaniewski, *Emblemata niektóre* (Some Emblems), Lubcz 1623, front page verso (A<sub>1</sub> verso).

Emblemata możemy zwać sadzone sztuki,

W których może uciechę znaleźć i nauki

Ten, który się na świecie chce rozumem rządzić,

A nie chce jako bydło nierozumne błędzić,

Żeby wiedział, czego się strzec, a czym się bawić,

Jako w cnocie trwać abo jako się naprawić.



## 3

The invention of print and rapid development of printing already at the beginning of the modern epoch provided real basis for the emergence and spreading of emblem cycles in book form. As noticed above, the traditional originator of this type of literature was Andreas Alciatus. His *Emblematum liber*, which was first published in 1531 in Augsburg, had 98 woodcuts. New editions increased this number, which before 1550 amounted to 211. The connections between Alciatus's collection and earlier tradition have also been mentioned above. Here I would like to notice that although the canonical form of modern literary emblem — the emblem book was given by Alciatus, yet already among the very first prints from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century there could be found examples of structures very closely approaching the complete emblem. Among the incunabula in the University Library in Wrocław there is, among others, a book entitled: *Von der ynnigen Selen wy sy Gott casseteyet unnd im beheglich mach*, which was printed in Erfurt in the printing house of Wolfgang Schencken<sup>34</sup>. It presented consecutive phases of attaining unity between a Bridegroom and a Bride, Christ and the human soul. The structure of the book is similar to that of a collection of emblems. Every picture presenting consecutive stages of mystical mysteries has a separate title — corresponding to the inscription. The title is followed by a dialogue between the Bridegroom — Christ and the Bride — Soul. The dialogue is a poem in German, and it is followed by a moral instruction in prose, which provides an additional comment. We could still add here that this record of late medieval mystical tendencies points to the existence of comparatively close tradition of later, Baroque emblems which dealt, among others, with the same theme, though in a different manner, assimilating at the same time the ancient tradition adopted directly by the Renaissance. Alciatus's emblems also preserved a certain connection with the medieval tradition on which they drew upon as far as allegorical metaphors were concerned, yet their themes were completely different — moralistic yet secular, typical of the Renaissance, leaving out the Middle Ages and going back directly to the tradition of antiquity.

The above mentioned example of the Wrocław incunabulum makes it necessary to make another comment, theoretical and normative in character. Dealing with the 16<sup>th</sup> century and even earlier prints convinces us that the borderline between a book illustration and the emblem image is not always quite distinct. Of course the relation between the emblem

<sup>34</sup> The call number of the incunabulum: BUWrocł. XV. Q. 329.



image and the inscription and subscription is much more obvious, precise and rigorous, while the connection between the illustration and the text is much more loose and less defined. Besides, the latter depends strongly on the author or publisher who in concrete situations decided about stronger or weaker connection of a given illustration with the whole or a fragment of the text. Assuming the above we find at the same time the existence of intermediate structures, especially in the publications of cyclic compositions.

We would like to illustrate the above remark by a Polish example — Mikołaj Rey's *Zwierzyniec* (*Zodiac*). The second edition of this book contains a considerable number of illustrations. It is, however, a material very miscellaneous and requiring qualifications. The first illustration, placed before a dialogue between *Rzeczpospolita* (the Commonwealth) and *Prywat* (the Private Interest) (the dialogue being the beginning of the whole collection) represents a Woman standing with her arms folded. She is facing another figure — a Man holding in his left hand a headgear and a stick or rather a wooden club rested on his arm; with his right hand he is making a gesture of apologizing; he is explaining something, excusing himself before his interlocutor. The characteristic position of the Man's body which is half turned away and the position of his legs show that he is ready to go away, to avoid the Woman's severe eyes. This illustration is clearly connected with the text of the dialogue between the Commonwealth and the Private Interest, and it rightly characterizes the atmosphere of this conversation. Is it already an emblem structure or still an illustration? I think it is still an illustration although we can find clear analogies with the structure of the emblem. Besides, it is not difficult to see that the printer composed the illustration of two wood engravings which can be also found in this collection in other places in the book. The figure of the Woman accompanies the poem *Na wstydlivość Panienka* (*On Demureness — a Maiden*) (chapter IV), and the figure of the Man — the poem *Chłop* (*A Peasant*) (the same chapter IV). Typical illustrations, though not always properly chosen, are pictures in the form of medals connected with the poems in chapter I (portraits of monarchs and world famous personages) and in chapter II (kings, persons of eminence and famous Polish families). Both the chapters contain pieces belonging to the genre of the so-called images ("images", "icones") which were very popular in the Renaissance and which were related to the emblems. Similarly to the emblems, the icones tried to preserve the connection between the illustration and the text; the image of a concrete person had to be constructed in harmony with the text which, in turn, stressed features accentuated in the illustration. In *Zwierzyniec* this connection was not always convincingly drawn, but in



chapter II we have also some good examples. The individualized illustrations representing the Polish kings: Zygmunt the Old and especially Zygmunt August are clearly connected with the text of corresponding octets. In the poem corresponding to the image of Zygmunt August the relation with the structure of the emblem is not difficult to be found:

Say as you should what you make of this bearing;  
That he's a worthy, righteous king — you must say without flattering.  
For of honesty, reason and virtue it is made,  
And though kindhearted the king, yet everyone's afraid<sup>35</sup>.

The poem ends with a wish-moral that the benignant sovereign should show Scipio's diligence, Alexander's work, Hector's eagerness and other virtues which will make him an ideal of a monarch.

It is undoubted that emblem structures appear in *Zwierzyniec* in chapter IV, which begins with the characteristic title: "How People Imagined Wordly Events in Olden Days". Connections between many poems of this chapter and emblems, among others with Alciatus's *Emblematum liber*, have been pointed out by Ignacy Chrzanowski<sup>36</sup>, and mentioned also by Julian Krzyżanowski<sup>37</sup>. Chrzanowski's observations concerning the connections between Rey's octets and Alciatus's emblems have been studied precisely, revised and completed by the author of the present paper<sup>38</sup>.

Six of the pieces in chapter IV of the second edition of *Zwierzyniec* (1574): *Bóstwo jedyne* (*The Only Divinity*), *Zacność czystości* (*Dignity of Purity*), *Miłość nieprzystojna* (*Improper Love*), *Sława dobra długo trwa* (*Good Fame Lasts Long*), *Czas prędko bieży* (*Time Runs Quickly*), *Żaden stan śmierci się nie umknie* (*No Condition is Exempt from Death*) — have the structure of complete emblems consisting of inscriptions,

<sup>35</sup> M. Rej, *Zwierzyniec, w którym rozmaitych stanów ludzi, zwierząt i ptaków kształty, przypadki i obyczaje są wypisane* (*Zodiac, in which there are described the forms, vicissitudes and customs of various conditions of people, animals and birds*), Kraków 1574 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), leaf 48 verso:

Powiedz, jakoś powinien, co znasz z tej postawy,  
Musisz rzec bez pochlebstwa, iż zacny król, prawy.  
Bo zacność, rozum, cnota właśnie jej przystoi,  
A choć pan dobrotliwy, wždy się każdy boi.

<sup>36</sup> I. Chrzanowski, "Zwierzyniec" Mikołaja Reja z Nagłowic ("Zwierzyniec" by Mikołaj Rej of Nagłowice), "Ateneum" 1893, vol. III, pp. 286 - 289.

<sup>37</sup> J. Krzyżanowski, introduction to: M. Rej, *Pisma wierszem*. (Wybór) (*Poetical Works. Specimens*), Wrocław 1954, pp. LXI - LXII.

<sup>38</sup> Pelc, Zbigniew Morsztyn, arianin i poeta, p. 244; by the same author, *Europejski i polski kontekst "Emblematów" Zbigniewa Morsztyna*, pp. 198 - 199. The comparison is based on the following editions: *Zwierzyniec* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Kraków 1574; *Andreae Alciati Emblematum libellus*, Parisiis 1542.



subscriptions and images (woodcuts) modelled upon the copperplates connected with the popular editions of *Trionfi di Francesco Petrarca* and appearing partly already in Mikołaj Rey's *Zwierciadło* (*A Mirror*) (1567—1568)<sup>39</sup>. Besides the complete, three parts emblems, chapter IV of *Zwierzyniec* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) contains also incomplete emblems, devoid of the iconographic element. In this particular way did Rey adapt some of Alciatus's emblems, for example the octet *Figura łakomego* (*The Figure of a Glutton*) (in Alciatus No. 51 *In avaros*). In this type of poems Rey devotes the beginning of the octet and sometimes even more than a half of it to the description of the omitted image, the rest of the epigram providing a moralistic interpretation of the idea contained in the image. In other words it was the second part that functioned as the proper subscription.

Besides complete emblems and emblems devoid of the image, which is substituted by a description, chapter IV of *Zwierzyniec* contains other related structures. Besides the above mentioned six poems whose corresponding pictures represent the wood engraving technique, the same chapter contains pictures made in the same technique but in a simpler way. They accompany, among others, such poems as *Żóraw na bezpieczeńność żywota* (*A Crane on the Safety of Life*), *Bocian na łakomca* (*A Stork on a Glutton*), *Paw na hardego głupiego* (*A Peacock on a Haughty Fool*), *Koń na bystrą młodość* (*A Horse on Unbirdled Youth*), *Wierzba na stałość*

<sup>39</sup> M. Rej, *Zwierzyniec* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), leaf 113 verso — 116 verso; M. Reichenstein, *Mikołaja Reja "Zwierciadło" z roku 1567 pod względem ikonograficznym* (*The Iconographic Aspect of Mikołaj Rej's "Zwierciadło" from 1567*), Lwów 1933, pp. 15 ff. — the author noticed that three woodcuts used as illustrations for *Zwierciadło* (Kraków 1567-1568) in "Księgi trzecie" of *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* ("The Third Books" of *Life of an Honest Man*) (leaf 131 verso, 161 recto, 165 verso) were modelled upon copperplates connected with the illustrations from the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. popular editions of *Trionfi di Francesco Petrarca*. Reichenstein did not notice, however, that all the six illustrations connected with the editions of *Trionfo* appeared in the second edition of *Zwierzyniec*: the poem *Bóstwo jedyne* (*The Only Divinity*) has a woodcut based on the illustration from *Trionfo della Divinità*, *Zacność czystości* (*Dignity of Purity*) — on the illustration from *Trionfo della Castità*, *Miłość nieprzystojna* (*Improper Love*) — on the illustration from *Trionfo d'Amore*, *Sława dobra długo trwa* (*Good Fame Lasts Long*) — on the illustration from *Trionfo della Fama*, *Czas prędko bieży* (*Time Runs Quickly*) — on the illustration from *Trionfo del Tempo*, *Żaden stan śmierci się nie umknie* (*No Condition is Exempt from Death*) — on the illustration from *Trionfo della Morte*. It is worth-while noticing that the model of constructing popular emblems influenced to a certain extent at least the editor's and perhaps also the author's concept of *Żywot człowieka poczciwego*, which appeared in a collection entitled *Zwierciadło* (*The Mirror*) (1567/68); in almost every chapter of this work the title was followed by a picture illustrating the problems discussed in the text. Cf. Pelc, *Rola emblematów oraz konstrukcji im pokrewnych w twórczości Mikołaja Reja*, pp. 84-101.



(*A Willow on Contancy*). The majority of these poems together with the illustrations corresponding to them may be considered examples of popular in the Renaissance hieroglyphics, some of them, however, come closer to the more developed structure of the emblem.

Rey's *Zwierzyniec* was not the only example of the formation of Renaissance emblem writing in Polish literature. Poems by other Polish writers of that time also have the emblem structure. And thus, for example, in Krzysztof Kobylński's *Epigrammatum libellus* (Kraków 1558)<sup>40</sup> there are many poems which have the form of the emblem. Similarly as in Rey's collection we can find here examples of intermediate structures. Besides obvious emblems we can find here epigrams related to pictures which are something more than accompanying illustrations, but which do not yet have the character of emblem images integrated with corresponding texts.

Jan Kochanowski himself used to write poems of the emblem structure. There is a legend that the Latin epigram of the poet of Czarnolas which appeared in the collection *Foricoenia sive epigrammatum libellus* (1584) under the title *In Aquilam* decorated the Cracow gate on the arrival of Henry de Valois at the then capital of Poland (February 1574)<sup>41</sup>. Such a situation is probable though it is difficult to ascertain whether it really took place. It is undoubted, however, that Kochanowski wrote his poem definitely on the emblem image of the Polish eagle as a sign of the new monarch, that is, an eagle with the *fleur-de-lis* — a sign of the French dynasty — on a shield on its breast. This can be proved by the text of the Latin epigram (for. 100):

Augurii mater, volucrum regina vagarum,  
Corde enata tuo quid spondent lilia? spondent  
Sarmatiam Henrico florentem rege futuram<sup>42</sup>.

Although without the illustration also other poems by Kochanowski are of emblematic character, for example two poems from the *Foricoenia*, namely *In columnam* and *In eandem* (119 and 120). The emblematic character is especially evident in the former poem which has the form

<sup>40</sup> Chr. Kobylński, *Epigrammatum libellus*. Ed. L. Winniczuk, Varsoviae MCMLXI, cf. for example pp. 64, 68; apart from emblems we can find here such similar genres as "imagines" and "stemmata", i. e., poems on coats of arms, which were very frequent in the Renaissance and especially Baroque Polish and foreign prints; modern emblems went back to the tradition of medieval heraldry and later, especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> cent., they influenced the structure of the poems "on coats of arms".

<sup>41</sup> St. Windakiewicz, *Jan Kochanowski*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Warszawa 1947, p. 109.

<sup>42</sup> J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła wszystkie*. Wyd. Pomnikowe (*Complete Works. Monumental Edition*), vol. III, Warszawa 1884, p. 241.



of personal expression of the poet, who, despairing over the loss of his children, compares himself to the monument of the antique Niobe petrified with pain<sup>43</sup>.

## 4

The development of the Renaissance emblem writing was to a great extent, though not always directly, conditioned by the European career of the then neo-Platonism which assumed that reality is the world of ideas expressed by means of symbols, and not the world of things. Yet the dominating feature of the Renaissance emblem writing was first of all the primacy of didacticism. Renaissance didactics, which propagated a definite attitude towards life, and praised fame and virtue, very eagerly took the opportunity of the multiplied influence upon the public by means of the illustration and text in the emblem. The Renaissance apotheosis of the Stoic virtue always alive can be found in Rey's emblem *Śława dobra długo trwa* (*Good Fame Lasts Long*). The praise of virtue, of the Renaissance "measure in everything" can be also found in other emblems by Rey, where, similarly to his other works, didacticism is the primary feature. Not less didacticism, however, can be traced in the famous emblems by Alciatus, who adopted many themes from fables, and used, for didactic purposes, personification, which was so popular in the Renaissance, and allegory — taken from the Middle Ages though adapted to new requirements<sup>44</sup>. Both in Alciatus's emblems and in those by Rey didacticism is connected with, generally speaking, optimistic outlook on the world. Evil must and can be set right. People can attain the ideal of happiness in this life without pursuing it only in the other world. Quick mutability of things sometimes brings forth the image of the vanity of excessive care of earthly goods. But this image is still within the scope of the didactics which fundamentally approved of this life of man, who, by means of his deeds, may erect a monument of ever-alive fame.

Yet in the emblem writing of the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the Baroque the idea of "Vanitas" becomes more and more important. The typical signs of it are images of smoke, wind, swiftly decaying flowers broken or cut prematurely, easily dying candle<sup>45</sup>. In Po-

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 250 - 251.

<sup>44</sup> C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*, London 1953, pp. 175, 223 - 231; A. Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode*, Ithaca, New York, 1965, pp. 88 - 116, 129 - 141.

<sup>45</sup> They were symbols used not only in emblems but also, and on a wider scale, in plastic arts and even in poetry. Cf. J. Białostocki, *Vanitas: z dziejów*



lish literature a record of these tendencies can be found, for example, in a poem by Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński, entitled *Napis na statuetkę albo na obraz śmierci* (*Inscription on a Statue or on the Image of Death*). In this poem, which also has the emblem structure, death — this peculiar dispenser of justice and equality, is represented according to medieval concepts:

Everything that comes by birth  
And either lives upon the earth,  
Or in the sea bowels has its place,  
Or in the windy, airy space,  
She cuts with her scythe, alas!  
As a reaper cuts the grass<sup>46</sup>.

The vision of the world and man shown in Mikołaj Kochanowski's emblem poems *Pod obrazy conterfetu żywota ludzkiego* (*Under the Pictures of the Image of Human Life*)<sup>47</sup> after final examination appears to be pessimistic and devoid of the Renaissance dynamism. Both the above poets wrote already in the atmosphere of the post-Tridentine defensive of the Renaissance and the increasing expansion of new tendencies which, although they had existed before, could finally prevail at the time of a general crisis of the Renaissance humanism. Even Jan Kochanowski, who praised so strongly the Renaissance virtue and fame ever-alive, in

obrazowania idei "marności" i "przemijania" w poezji i sztuce (*Vanitas: History of the Representation of the Ideas of "Vanity" and "Mutability" in Poetry and Art*), [in:] J. Białostocki, *Teoria i twórczość. O tradycji i inwencji w teorii sztuki i ikonografii* (*Theory and Creation: About Tradition and Invention in the Theory of Art and Iconography*), Poznań 1961, pp. 115 - 120.

<sup>46</sup> M. Sęp Szarzyński, *Poezje* (*Poems*). From the first edition (1601) and from the MS ed. I. Chrzanowski, Kraków 1903, p. 9 (Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich, PAU, No. 42).

Wszystko, co się rodzi,  
Bądź po ziemi chodzi,  
Lub w morskiej wnętrzości  
I wietrznej próżności  
Jako kosarz ziele  
Ostrą kosą ściele.

<sup>47</sup> M. Kochanowski, *Rotuty... do synów swych, które małżonka jego Katarzyna z Jasieńca Kochanowska po śmierci jego wydała...* W Krakowie, W Drukarni Łazarzowej, Roku Pańskiego 1585 (*Moral Songs... for his sons, published after his death by his wife Katarzyna Kochanowska of Jasieniec...* In Cracow, In the Lazarus Printing House, Anno Domini 1585), on leaf B<sub>4</sub> verso — C<sub>1</sub>: *Pod obrazy conterfetu żywota ludzkiego* (*Under the Pictures of the Image of Human Life*) (6 emblem poems); on leaf C<sub>1</sub> — C<sub>2</sub>: similar subscriptions *Na drugie obrazy* (*On Other Pictures*); on leaf C<sub>2</sub> verso: *Historia o Abrahamie* (*A Story of Abraham*) (also in the form of emblem subscriptions).



the second of the above mentioned poems, *In columnam*, during the last years of his life and after the loss of his children, wrote:

Quosque diis nunc fama hominum immortalibus aequat,  
Ignorabuntur paulo post: luxque hodiernum  
Cras oritura diem premet involvetque tenebris<sup>48</sup>.

We have already characterized the principal features of the transformations of European emblem writing at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>49</sup>. Now I would like to mention a particularly characteristic evolution which can be noticed in the emergence of consecutive collections of Otton Vaenius. He began with a book going back to the Horace tradition — *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata. Imaginibus in aes incisus illustrata...*, Antverpiae 1607, and with presenting the adventures of Cupid, based upon Ovid's motifs of a love war — *Amorum Emblemata, figuris aeneis incisa...*, Antverpiae 1608. Next he turned to the christianization of Ovid's Cupid in the collection *Amoris Divini Emblemata...*, Antverpiae 1615. This direction was in accord with the then theoretical and normative opinions formulated first of all by the Jesuits but also by representatives of various dissenter groups. The opposition known already in the Middle Ages: "Amor Divinus — Amor Profanus" in modern times came to life in the poetry of the mystics presenting consecutive phases of the mysteries of human soul reaching a union with Christ. Baroque emblem writing, which also took up these tendencies, aimed at showing in a form which was objectivized and, so to say, theatrical, stagy, consecutive links in the chain of these mysteries of the mystical union. And this stagy and by necessity impoverished form of a manifeste of a mystical attitude was approved of by the Roman Church and also by the coryphaei of the majority of reformed denominations. Manifestation of mystical attitudes, which now was rigidly organized and which served to express a didactic idea proclaiming the vanity of the world and human life, was accepted as a peculiar substitute and antidote of pure mysticism which was often escaping the control of church organizations. On the other hand even those acts of mystical attitude which were objectivized in emblem images and which became stagy and trivial because of frequent repetition, were sometimes used by the authors of the subscriptions (authors representing various denominations) to express by no means weakened lyrical manifestations exceeding the confines of the meaning of the illustrations.

<sup>48</sup> J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła wszystkie*. Wyd. Pomnikowe, vol. III, p. 251.

<sup>49</sup> Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn, arianin i poeta*, pp. 242 - 249, 251 - 253, 268 - 273; by the same author, *Europejski i polski kontekst "Emblematów" Zbigniewa Morsztyna*, pp. 197 - 206.



I shall mention here two more emblem collections. The first one is *Typus Mundi in quo eius Calamitates et Pericula nec non Divini, humane Amoris Antipathia, Emblematicè proponuntur à RR. C.S.I.A., Antverpiæ 1627* (a work by the rectors of Collegium Societatis Jesu in Antwerp) presenting an emblem image of the mechanism of the universe and the human life, going back to the tradition of the Renaissance symbolism though in an already new, totally christianized form, and directing the didacticism towards the apotheosis of eternal happiness. The second collection is *Pia Desideria Emblematis Elegiis et affectibus S. S. Patrum illustrata* by Herman Hugo (Antverpiæ 1624) where the dominant feature is the spiritual eroticism present already in Vaenius's collection and combining antique traditions with the tradition of the biblical *Song of Songs*. Both the collections came from Jesuit environments and both of them became soon known throughout Europe. They were widely accepted, some adaptations of course being made in dissenter environments. This is proved, among others, by *Emblems* by Francis Quarles, an Anglican (1635) or *Emblemata* by Zbigniew Morsztyn, a Polish Arian (finished after 1675)<sup>50</sup>. All this was a significant document of general demand for this type of works in various ideological circles, among representatives of various national cultures in the Baroque Europe.

Let us now try to consider the question of how the processes characterized above were reflected in Polish literature. During the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century emblem writing, whose influence was exerted strongly thanks to the reading of Polish and foreign books and to the penetration of emblem structures into works of various poets, was particularly popular on the Protestant, Calvinist court of the Radziwills of Birze round which many Calvinist and Arian writers centred. With this cultural circle is connected a book by Józef Domaniewski — *Emblemata niektóre* (*Some Emblems*) published, however, without illustrations in 1623 in Lubcz. *Emblemata niektóre* still go back to the manneristic tendencies of the emblem writing at the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the Baroque. A significant role is played here by the symbolism of "Vanitas", the spiritual eroticism, however, is not yet introduced. The concept of human life is presented here in many variants of the "sailing" metaphor which was so popular in the Baroque. The didactic moral which the author conveys in his long subscriptions can be summed up as the approval of the ideas of harmony and "measure in everything" while the typically Renaissance attitude of expansive approach towards the matters of this life is not present here.

<sup>50</sup> Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 - 140; Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn, arianin i poeta*, pp. 268 - 272.



The anonymous emblem subscriptions which have recently been published by prof. Roman Pollak have similar character. These 43 subscriptions were written to accompany some illustrations and inscriptions of the popular, late Renaissance collection *Georgiae Montaneae Nobilis Gallae Emblematum Christianorum Centuria — Cent Emblèmes Chrétiens de Damoiselle Georgette de Montenay*, according to the Zurich edition from 1584<sup>51</sup>. These Polish poems were probably also written in the cultural circle of the Radziwiłłs of Birże although the author or authors have not been convincingly identified<sup>52</sup>. It is characteristic that from a big French collection the author (or authors) of the Polish subscriptions chose first of all those illustrations and inscriptions which accentuated the tragedy and uncertainty of human life. Such a choice reflected the atmosphere of anxiety of the dissenter environment at the time of the swelling waves of the counterreformational intolerance. Another characteristic thing is the stress put upon the need of tolerance, the apotheosis of peace and the accentuation of the necessity to persevere in "Lord's Church" in spite of increasing difficulties!

In 1647 in Cracow there appeared Polish *Emblemata Horatiana* edited by Stanisław Łochowski. Its second edition appeared in the next year, which shows clearly how popular this book was<sup>53</sup>. In this book Łochowski went back to Vaenius's *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata* (1607) from which he took a slightly modified form of the title and 35 inscriptions (out of 103). The copies of Łochowski's collection which are known today show probably that the Polish *Emblemata Horatiana* were published completely without illustrations; they also lack the substitute description of the missing picture. To the inscriptions taken from Vaenius's collection Łochowski added a selection of Polish paraphrases and translations of the Latin classical writer; first of all those made by Jan Kocha-

<sup>51</sup> R. Pollak, *Emblematy anonimowe z początków XVII w.* (*Emblems of an Anonymous Writer from the Beginning of the 17th cent.*), pp. 110-131; S. Kubica, *Nieznany zbiór emblematów z XVII w.* (*An Unknown Collection of Emblems from the 17th cent.*), *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* (Proceedings of the Learned Society of Poznań), 1961, No. 2 (64), pp. 237-240; Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn, arianin i poeta*, pp. 250-251; H. Keferstein, B. Wojczulanis, *Polska wersja rękopiśmienna emblematów Georgette de Montenay* (*Polish Manuscript Version of the Emblems by Georgette de Montenay*), "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" ("Mazury and Warmia Reports") 1967, No. 4 (98), pp. 518-522.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Pollak, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Kubica, *op. cit.*, p. 240; Pelc, *Europejski i polski kontekst "Emblematów" Zbigniewa Morsztyna*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>53</sup> *Emblemata Horatiana Rhythmis Polonicis e praecipuis linguae patriae Rhythmographis selectis illustrata. Cura et opera Generosi Domini Stanislai Łochowski, Castri Opocznen. Notarii. Cracoviae. In Officina Typographica Francisci Caesaris, A. D. 1647.*



nowski and Szymon Szymonowic, although there are also later adaptations (for example by Stanisław Słupski). Łochowski's *Emblemata Horatiana* propagate the attitude of Renaissance Stoicism with an admixture of Epicureanism, the Renaissance apotheosis of virtue, "measure in everything", and reasonable use of earthly pleasures. It is characteristic, however, that Łochowski took from Vaenius's collection particularly many emblems reminding the reader that human life should be *sui generis meditatio mortis*.

In the works of Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski we can notice the first and the most complete examples of the tendencies towards religious eroticism which was so popular in European emblem writing of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. And this concerns not only those of his poems which have the emblem structure<sup>54</sup>. Thinking by means of images and emblem symbols penetrated deeply into Sarbiewski's lyrics. We have already mentioned the relations between Sarbiewski's lyrical poetry and *Pia desideria* by Herman Hugo<sup>55</sup>. Of course many more examples could be quoted.

Leaving the presentation of detailed analysis for another occasion I would like to stress very strongly here that the key to understand the metaphors of Sarbiewski's lyrical poetry can be found first of all in the Baroque emblems. Emblematic metaphors, perception of the world through symbols of things showing the ambiguity and hidden richness of the presented reality which, according to Sarbiewski's contemporary writers would have been impoverished if simple, ordinary forms had been used — these are the features not only of Sarbiewski's poetry but also of his epoch. And the fact that this learned Polish Jesuit managed to make the most of these features when constructing his poetic expression opened for his poetry the way to international career.

Emblematic metaphors penetrated not only into the genres of lyrical poetry but also into epic poetry and even in a still greater degree into dramatic genres, where their influence was multiplied by emblematic construction of the stage<sup>56</sup>. In *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des*

<sup>54</sup> M. K. Sarbiewski, *Poemata omnia*, Stara Wieś 1892, pp. 426 - 443, 464 - 468, 505 - 507, 528 - 530 et *passim*. Some of his epigrams have the word "emblemata" in their titles (for example Nos. CLXXXVIII - CXCI).

<sup>55</sup> Pelc, Zbigniew Morsztyn, *arianin i poeta*, pp. 247 - 249; by the same author, *Liryka polska XVII wieku* (*Polish Lyrical Poetry of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent.*), "Przegląd Humanistyczny", vol. XI, 1967, No. 1, p. 70.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Schöne, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 - 231, *passim*. In Poland a record of it can be found in the preserved texts of theatre programs and summaries of plays. Cf. also W. Roszkowska, *Uwagi o programowości teatru barokowego w Polsce* (*Notes on the Baroque Theatre Program in Poland*), [in:] *Wrocławskie spotkanie teatralne* (*Wrocław Theatre Meeting*), ed. by W. Roszkowska, Wrocław 1967, pp. 71 - 72;



Barock Albrecht Schöne formulates the thesis that emblematic structures played a significant role in the formation of German drama in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Similar propositions have been made concerning other European dramaturgies of the Baroque. I think that emblematic structures, emblematic maxims, emblematic stage design came also — broadly — to the court theatre in Poland already in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>57</sup>, and that gradually they played more and more significant role in school drama and theatre<sup>58</sup>. This problem, which is only mentioned here, should undoubtedly be thoroughly investigated by the historians of literature and theatre on the basis of available sources (texts, programs, relations of performances).

## 5

In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the number of new Polish emblem collections increases very considerably. Although it is not my aim to present here a full list of these books let us mention, however, the most significant and characteristic phenomena. In 1660 in Gdańsk there appeared *Peristromata Regum seu Memoriale Principis Monitorum Symbolis expressum* by Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro. It contained 15 illustrations with corresponding comments in prose, and its new editions appeared in 1666 and 1685. The content of *Peristromata* is humanistic and moralistic. They praise the wisdom of books and say that during a war as well as during peace people should lay their hopes in Christ's cross; they also present and praise acts of God's grace.

W. Korotaj, *Z problematyki staropolskich programów teatralnych* (Some Problems of Old Polish Theatre Programs), in the same collection, pp. 98, 96, 104-107; T. Bieńkowski, *Na marginesie lektury staropolskich programów teatralnych* (Side Notes on Reading Old Polish Theatre Programs), in the same collection, pp. 116-117.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. K. Targosz-Kretowa, *Teatr dworski Władysława IV (1635-1648)* (Court Theatre of Władysław IV (1635-1648), Kraków 1965, pp. 59, 81-82, 124 ff., 260-283; T. Witczak, *Teatr i dramaty staropolskie w Gdańsku* (Old Polish Theatre and Drama in Gdańsk), Gdańsk 1959, pp. 78, 124, illustration 7; Roszkowska, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. foot-note 56. A complete bibliography of programs made by a group directed by mgr W. Korotaj will undoubtedly make orientation in this field much easier. Nevertheless it would still be very desirable to publish more interesting texts and to produce interpretation of this material, which would, among others, accentuate the role of emblems. As an example let us quote a fragment from a printed program — a description of the final scene from a performance in Jesuite College in Warsaw in 1685 of a play entitled: *Imago victoriae a Serenissimo ac Invictissimo Ioanne III, Rege Poloniae de Turcis relatae in Godifredo Bullonio, Primo Rege Hierosolymarum, adumbrata*...: "Męstwu Najaśniejszego Króla Polskiego



In 1673 the first Polish version of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* is published. The translation is made by Aleksander Teodor Lacki. The book is entitled: *Pobożne pragnienia, trzema księgami przez Wielebnego Ojca Hermana Hugona Soc. Jesu łacińskim opisane językiem. I. Jęczenia dusze pokutującej. II. Żądze dusze świętej. III. Wzdychania dusze kochającej* (Pious Desires, written in the Latin language by the Reverend Father Herman Hugo Soc. Jesu. I. Moanings of a Suffering Soul. II. Desires of a Holy Soul. III. Suspirations of a Loving Soul). It appeared in two preserved versions marked by the same date: 1) on better quality paper and with imported illustrations, 2) on worse quality paper and without illustrations. In 1697 came the next edition of *Pobożne pragnienia*... Lacki's translation was ready already in 1671 — it was shown by the date of the earlier preface, which was substituted by a new one because of the death of duchess Gryzelda Wiśniowiecka to whom it had been dedicated. The first, original preface, preserved as a MS, is in fact a comparatively long treatise proving the necessity of the existence of emblem literature, the need and usefulness of religious eroticism as man's attitude towards God, attitude which would at the same time determine the approach to life and world<sup>59</sup>. Lacki's translation was enthusiastically welcomed by his contemporaries. In *Liryka polskie* (Polish Lyrics) and *Epigrammata* (Epigrams) published in 1674 Wespazjan Kochowski admired the "exquisitely neat" style of the translation and the "angelic verse", and compared Lacki who was a Court Marshall of Lithuania to another marshall — writer, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski<sup>60</sup>.

About 1675 and before 1680 the long cycle of Zbigniew Morsztyn's *Emblemata* was finished. The cycle was connected with the illustrations and inscriptions from a compiled collection entitled: *Les Emblèmes d'Amour Divin et Humain... Par un Père Capucin*<sup>61</sup>. In 1688 in Warsaw

Austrija i Węgierskie Państwo tryumfalne Piramidy wystawia. Rzym zgotowane czyta Inskrypcyje. Lecz Męstwo Najaśniejsze wysokich elogiów dla swej skromności nie przyjąwszy ten tylko napis żąda wyrazić: »Prawica Pańska sprawiła dzieło, Psalm 117« ("Austria and Hungary raise triumphal Pyramids for the Bravery of His Majesty King of Poland. Rome reads prepared Inscriptions. Out of modesty, however, His Majesty's Bravery rejects high eulogies and desires only this line to be expressed: »This is the Lord's doing, Psalm 117, CXVIII«" — The Authorized Version) (leaf B<sub>2</sub> verso).

<sup>59</sup> Ossolineum MS 336/II, pp. 97–101.

<sup>60</sup> W. Kochowski, *Epigrammata polskie...*, ed. K. J. Turowski, Kraków 1859, p. 114; by the same author, *Liryka polskie...*, ed. K. J. Turowski, Kraków 1859, p. 281. St. H. Lubomirski was the great marshall of the Kingdom of Poland.

<sup>61</sup> Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn arianin i poeta*, pp. 252–270, 395–400 and reproductions of illustrations after p. 400.



there appeared Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's *Adverbiorum moralium sive de virtute et fortuna libellus* illustrated by Tylman of Gameren; its new editions appeared in 1691 and later. The second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was probably the time when *Hieroglifiki i emblemata miłosne* (*Hieroglyphics and Love Emblems*) were written. They have been preserved, similarly to Zbigniew Morsztyn's collection, as a MS<sup>62</sup> and were attributed to Jan Andrzej Morsztyn or Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski<sup>63</sup>. We can conjecture that in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century a book was written from which only the title is known to us: *Sporka boskiej i ludzkiej miłości rozdzielony na trzy części, pokazujący czego boska etc.* (*Antipathy of Divine and Human Love Divided into Three Parts, Showing what the Divine etc.*). It was probably a translation, adaptation, paraphrase of the emblem collection: *Amoris Divini et Humani antipathia sive affectus varii...*, Antverpiae 1628<sup>64</sup>.

## 6

Among the many emblem collections written in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Poland and in Polish cultural environments there are two collections worth mentioning: Zbigniew Morsztyn's *Emblemata* and Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's *Adverbia moralia*. The broad vision of the world and man presented by both of the works is made of panoramically composed emblem units.

I have characterized Zbigniew Morsztyn's *Emblemata* more precisely in a book dealing with this poet and his work<sup>65</sup>. So here I would like to mention only the most important problems. First of all it should be strongly stressed that although Morsztyn wrote his subscriptions to the illustrations and inscriptions from the collection *Les Emblèmes d'Amour Divin et Humain... Par un Père Capucin*, yet he created a completely different and, in fact, original work. For his poems are not only completely new subscriptions, independent of the poems from "Father Capuchin's" collection but, what is more important, by eliminating some emblems and changing the order of the adopted illustrations, the Polish poet created a different composition, expressing different main idea. As a result, the comparison of "Father Capuchin's" work with Zbigniew Morsztyn's *Emblemata* shows that the latter was much more connected with the problems of earthly life. The Polish poet does not renounce

<sup>62</sup> Cf. MS of PAN Library in Cracow 979, leaf 66 verso — 69 verso.

<sup>63</sup> They were published in: J. A. Morsztyn, *Poezye oryginalne i tłomaczone* (*Original and Translated Poetry*), ed. P. Chmielowski, Warszawa 1883, pp. 201-205.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Pelc, Zbigniew Morsztyn, *arianin i poeta*, p. 258.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, chap. VI and pp. 395-400 and reproductions of illustrations.



the longing for the heavenly home but, since the way to it leads through the terrible trial of death, the desire to live in the earthly reality is for him in fact stronger than this longing.

The main character of Morsztyn's *Emblemata* is man — pilgrim, a Christian knight fighting against difficulties. He asks God for help against the dangers he is exposed to, against the nightmare of death, extermination, and asks for the power to endure. He is a man trusting God and his mercy, realizing that the end of his pilgrimage is the eternal life. But at the same time he is attached to the earthly life and, as far as it is possible, he wants to prolong and organize it according to reasonable and just order.

The range of the attitudes of the man — the hero of Morsztyn's *Emblemata* is much wider than that of the hero of "Father Capuchin's" collection — man renouncing the problems of this world. The thematic diversity of Morsztyn's work is accompanied by a variety of verse and genre forms which make a sharp contrast when compared to the monotonous structure of "Father Capuchin's" subscriptions.

In a dissertation dealing with *Stanisław Lubomirski's Palace in Puławy* (the palace was built in the seventies of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) Stanisław Mossakowski conjectures at the basis of collected materials, that the building, which was made according to Tylman of Gameren's design, was ornamented with emblems<sup>66</sup>. We can assume that Tylman of Gameren was probably a co-author of these emblems, especially if they were to decorate the plafonds, walls and floors of the interior. It was probably he who prepared the iconographic part, the choice of suitable inscriptions being probably made by the owner of the palace himself<sup>67</sup>.

The partnership of these two authors — Lubomirski and Tylman of Gameren, appeared in public in the realization of a different work, in the form of a book when in 1688 a printing house in Warsaw prepared a volume entitled *Adverbium moralium sive de virtute et fortuna libellus*. It was a collection containing a comparatively compact cycle of 15 emblems. According to the front page the author of the illustrations was Tylman ("Opera Tilmani à Gameren imaginibus ampliatus"), the author of the subscriptions and inscriptions disguised his name under the anagram "Mirobulii Tassalini". Lubomirski's subscriptions are written

<sup>66</sup> S. Mossakowski, *Pałac Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego w Puławach* (Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's Palace in Puławy), "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" ("History of Art Bulletin"), vol. XXVIII, 1966, No. 1, pp. 21 - 25.

<sup>67</sup> We can presume that these two authors worked in a similar way while constructing other buildings, among others, the "Bath" of Ujazdów, the germ of the later "Palace on an island" in the Warsaw Łazienki Park, cf. W. Tatar-kiewicz, *Łazienki warszawskie* (Warsaw Łazienki), Warszawa 1968, pp. 30 - 38, 257 - 258.



in Latin in the style of the elogium<sup>68</sup>. Their Polish translation made by X. Antoni Chryzanty Łapczyński also in the elogistic style appeared in Warsaw in 1714, without illustrations<sup>69</sup>. Roman Pollak conjectures that *Adverbia moralia* should be treated as belonging to Lubomirski's earlier works, that they were "probably written in 1666"<sup>70</sup>. These fifteen emblem subscriptions contain developed "ethical reflections mixed with Seneca's Stoic philosophy concerning perfectness, moderation, pride, staidness, etc."<sup>71</sup>

The vision of man and the world drawn by Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski in his subscriptions written in the grand, dignified style of the elogium, is first of all great admiration of reason. Reason, mind, the greatest among God's gifts, by means of which man can almost equal God, should be the basis of a perfect construction of human life and the world. Man is an insignificant mortal creature subject, through his body, to sin and error; he wrongs others as well as himself. But if he acted according to reason and not to fits of anger, passion and envy he would be able to live virtuously and act rightly. According to Lubomirski's *Adverbia* the world should be organized on the principles of justice based on reason (cf. *Adverbium* IV), free from pride, exploitation of others and injustice. Such an opinion is very similar to that formulated by Lubomirski in his later *Myśli o wieczności* (*Thoughts on Eternity*)<sup>72</sup>.

Human mind is for Lubomirski the most wonderful, most reliable weapon:

Non vis cadere,  
munias te Animo.

<sup>68</sup> The poetics of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. eulogy has been recently characterized by B. Otwinowska, *Elogium — "Flos floris, anima et essentia" poetyki siedemnastowiecznego panegiryzmu* (*Elogium — "Flos floris, anima et essentia" of the Poetics of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. Panegirism*), [in:] *Studia z teorii i historii poezji. Seria pierwsza* (*Studies in Theory and History of Poetry. The First Series*). Ed. M. Głowiński, Wrocław 1967, pp. 143-184. Of course in *Adverbia* the style of the elogium is used for purposes other than panegirical.

<sup>69</sup> Stanisława Lubomirskiego P.R.X.M.W.K. *Adverbia Moralne albo O cnocie i fortune* książeczka z łacińskiego na ojczysty język przeformowana i niektórych o fortune i próżności harmonii addymentem supplementowana przez X. Antoniego Chryzantego Łapczyńskiego... (*Stanisław Lubomirski...s Moral Adverbs or a Book on Virtue and Fortune Translated from Latin into the Native Tongue, and Supplemented by an Addition of Some Harmonies About Fortune and Vanity by X. Antoni Chryzanty Łapczyński...*), Warszawa 1714, Printing House of the Piarists.

<sup>70</sup> R. Pollak, introduction to: S. H. Lubomirski, *Wybór pism* (*Selected Works*), Wrocław 1953, p. XLIX, Biblioteka Narodowa, S. I, No. 145.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Pelc, *Liryka polska XVII wieku*, p. 81.



Non vis perire,  
Arma te mente.  
(*Adverbium V*)<sup>73</sup>

The mind teaches man how to act rightly (*Adverbium VIII*). It allows him to bear difficult moments with dignity and staidness (*Adverbium VI*). It tells man to help those who suffer misfortune (*Adverbium IX*). It enables him to tell staidness from stubbornness (*Adverbium XII*). It teaches man proper sense of honour, modesty; it condemns pride and haughtiness. Wisdom is a light and an unfailing guide:

Pro lumine tibi sit  
PRUDENTIA

illa vero  
beata, puraque;

ab omni fallacitatis et deceptionis fuco  
soluta, et purgata.

Illa sola,  
Virtutum ministra,  
Lydius lapis, boni et mali,  
Princeps et Magistra vitae  
Humanae.  
Sine qua,  
tanquam sine lumine,

nec possumus quidpiam cognoscere,  
nec quidpiam eligere,  
nec quidpiam discernere  
nec quidpiam resolvere,  
nec quidpiam cavere.  
Haec tibi inter omnia

Dux, comes, custos praesidiumque erit.  
(*Adverbium VIII*)<sup>74</sup>

The vision of the world and man which Lubomirski draws in his emblem work and which is based on the christianized Stoic ideals, on reason and virtues, is staid, full of dignity and perfectness which arises from acting according to the wise rights of justice. Opposing the values of mind to the sinful nature of the body — nature which is full of discrepancies, torn by contradictions and striving to find its proper place makes Lubomirski's subscriptions similar to the Baroque moralistic principles practiced by the Catholics as well as by the Protestants. Yet it makes them also to a certain extent similar to the ideas of Blaise Pascal's writings<sup>75</sup>. Taken as a whole, however, Lubomirski's work is

<sup>73</sup> Mirobulii Tassalini *Adverbiorum Moralium sive De virtute et fortuna Libellus. Opera Tilmani a Gameren imaginibus ampliatus*, Varsaviae 1688, p. 33.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 58 - 59.

<sup>75</sup> Lubomirski's interest in the people from Port-Royal has been dealt with



quite clearly dominated by the rationalistic attitude although understood in a peculiar way. Lubomirski's admiration for the infinite power of reason, mind ("Animus", "Mens") is enormous:

In animo...

Omnia habes.

In animo Rex es, In animo invictus,

In animo Dives,

In animo virtutum Sodalis,

In animo vitiorum Triumphator,

In animo gloriosus,

In animo Immortalis,

In animo denique

Proximus Deo.

(*Adverbium II*)<sup>76</sup>.

The apotheosis of spiritual harmony in man, of his infinite inner power, was expressed by a Polish writer in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. And when we go deeper into its arcana we shall find there characteristic features of the epoch which produced both rationalists and mystics. But the reader is sometimes almost inclined to relate it to the Renaissance or even to the times of Enlightenment. In Polish literature of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Lubomirski's *Adverbia moralia*, like his *Myśli o wieczności*, deserve an especially high appreciation which will be based upon thorough analysis and which will assure them proper position in the hierarchy.

# 7

The decline of the Baroque, which was gradually penetrated by the dawn of the Enlightenment, did not bring works of very high rank in the history of Polish literary emblems. The numerous new editions of old emblem books are perhaps the most notable thing here. Apart from the editions mentioned above Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's *Adverbia moralia* appear in 1701, 1716, 1718. Twice — in 1714 and 1737 — their Polish translation by Antoni Chryzanty Łapczyński is printed. The translation is comparatively accurate and successful although it does not reach the level of the original<sup>77</sup>. In 1737, 1744, 1774 new editions of the

by Pollak, *op. cit.*, p. XIX. Of course the problem of some analogies between Lubomirski's thoughts and those of Pascal requires further detailed study.

<sup>76</sup> *Adverbia Moralia*, ed. from 1688, p. 16.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. foot-note 69; 2nd edition of the translation entitled: *Salomon Polski, Stanisław Lubomirski w Adverbiach moralnych albo O Cnocie i Fortunie Xiążeczce. Mądrością swoją świat informujący, przez M. X. Antoniego Chryzantego Łapczyńskiego... Na Polski język przetłumaczony i już powtórnie własnym sumtem do druku*



translation of *Pia desideria*... by Lacki appear, and in 1754 comes a new Polish translation of this work, entitled *Pobożne żądania*... made by Jan Kościesza Żaba, the voivode of Mińsk. It is not improbable that the above mentioned *Sporka boskiej i ludzkiej miłości*<sup>78</sup> was written at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Original emblem books written in Poland at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century do not represent a very high level. Being mostly collections dealing with devotional or heraldic-panegirical problems they lack more ambitious specimens.

Poems on coats of arms, i. e., the so-called "stemmata" had been quite frequent in Polish literature, appearing either as single poems in the dedications of various 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century prints or in separate collections, usually panegyrical in character, as for example: *Leopardus Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini D. Henrici Firley, Archiepiscopi Gnesnensis, Legati nati, R. P. Primatis... Gnesnensem primum Archidioecesis ingredientis ab animantibus salutatus, que Gnesnensium Archiepiscoporum stemmatibus incisa claruerunt. His Musarum alumni in Collegio Calisiensi Societatis IESV accessere salutandi sufragatores. M.DC.XXIV. Ex Officina Alberti Gedalii Archiepiscopalis Typographi.* This collection begins with the coat of arms of archbishop Firley, topical compositions in prose and verse, and next there comes a series of emblems (14) whose pictures are based upon a combination of Firley's heraldic leopard and the signs of some of his predecessors at Gniezno see. The inscriptions and subscriptions explain and comment upon the meaning of these pictures.

Another collection of such popular stemmata was *Poczet herbów szlachty Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* (*The Heraldry of the Nobility of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*...) by Wacław Potocki (Kraków 1696), although it also contained poems only loosely related to the heraldic images<sup>79</sup>. Various types of stemmata were especially popular at the time of the Polish kings of the Saxon dynasty. As an example we shall mention here a collection written by the Rev. Karol Piotr Sawicki under a long Baroque title beginning with the words: *Krzywda bez szkody*... (*Loss without Harm*...) and containing

podany. W Warszawie w Drukarni J. K. Mci Scholarum Piarum, R. P. 1737 (*The Polish Solomon, Stanisław Lubomirski, in Moral Adverbs or in a Book on Virtue and Fortune. Teaching the World with His Wisdom, Translated into the Polish Language by M. X. Antoni Chryzanty Łapczyński, and for the second time printed at his own expense. In Warsaw in His Royal Majesty's Printing House Scholarum Piarum, A. D. 1737*).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. foot-note 64.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. also foot-note 40.



54 copperplates with corresponding inscriptions and subscriptions in verse. This collection was dedicated to Mateusz Stanisław Rzewuski; it was written in 1721, published in 1726, and it contained various emblematic variations based upon the heraldic "Podkowa" ("Horseshoe") and saturated with ample but not very fortunately expressed moral. We may add here that the second, revised edition of this collection appeared in 1730 under the title changed into *Krzywdą po wzgardzonym dla Boga świecie, po wzgardzonym klejnocie ojczystym...* (Loss due to the Renunciation of the World for God's Sake, due to the Renunciation of the Paternal Coat of Arms...) (in the Polish text the word "Krzywdą" — "Loss" is at the same time the name of the heraldic device of the Rzewuski family). This collection was dedicated to the daughter of the former addressee, Anna Ludwika, the abbess of the Benedictine nuns in Lvov.

Among the devotional emblem collections of that time the most significant ones from the point of view of their number were those dealing with Mariology. The fact that emblems of this type were often clearly connected with ritual practices can be best exemplified by Józef Andrzej Załuski's *XII Emblemata et inscriptiones...* which were meant in 1747 for the Benedictine nuns of Warsaw and which praised Christ in the Eucharist. The role of the inscriptions was played here by the versets from St. Ignatius's antiphone<sup>80</sup>.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century flourishing of literary emblems in Poland is followed by a gradual more and more evident decline in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>. Emblems as elements of the ornamentation of buildings or objects survive much longer, while the fashion for emblem books obviously becomes less expansive, and the reduced demand is satisfied first of all by new edi-

<sup>80</sup> J. A. Załuski, *Zebranie rytmów* (Collection of Rhythms), vol. II, Warszawa 1754, pp. 325 - 339.

<sup>81</sup> Among the MSS of the Czartoryskis' Library in Cracow (MS 2942/II) I have found a MS with a cycle of roccoco emblems commemorating the marriage of Maria Leszczyńska and the French king Louis XV (1725), entitled: *À la Reine Emblèmes et Devises sur son Mariage*. W. Gomulicki wrote about an emblem collection of love nad didactic poems written by Antonina Niemiryczowa née Jelowicka c. 1753. (*Zapomniana poetka polska z wieku XVIII-go* (A Forgotten Polish Poetess from the 18<sup>th</sup> cent.), [in:] W. Gomulicki, *Kłosa z polskiej niwy* (Ears from the Polish Field), Warszawa 1912, pp. 324 - 360). A copy of these poems can be found in Ossolineum MS 5284/I in Wrocław.

Special attention, however, should be paid to the attempts to use emblem structures in transitory political satire, for example *Emblema na przystanie IMci Pana Hieronima Lubomirskiego, kasztelana krakowskiego, hetmana W. Koronnego, do Króla IMci Polskiego Augusta II* (Emblem on His Lordship Hieronim Lubomirski, the Castellan of Cracow, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, Entering into the Service of His Majesty Augustus II the King of Poland), Jagiellonian Library MS 101/I, leaf 122 - 123, written in 1704.



tions of older collections. Literary emblems cease to be in touch with contemporary life and become part of tradition.

At the time of full development of the Enlightenment emblems occupy a very insignificant position in literature, although they are still present in plastic arts and church rituals. Some elements of emblem writing will be taken up by some of the Polish Romantic writers, among others by Cyprian Norwid himself. They will be also taken up by other writers. Yet these were — and sometimes are even now — only echoes of the genre which so vigorously thrived and flourished at the time of the Baroque.

Translated by Jolanta Nałęcz-Wojtczak

## EMBLEMATA STAROPOLSKIE

### (WSTĘP DO PROBLEMATYKI)

#### STRESZCZENIE

Emblemat, rozumiejąc najogólniej, powstaje na styku sztuki plastycznej i sztuki słowa. Składają się nań trzy konstytutywne części: 1) obraz; 2) inskrypcja (zwana też mottem, lemmą); 3) subskrypcja, którą był na ogół utwór wierszowany, czasem dystych, czasem nieco dłuższy epigram, czasem nawet kompozycja posiadająca kształt elegii. Emblematy występować mogły i występowały zarówno jako elementy dekoracji ogrodowej, dekoracji zewnętrznego wystroju i wewnątrz budynków, przedmiotów codziennego użytku, czy też jako elementy dekoracji sceny teatralnej, jak też wreszcie w postaci książek emblematycznych. Termin „książka emblematyczna” jest odpowiednikiem angielskiego „Emblembook” czy niemieckiego „Emblembuch”, ma też swoje odpowiedniki w onomastyce XVI- i XVII-wiecznej. Słynny zbiór A. Alciatusa, który inaugurował dzieje nowożytnej emblematyki (1531), nosił tytuł *Emblematum liber*.

Odpowiedniejsza byłaby tu nazwa „emblemata w książkach”, utwory emblematyczne bowiem nie zawsze wypełniały całość książki, często stanowiły jedynie część zbioru zawierającego różny materiał. Byłoby nawet właściwe wprowadzenie terminu „emblemat literacki”. Autorzy i wydawcy książek emblematycznych zdawali sobie sprawę, że odbiorcy ich dzieł skłonni będą poświęcić więcej uwagi „literackiej”, pisanej części struktury emblematu, nieprzypadkowo też rozbudowywali właśnie tę jego część. W konsekwencji tendencje te doprowadziły do pewnego, choć bynajmniej nie całkowitego, wyodrębnienia w ogólnej historii emblematyki dzieł w książkach emblematycznych czy też emblematów literackich, które nie przestając być emblematami, były jednocześnie częścią składową piśmiennictwa, literatury, częścią w XVI, a zwłaszcza w XVII w. bardzo aktywnie uczestniczącą w jej rozwoju.

Rozprawa niniejsza jest zarysem pracy zmierzającej do ujęcia dzieł w staropolskich emblematów literackich, do stworzenia *mutatis mutandis* polskiego odpowiednika opracowań w rodzaju książki R. Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London 1947). Staropolskie emblematy literackie godne są tym bardziej opracowania, ponieważ — jak dotąd — nikt w sposób systematyczny nie poświęcił im uwagi. Po



zapoznaniu się ze staropolską emblematyką literacką stwierdzić należy, że dzieje jej zarysowują się całkiem interesująco. Porównawcze badania emblematów staropolskich z emblematyką europejską XVI i XVII w. przekonują nas o wyraźnych analogiach, świadczących o zasadniczej jedności — mimo wszystkich różnic, mimo swoistości kultur narodowych — ogólnoeuropejskiej kultury literackiej i szerzej: artystycznej tych czasów. Staropolskie emblematy literackie są tego bardzo znaczącym przykładem.

W XVI-, XVII- oraz XVIII-wiecznych poetykach i traktatach teoretycznych, dość licznych w ówczesnej Europie i docierających do Polski bądź nawet powstających w niej, ugruntowało się przekonanie, że wszystkie trzy wymienione wyżej konstytutywne człony emblematu występowały w ścisłej współzależności. Obraz, czyli wizerunek, przedstawiał pewną ideę, prawdę życiową. Ponieważ przyjmowano, iż odbiorca wizualnie nie jest w stanie poznać całego bogactwa myśli zawartego w rycinie, przychodziły mu z pomocą dwa następne człony. Inskrypcja w krótkiej formule wyrażała samą istotę emblematu, główną treść programową, dydaktyczną. Ujmując główną ideę obrazu inskrypcja stanowiła punkt wyjścia subskrypcji, przedstawiającej tę samą myśl w pełniejszym wykładzie. W niektórych podręcznikach emblematycznych wyodrębniano tylko dwa człony struktury emblematu: 1) obraz; 2) napis, w którym nie wyróżniano już dokładnie inskrypcji i subskrypcji. Odnosiło się to jednak głównie do emblematu jako elementu wystroju budynku, dekoracji przestrzennej, a wiązało się ze swoistym prymatem obrazu nad tekstem w konkretnych realizacjach. W emblemacie literackim, książkowym, obserwujemy natomiast często przeciwną tendencję, stąd rygorystycznie przestrzegano tu budowy trójdzielnej. Niekiedy zaś wśród emblematów literackich pojawiały się struktury niepełne, pozbawione zupełnie ryciny, którą zastępował jej opis, odwołanie się do stereotypowych, powszechnych w ówczesnej ikonografii cech niektórych symboli i postaci (np. Herakles, św. Magdalena), których wizualnie uchwytne kształt odbiorca łatwo mógł odtworzyć sobie w wyobraźni.

Dzieje polskiej emblematyki literackiej rozpoczynają się w zasadzie w okresie Renesansu. W Rejowym *Żwierzynku*, będącym przykładem najbardziej tu reprezentatywnym, występują zarówno emblematy pełne (np. w rozdz. IV pt. *Zacność czystości* lub *Stawa dobra długo trwa*), złożone ze wszystkich trzech komponentów: ryciny, inskrypcji i subskrypcji, jak i emblematy niepełne, w których rycinę zastępuje jej opis, wypełniający czasem połowę Rejowego ośmiowiersza. Konstrukcję emblematyczną posiadają też utwory innych ówczesnych poetów, m. in. Jana Kochanowskiego epigram *In Aquilam*.

W emblematyce polskiej schyłku Renesansu i początków Baroku, podobnie jak i w ogólnoeuropejskiej, coraz większe znaczenie zyskiwać zaczynają różne wcielenia idei „Vanitas”, wypierające tematykę pochwały cnoty, apoteozy sławy wiecznie żywej. Ewolucję tę ilustrują emblematyczne wiersze Mikołaja Kochanowskiego, Mikołaja Sępa Szarzyńskiego. Charakterystyczna jest też dokonująca się w początkach czasów Baroku chrystianizacja popularnych motywów emblematycznych przejętych z mitologii starożytnej. Tendencja ta, bardzo żywa w europejskiej emblematyce początków XVII w., dociera także na teren literatury polskiej. Polskie emblematy literackie z pierwszej połowy XVII w. ciąży jeszcze często (np. J. Domaniewskiego *Emblematy niektóre*) do tradycji późnorenansowej emblematyki, ale wspomniane nowe tendencje dość szeroko przenikają na teren polski, znajdując swój wyraz nie tylko w wierszach emblematycznych; metaforyka emblematyczna przenika do innych gatunków poetyckich (np. u M. K. Sarbiewskiego i u innych



twórców), ważną rolę konstrukcje emblematyczne poczynają odgrywać w teatrze i dramacie.

Szczytowy punkt rozwoju staropolskiej emblematyki literackiej przypadł na drugą połowę XVII w. Wtedy powstaje polski przekład popularnych *Pia desideria* Hermana Hugona, dokonany przez Aleksandra Teodora Lackiego (wydany z rycinami i bez), entuzjastycznie przyjęty przez współczesnych. Powstają dzieła emblematyczne innych pisarzy, m. in. Andrzeja Maksymiliana Fredry. Najwybitniejszymi jednak polskimi zbiorami emblematycznymi z tych czasów są *Emblemata* Zbigniewa Morsztyna (związane z rycinami z dzieła *Les Emblèmes d'amour... par un Père Capucin...*), kolportowane rękopiśmiennie, oraz *Adverbia moralia* Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego, pisane po łacinie stylem elogialnym, związane z rycinami wykonanymi przez Tylmana z Gameren (pierwodruk: Warszawa 1688).

Zarówno *Emblemata* Morsztyna, jak i *Adverbia moralia* Lubomirskiego ukazują ogólną, złożoną z panoramicznie układających się jednostek emblematyczną wizję świata i człowieka. Jest to u obu poetów wizja pełna właściwego ludziom Baroku niepokoju wewnętrznego, dążenia do wymykającego się wciąż punktu stałego oparcia. W wizjach tych u obu twórców głównym wyznacznikiem i drogowskazem ludzkiego postępowania mają być zasady rozumu. Szczególnie mocno podkreśla to Lubomirski, którego dzieło staje się jednym wielkim peanem na cześć ludzkiego umysłu. Głosi on apoteozę wewnętrznej harmonii duchowej człowieka, jej niezmierzonej potęgi.

Schyłek Baroku w czasach saskich nie przyniósł wybitniejszych emblematycznych dzieł literackich. Powstają zbiory o tematyce wąsko dewocyjnej i pagnegirycznej. Na odnotowanie zasługują wznowienia emblematycznego dzieła Lubomirskiego i przekład jego na język polski, drukowany dwukrotnie — w 1714 i 1737 r.

W okresie Oświecenia emblematyka w literaturze polskiej schodzi wyraźnie na dalszy plan, jakkolwiek nie zamiera w sztukach plastycznych i w obrzędach kościelnych. Pewne elementy emblematyki podejmą wprawdzie potem niektórzy twórcy Romantyzmu, np. C. K. Norwid, a także późniejsi pisarze. Były to już jednak tylko echa gatunku tak bujnie rozkwitającego w czasach Baroku.

Janusz Pelc