

A STUDY OF DANIEL CRAMER'S EMBLEMATVM SACRORVM,
Das ist: Vierterzig Geistliche Emblemata ausz der
heiligen Schrifft von dem süßen Namen vnd Creutz
Jesu Christi. (Francoforti, 1617).

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John Henry Goossen
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(Francoforti 1617)

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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Abstract

The general purpose of this thesis is three-fold namely, to study Cramer's emblem book Emblematvm Sacrorvm (Frankfurt, 1617) in the light of modern emblem theory understood both as an "art form" and a "mode of thought", to consider the religious content and to ascertain Cramer's place in the growing tradition of the religious emblem book. As regards emblem theory, the contributions of Albrecht Schöne, Dietrich Walter Jüns and Peter M. Daly as they apply to the tripartite construction of the emblem, its form and mode of thought form the basic premise of this aspect of the thesis. The study of the religious content is based not only on the emblems per se but an effort has been made to ascertain Cramer's personal religious view as expressed in his commentary, Biblische Auslegung (Stuttgart, 1627). Other commentaries consulted include Dächsel's Bibelwerk, a Lutheran work and Calvin's Commentaries. Besides, the views of a variety of authors of emblematic literature have also been considered in determining the significance of the various motifs. As regards the religious milieu of Cramer's time, the writings of Johann Arndt and Carl-Alfred Zell afforded valuable information, while Albert Newman's work, A Manual of Church History, was helpful in illuminating the historical perspective and in tracing the development of the Lutheran Church during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

In order to ascertain Cramer's place in the growing tradition of the religious emblem book, the genesis of the religious emblem book and its consequent development in France, Switzerland, England, the Netherlands and Germany has been researched. The compilation of a selected bibliography of religious emblem books comprised of both Catholic and Protestant emblem books features Cramer's place in chronological perspective. This bibliography has been gleaned from the works of Mario Praz, Heri-

bert Breidenbach and Rosemary Freeman and is found in the appendix of this work.

The results of the research indicate that Cramer's emblems in his Emblematvm Sacrorvm conform to the tripartite structure of an emblem. A Scripture verse serves to introduce the theme of the emblem and may interpret the pictura or may also function as a verbal visualization of the emblem. Three modes of thought, namely the typological, allegorical and hieroglyphical are expressed by various emblems. Due to the feature of cardiomorphosis, the study reveals that the hieroglyphical mode of thought is predominant. Several emblems exhibit a combination of allegorical/hieroglyphical or hieroglyphical/typological mode of thought.

The religious content of the emblems reflects a strong Lutheran emphasis on the Word of God, sola fides, discipleship and firm belief in immortality. Certain virtues such as faith, love and hope are upheld as being exemplary, whereas vices such as hypocrisy, slander and love of money are condemned. Theologically, Cramer's emblems reflect a Melanchthonian standpoint in matters of the freedom of the will to choose or to reject salvation. The influence of mysticism and its tenets of purgation, enlightenment and eventual union with Christ are observable particularly in the first part of the volume.

As regards Cramer's Biblische Ausslegung, material pertinent to the emblems was found in many instances.

Concerning Cramer's place in the growing tradition of the religious emblem book, the findings indicate that he follows in the tradition of his forerunner, Georgette de Montemay, who produced the first religious emblem book, Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes (Lyons, 1571). This work contains several heart emblems. Cramer, however, is the first emblem-artist to devote practically a whole emblem book to cardiomorphosis. In this aspect, Cramer's work influenced such emblem-

artists as Father Benedict van Haeften, Johann Mannich and others.

As a pioneer and innovator in this field, Cramer was the first to produce a Protestant religious emblem book in Germany. As such, Cramer occupies an important place and plays a vital role in the growing tradition of religious emblem books.

Acknowledgement

I wish to express my deep appreciation and sincere gratitude to my advisor Dr. Peter M. Daly, University of Manitoba, to whom I am greatly indebted. He not only created in me a keen interest in the study of emblematic literature but also suggested research of Daniel Cramer's religious emblem book, Emblematvm Sacrorvm. I thank him for his valuable advice, assistance and suggestions as regards the thesis and for making his collection of emblem books and his published and unpublished works in the area of emblematic literature available to me.

A warm word of thanks is also due to Dr. E. G. Berry, Classics Department, University of Manitoba, for his work in translating the Latin Preface of Cramer's emblem book into English. This made the task of the research of this book more meaningful and facilitated the work. Also, I wish to thank Jean Edmonds, a student of Classical Literature, who initially translated the Latin inscriptions and subscriptions into English.

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PREFACE

It was three years ago that Dr. Peter M. Daly encouraged me to consider a course of study in Emblematics. The new field of learning soon appealed to me and also fascinated me. It was during the course of study that Dr. Daly first introduced me to Daniel Cramer's emblem book, Emblem-atvm Sacrorvm. The work intrigued me because of its emblematic content, namely the ornate title page, the preface, the calibre of the emblems and its religious message which is inextricably bound up with its emblematic imagery.

When Dr. Daly suggested that I consider Cramer's emblem book as a possible project of research, I was keenly interested to undertake such a venture.

In the area of emblem theory, I have found the contributions of Schöne, Jüns and Daly most valuable. As regards the research of the religious thinking and philosophy of Cramer, I was privileged to acquire on loan Cramer's Biblische Auslegung from the Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In the research of a religious emblem book, the researcher is faced with the problem of keeping a proper balance between the study of the emblematic elements and that of the inherent religious message. I have found this dichotomy of interest difficult to deal with at times, particularly when the res significans of the motifs of the pictura connote a variety of theological truths. This latter characteristic is particularly common to Cramer's emblems and is purposefully so designed by the author to convey visually doctrinal truths and concepts. I have sought to keep an even balance between these two polarities of interest, however, it has not been easy to maintain. Nevertheless, the project has been one that has been most interesting, informative and stimulating.

Chapter I

The Emblem Theory

In recent times, a greater interest in emblematic literature has been manifested in literary circles. This interest can be attributed to the scholarship of such authors as Mario Praz, Albert Schöne, Dietrich Walter Jöns and others. In his volume, Studies in the Seventeenth-Century Imagery, Praz has exhibited the vastness of the emblematic field by referring to over six hundred authors of emblems. He has also pointed out the untapped resources which are still available and which need to be researched.¹ Besides this remarkable effort, Albert Schöne and Dietrich Walter Jöns have also made a great literary contribution through their study of the emblems of the baroque period. Indeed Schöne's volume, Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock (München, 1968), is recognized as one of the standard works on the emblem.

In order to make an analysis of Daniel Cramer's emblems and to gain a better understanding of them, it is important that one first consider the emblem as a genre i.e. its form, tripartite structure and mode of thought in the light of the emblem theory. In dealing with these aspects in this chapter, the views of Schöne, Jöns and Peter M. Daly, as they apply to the emblem, will form the basic premise. Jöns has characterized the emblem both as Kunstform and Denkform and has emphasized medieval exegetical interpretation as the basis of the emblem's mode of thought. Schöne has shown the function of each of the components of the tripartite construction of the emblem and stresses the significance of medieval typology in the emblem. Daly has proposed that there are various modes of thought and this aspect opens up a new approach and a broader understanding of the emblem. Let us now consider some of these features in greater detail.

¹Mario Praz. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1964, p. 11.

In speaking of the form of an emblem, one may refer to its outer form, which, in general consists of the tripartite construction of inscriptio (motto), subscriptio (epigram), and pictura. Jüns refers to this aspect as the Kunstform² to differentiate it from the Denkform. As such, the former refers to the art form of the emblem, while the latter refers to its mode of thought.³ Jüns regards the Kunstform, as Alciatus created it, as absolutely neutral and due to this fact the form has been utilized for a variety of purposes. As regards this aspect of neutrality, he makes the following statement:

Erscheint die Emblematik doppelgesichtig, so beruht das auf der absoluten Neutralität der Form des Emblems, denn die Vereinigung von Bild und begrifflich fixierbarem Sinn oder die zeichenhafte Verwendung eines Bildes überhaupt kann viel unter sich begreifen. Geht man von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus, so ist ihre Spannweite tatsächlich gross: sie umfasst die im Grunde unverbundene Emblematik Alciatischer Prägung und das spielerische hieroglyphische Schreiben, wie es sich in besonderem Masse in der esoterischen Impresenkunst findet, sie umfasst ferner die ideographische Zeichenmystik, die vom Neuplatonismus der Renaissance ausging, und kann sich der didaktisch-moralischen, mit Illustrationen versehenen Literatur annähern, aber sie zielt in ihrem wesentlichen Anliegen, wenn auch nicht von Anfang an, auf eine Durchleuchtung der Welt, deren Grundlage die christlich-mittelalterliche Lehre von der signifikativen Qualität der Dinge ist.⁴

Jüns continues to point out that this neutral form has been used by theoreticians to promote the allegorical mode of thought.

Von dieser Voraussetzung her ist die Gleichung von Bild und Sinn mit der von Realität und Bedeutung identisch. Und wenn

²Dietrich Walter Jüns, Das Sinnen-Bild. Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 29.

³Daly refers to O.T. Beachcroft as one of the first to refer to the emblematic as a "mode of thought" and also "as a means of expression". Peter M. Daly, "Trends and Problems in the Study of Emblematic Literature" Mosaic, V (1972), p. 58.

⁴Jüns, p. 56.

sich dies allegorische Denken der von Alciatus geprägten Kunstform des Emblems bedient dann als Mittel zur Verdeutlichung und grösseren Wirkung.⁵

Daly maintains that the emblem is a major genre in the renaissance and baroque literature. He too, points out that as a form, the emblem was not only used for various purposes but that its form was employed for "verschiedene Inhalte und Denkformen".⁶

As regards the uses of the art form, Mario Praz states that the structure was used for themes of love emblems⁷, for religious purposes as by Georgette Montenay⁸, for divine love⁹ and for ornamental purposes in Stammbücher¹⁰. Its structure was also used in literary creation, particularly in poems which feature staggered and unrelated images. There it appears to function as a "kind of structural unification".¹¹ An example of this type of a poem is Southwell's Burning Babe¹².

⁵Ibid., p. 57.

⁶Peter M. Daly. "Zu den Denkformen des Emblems", Akten des V. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses, Cambridge, 1975, Verlag Herbert Lang, p. 91.

⁷Praz, p. 43.

⁸Ibid., p. 44.

⁹Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 48.

¹¹Peter M. Daly. "Trends", p. 65. Daly refers to Greiffenberg's sonnet, "Über des Creutzes Nutzbarkeit"

Ein schöne Sach/ im Leiden Früchte bringen!
die Edlen Stein/ zeugt die gesalzene Flut.
Es wird das Gold vollkommen in der Glut
Aus hartem Felss die süssen Brunnen springen
Die Rose muss hier durch die Dörner dringen.
Die Martyr-Cron/ wächst aus vergossnem Blut.

¹²Peter M. Daly. "Southwell's 'Burning Babe' and the Emblematic Practice" Wascana Review III (1968), p. 1.

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In Daniel Cramer's emblems, the tripartite form is a vehicle that is used to body forth Christian doctrine and ethical instruction. In this aspect, Cramer follows in the religious tradition of Georgette de Montenay.

As regards the tripartite construction of the emblem, Schöne's interpretation has generally been accepted as being more or less definitive.¹³ He points out that the inscriptio, which can serve as an object-related title or motto, appears above the pictura. As such, the motto may be expressed in Latin, in Greek or in the vernacular. The pictura which may consist of motifs such as Egyptian hieroglyphs, may come from various sources such as nature, ancient and classical tradition, medieval herbaries and bestiaries as well as from the world of man and his activities. Beneath the pictura is an epigram which may be in verse or prose explaining the meaning of the picture.¹⁴

As regards the functions of the tripartite structure of the emblem, Heckscher and Wirth promulgated a rather simple concept of the functional interrelationship of the motto, icon and epigram. They maintained:

Man hat es beim E. demnach mit einer Vereinigung von Wort des Lemma mit dem Bild der Icon zu einem Rätsel zu tun, dessen Auflösung durch das Epigram ermöglicht wird.¹⁵

Jüns also concurs with this view when he states:

Zwischen der Überschrift und dem Bild bestand ein mehr oder weniger verborgener Sinnzusammenhang, den das Epigram erhellen sollte.¹⁶

¹³Daly, The Emblem and Its Mode of Thought. p. 7.

¹⁴Albrecht Schöne, Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München MCMLXVIII, p. 19.

¹⁵William S. Heckscher und Karl-August Wirth, "Emblem, Emblem-buch" Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1959) 5, col. 95.

¹⁶Jüns, p. 3.

Despite the popularity of this view widely held by scholars¹⁷, Schöne rejected it on the basis that it was too narrow as it did not account for the functional relationships encountered in some of the emblems. As an example of an instance where no enigma is created between the inscriptio and pictura, Schöne refers to the emblem of Alciatus where a Moor is being washed and the motto is "Impossible". He sees the need of a broader base and in place of the former view he proposes for each component of the tripartite structure of inscriptio, pictura and subscriptio a dual function of representation and interpretation or "des Abbildens und Auslegens oder des Darstellens und Deutens".¹⁸ The basis for this premise, Schöne maintains, is "dass das Abgebildete mehr bedeutet als es darstellt" and that the res picta has a "verweisende Kraft" or an transcendant power to point beyond itself, which he refers to as res significans.¹⁹

Concerning the dual functions of the components of the emblem, Daly summarizes Schöne's position as follows:

Insofar as the inscriptio may name the object depicted in the pictura, it can contribute to the representational function; when it names a concept embodied in the picture its purpose is interpretational. The pictura has basically a representational function, but on occasions one motif or set of motifs can make, as it were, a comment on the central picture. Rollenhagen can place a crucifixion scene in the top right hand corner of a pictura depicting the pelican feeding her young with her own blood. The subscriptio is usually a mixture of representation and interpretation.²⁰

As implied above, the subscriptio in its representational function may describe or even name an object of the pictura while

¹⁷Peter M. Daly, "The Semantics of the Emblem -Recent Developments in Emblem Theory", Wascana Review III(1968), p. 200.

¹⁸Schöne, p. 21.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 22.

²⁰Peter M. Daly, "The Emblem and Its Mode of Thought"p.7.

in its interpretational function, it may offer an explanation or interpretation of the pictura and in this assume a didactic aspect or adduce a moral lesson. In this way, the subscriptio reveals the meaning which transcends the res picta and portrays the significatio inherent in the pictura.²¹

As regards the pictura and its relation to reality, Schöne postulates that the focal point of the emblem, as perceived by the reader, is the picture. He designates this aspect "the priority of the picture".²² He distinguishes this feature of reception from that of the perception of the emblem in the mind of the emblem writer by referring to the latter as the "priority of the idea".²³ This perception occurs at a moment when the meaning of the res significans of an object or a scene in nature (as in the case of Nicolaus Taurellus and the field of grain) bursts upon the perceptual consciousness of the emblem writer. Referring to such a moment, Schöne explains,

. . . jenen glücklichen, fruchtbaren Augenblick, da dem Betrachter der Wirklichkeit die Verweiskraft dessen, was er sieht, die verborgene Bedeutung, der emblematische Sinn aufgeht, welchen Gott dem Werden seiner Schöpfung verliehen hat.²⁴

As regards the credibility of the motifs in the picture, Schöne states:

So stellen die pictura und die an ihrer abbildenden Leistung mitwirkenden Textteile des Emblems dar, was tatsächlich oder doch der Möglichkeit nach existiert, was zwar nicht immer oder noch nicht vor Augen stehen muss, aber jederzeit doch in den Gesichts- und Erfahrungskreis des Menschen treten konnte. Neben der ideellen Priorität der

²¹ cf. Schöne, p. 26.

²² Ibid., p. 26.

²³ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

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emblematischen pictura (gegenüber der subscriptio), ja als Voraussetzung solcher Priorität bestimmt eine potentielle Faktizität seines Bildinhaltes das Emblem.²⁵

Jöns on the other hand maintains: "hinter dem Zusammenhang von Bild und Bedeutung steht prinzipiell keine andere Autorität als die des Emblematikers".²⁶

In the opinion of Jöns, the ideal structure of an emblem is one that creates a tension due to the enigmatic relationship that exists in its context.

Die Idealform des Emblems stellt sich nach diessen Zeugnissen als eine Konstruktion dar, die auf eine gewisse Verrätselung des Sinnzusammenhanges gerichtet ist.²⁷

To Jöns this law of form is primary.²⁸

He also implies that tension within an emblem is created when an inscriptio makes a general abstract statement. He refers to Alciatus' emblem with the motto Imparilitas whose pictura features a falcon flying high above the geese and ducks.²⁹ Jöns contends that in endeavoring to solve the enigma, the emblem may also be viewed as an intellectual game in which the delight is centred in the ingenious.³⁰ Regarding this aspect of the ingenious, Jöns refers to the remark in the preface of one of Daniel Cramer's emblem books. He states:

Wo man weniger scharf formuliert, da gilt doch, dass das Emblem den Anspruch zu erfüllen hat, schwer durchschaubar zu sein. In der Vorrede des Verlegers zu den 1630 in Frankfurt gedruckten "Octoginta Emblemata moralia nova" Daniel Cramers lesen wir, dass die Embleme zu den "Materien" gehören, "so ohne sonderbares Ingenium vnnd Nachdencken nicht ergründt werden mögen" und³¹ dass an ihnen der "Verstand zu exerciren" sei. . .

²⁵Schöne, p. 28.

²⁶Jöns, p. 28.

²⁷Ibid., p. 18.

²⁸Ibid., p. 28.

²⁹Ibid., p. 17.

³⁰Ibid., p. 28.

³¹Ibid., p. 22.

This observation by Jöns that an inscriptio may have a general abstract statement, is a feature that Schöne does not seem to mention per se. However, it is an important observation in the analysis of emblems. This feature of the abstract element in the inscriptio is observed in a number of Daniel Cramer's emblems which we will be investigating. Emblem 35 has an inscriptio Sapientia Simplex or "Simple Wisdom". This is an abstract statement referring to the pictura which depicts a cross. Wound around the stem of the cross is a serpent and at the top is a dove. The crossbar bears a heart and an eye. The subscriptio resolves the enigmatic tension by stating, "He whose heart is simple (i.e. guileless) and whose eye wisdom watches over, he will be both a serpent and a dove for God". Other emblems, such as Emblem 8, with the inscriptio Suspiro or "I sigh", Emblem 10 Revivisco or "I come to life" and Emblem 34 with its subscriptio, Neccitra Necultra or "Neither this side nor that" are all examples of a general abstract statement.

As previously mentioned, the emblem expresses a mode of thought. A mode of thought may be described as "the account of the relationship which exists between pictura and word and between pictured object and concept".³² Schöne and Jöns attribute the significance of objects in the pictura to medieval tradition and biblical exegesis.³³ As such, their concern is with what may be termed the significative or the typological mode of thought.³⁴

According to Schöne, two important aspects come into consideration in determining the mode of thought. The first aspect is the medieval theology which in its typological exegesis and allegorical interpretation emphasized the fact that the Creator had implanted into things a basic significance. This endowed significance could be of a Christological nature as it pertained to its

³²Daly, The Emblem and Its Mode of Thought. p. 8.

³³Ibid., p. 8.

³⁴Daly, "Zu den Denkformen des Emblems", p. 91.

Maker.³⁵ Like the image in a mirror, the world reflected these inherent qualities. In this regard Schöne states:

. . . dieser populären Signaturlehre der pansophische Trieb, Beziehungen aufzudecken zwischen Aussen und Innen, geheime Parallelen zu erkennen im Ungleichförmigen und allesdurchwaltende Ordnungen des Seins zu begreifen.³⁶

Related to the preceding, the second aspect was a matter of hermeneutics. The four-fold interpretation initiated by Origen and St. Augustine³⁷ had been modified by the scholastics who held that the scriptural text had a combined literal and historical sense as well as a spiritual sense. The latter was sub-divided into an allegorical, tropological and anagogical sense. It was the tropological aspect, as Schöne points out, that fascinated the medieval mind, because it dealt with moral issues and the destiny of man, his conduct as well as his salvation.³⁸

On the basis of the conceptual orientation of "das Seiende als ein gleich Bedeutendes"³⁹ the summary statement is made by Schöne that "Alles in der historia naturalis vel artificialis Existierende, das die riesenhafte Bilderenzyklopädie der emblematischen Bücher aufnimmt und widerspiegelt in der res pictae, weist so als res significans über sich hinaus und wird von dieser verweisenden Bedeutung, in seinem tropologischen Sinn durch die subscriptio bestimmt".⁴⁰

Jöns is in agreement with Schöne in regard to the typological mode of thought that is expressed in emblems. He speaks of the mode of thought as a Denkform and associates it with a Bildsymbolik. Of the allegorical interpretation he states:

³⁵Schöne, p. 47.

³⁶Ibid., p. 48.

³⁷Jöns, p. 29.

³⁸Schöne, pp. 47-48.

³⁹Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 48.

Die Bedeutung der Dinge ist die Sprache Gottes. . . In der Enthüllung des ihnen von Gott eingeleibten Sinnes besteht das Wesen der mittelalterlichen Allegorese. . . Der zum Aufdecken der Dingbedeutungen führende Weg geht von der Erfassung der Eigenschaften aus, die in der *visibilis forma* und *invisibilis natura* des Einzeldings enthalten sind.⁴¹

Jöns points out that there is a basic relationship between the inherent characteristic of an object and its sense or meaning. An object might have several inherent qualities and could, therefore, have several meanings. An object may have good or evil qualities, hence Jöns contends that the interpretation could be either in bonam partem or in malam partem.⁴² The interpretation of an emblematic image is based, therefore, on contextual relationship and the quality of an object. The maxim in interpretation is clearly specified by Jöns as, "Die Kenntnis der Eigenschaften der Dinge ist somit Vorbedingung für die Erschliessung des geistigen Sinnes, und das Quadrivium wie die naturkundlichen Bücher der Mittelalters hatten den Zweck, diese Voraussetzung zu schaffen".⁴³

It is noted that on the basis of such a premise of the specific qualities of things, the notion that the qualities of an object have been arbitrarily assigned is erroneous. The fact that the same qualities are found in the bestiaries and herbiaries as well as in the Physiologus and correspondingly are found in the books of the Renaissance emblemist, Schöne explains, is due to "einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Symbolik des Mittelalters und der Emblematik, dessen entscheidender Aspekt offenbar in einer verwandten Apperzeptionsform liegt".⁴⁴

The allegorical interpretation in Jöns' view rests upon the medieval exegetical approach to Scripture. Its basis

⁴¹Jöns, p. 31.

⁴²Daly, The Emblem and Its Mode of Thought, p. 10. Daly says "Harsdörffer simply puts it for 'good or ill'". (FG.I, p. 89).

⁴³Jöns, p. 31.

⁴⁴Schöne, p. 46.

was that Scripture, unlike secular writings, had not only a literal sense but a higher spiritual sense was also contained in the words. Hence, Jöns points out that a differentiation was made in medieval exegesis of the Wortklang or vox and Wortinhalt or res. The former refers to the sound of the word, whereas the latter refers to the inherent residual meaning of the actual object or event.⁴⁵

As an example, Jöns refers to the typology of Christ's death as referred to in the Old Testament types. This spiritual sense was contained in the words, however it received its full significance only after the actual event. This exegetical method was applied not only to Scripture but to creation as well. For Jöns states,

Aber nicht nur die im Bibelwort genannten Dinge, sondern alles Geschaffene ist bedeutungshaltig, denn Gott hat sich auf zweifache Weise offenbart durch die Schrift und durch die Schöpfung.⁴⁶

This concept, as linked to the four-fold interpretation of Scripture, was commonly employed by Catholic and Protestant exegetes in the interpretation of reality.⁴⁷

As regards the mode of thought, it thus becomes apparent that in this area Schöne and Jöns are mainly concerned with the phenomenon of the typological mode of thought in the emblematic literature of the baroque period. As far as the hieroglyphical elements are concerned, both recognize their presence, but they do not classify them as belonging to a specific mode of thought. Schöne mentions that the source of hieroglyphical motifs used by Alciatus and other emblematicists came from Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo.⁴⁸

Due to this neglect of the hieroglyphical and allegorical elements, Daly suggests that a re-assessment of the emblem must

⁴⁵Jöns, p. 30.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 31.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁸Schöne, p. 36.

be made.⁴⁹ He believes that Schöne and Jöns have underrated the former two elements and have treated them in a peripheral manner. He therefore puts forth the proposition that besides the typological mode of thought, there are two other modes of thought, namely the hieroglyphical and the allegorical.⁵⁰

As regards the hieroglyphical mode of thought, Daly does not proceed from the traditional approach of the inherent significance of the hieroglyph, rather he describes it as "eher bestimmte Form der Kombination und Organisation von Motiven und Begriffen".⁵¹ He suggests that the hieroglyphic mode of thought is expressed in an emblem where the motifs are assembled in an "abstrakteren, künstlichen und ingeniöseren Kombination von Ding und Bedeutung sowie von Motiven unter sich. Sie findet ihren Niederschlag in jenen Emblemen, welche eine ungewöhnliche, fremdartige Kombination von Motiven aufweist, die in ihrem Zusammenspiel einen allgemeinen Sinn oder Begriff darstellt".⁵² As an example of such an emblem, Daly refers to Alciatus' emblem VI (Paris 1543) with its inscriptio "Concordia" where two crows, standing on a rectangle, support a sceptre with their beaks. It is evident that the arrangement is of human invention and is purposefully designed to point out a political lesson.

As such, the hieroglyphical arrangement in an emblem is an intentional organization of motifs specifically assembled to express a certain attitude of the emblematicist. As compared with the typological mode of thought, the hieroglyphical seems to allow for greater flexibility.

In Daniel Cramer's emblem book, the majority of the emblems exhibit the hieroglyphical mode of thought and portray

⁴⁹Daly, "Zu den Denkformen des Emblems", p.91.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 91.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 92.

⁵²Ibid., p. 92.

the above mentioned flexibility. Two examples are Emblems 14 and 40. The former depicts a cross with a heart nailed to it. Above it are two hands touching each other. The latter emblem depicts an eagle flying towards a pair of pierced feet, a pair of pierced hands and a pierced heart lying on the ground. It is evident that all these pictures exhibit a stylised inorganic arrangement of motifs.

In regard to the use of the allegorical mode of thought, Daly points out that it is exemplified in an emblem when a classical motif is used to illustrate a general concept.⁵³ In the example, that he uses he refers to Alciatus Emblem IX where on the grave of Ajax, Virtue is lamenting the triumph of evil over virtue. As a central figure, Virtue is actually the personification of such qualities in Ajax. Here the general truth is illustrated by a classical personification.

In this category of classical motifs which express the allegorical mode of thought, belong the personifications of the Iconologia of Cesare Ripa. Diana, as a symbol of fruitfulness and natural instinct and Minerva with her staff and owl, signifying wisdom and discretion, exemplify this aspect. As Daly points out, the personifications of faith as a "Gestalt einer Weibsperson mit dem Kelch", as "Gedult mit dem Lamm" and "Hoffnung mit dem Ancker" mentioned by Harsdörffer, also belong to this mode of thought.⁵⁴

In the summation, Daly suggests differentiating between the typological and the allegorical use of a classical motif by directing two questions to the emblem. These are:

Firstly, can the motif . . . connote several different meanings? If it can, then the motif may be thought of as functioning typologically . . . In the second question one might ask, whether the figure or incident though particular and individual, is a perfect example or paradigmatic representation of the notion with which it is usually associated. An instance might be

⁵³Ibid., p. 96.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 100.

the figure of Medea killing her own children, which Alciatus holds up as exemplifying murderous revenge. By way of contrast such allegorical personifications as vice, greed and envy, or mythological figures such as Jove with his lightning bolts are examples of a single significance. . . they are pictorial generalizations of general notion. They are allegorical.⁵⁵

In the allegorical mode of thought, the motifs exhibit a one to one relationship as to their meaning.

On the basis of the emblem theory as presented by Schöne, Jöns, Daly and other writers, it is feasible to make a formal analysis of the emblem by assimilating the pertinent facts as they apply to the disparate parts and the general purpose of the emblem. As regards such an approach, Daly has devised a practical analysis sheet⁵⁶ which comprises an outline of the salient aspects inferred above. By employing this outline, it is possible to make a meaningful analysis of each of Daniel Cramer's emblems.

⁵⁵Daly, "The Emblem and Its Mode of Thought", pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶See Appendix. 4.

Chapter II

A Brief Description of Daniel Cramer's Religious Emblem Book

In order to give a brief description of Daniel Cramer's Emblem Book, it will be necessary to consider its most conspicuous features. The reader's interest is aroused by the ornate title page, the content of the lengthy Latin preface, the portrait of the author with its Latin epigram, the motto and the pictura of the device which prefates each book and the emblems per se. All these aspects are intrinsically related and form an integral part of the work. They display the current psychological stance that the emblem could be used as an effective vehicle for instruction and for the propagation of religious beliefs. As such, this work displays the religious sentiment that was prevalent during the early period of the seventeenth century when emblematic literature was approaching its fullest bloom.¹

The first striking aspect of the emblem book is its ornate emblematic title page which displays the title of the book both in Latin and in German (See Fig. 1).

Translated into English², the title reads:

The FELLOWSHIP of Jesus and the rosy true cross, that is,
Four Decades of sacred emblems from Sacred Scripture,
about the sweetest name and cross of Jesus Christ. . .
Author: Daniel Cramer Dr. theologian of Stettin. . .
Frankfurt, at the press of Nicholas Hoffman, 1617.

The title reveals that the emblem book deals with an exclusive brotherhood, namely, the "Fellowship of Jesus and the rosy cross". The icon of the lamb above the heading, Societas, symbolically suggests the concept of a spiritual fellowship of the Lamb of God. As regards the title, it seems reasonable to assume that current events influenced Cramer in the selection. In 1614

¹ Albrecht Schöne, Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, MCMLXVIII, p. 18.

² Translation by Dr. E. G. Berry, Classics Department, University of Manitoba. See Appendix 3.

the famous document, Fama Fraternitates, was first published in Germany. The document relates the journey of Christian Rosenkreuz, the reputed founder of the Rosicrucians, a secret brotherhood. The writing was given much publicity and seven editions appeared during the years 1614 - 1617.³ This was just the time when Cramer was working on his emblem book. In the light of these facts, namely the founder's name, "Rosenkreuz" and the designation of the order, which is based on the symbol of the cross and the rose, the choice of Cramer's title, Societas Iesv ET Roseae crucis vera, seems more than merely coincidental.

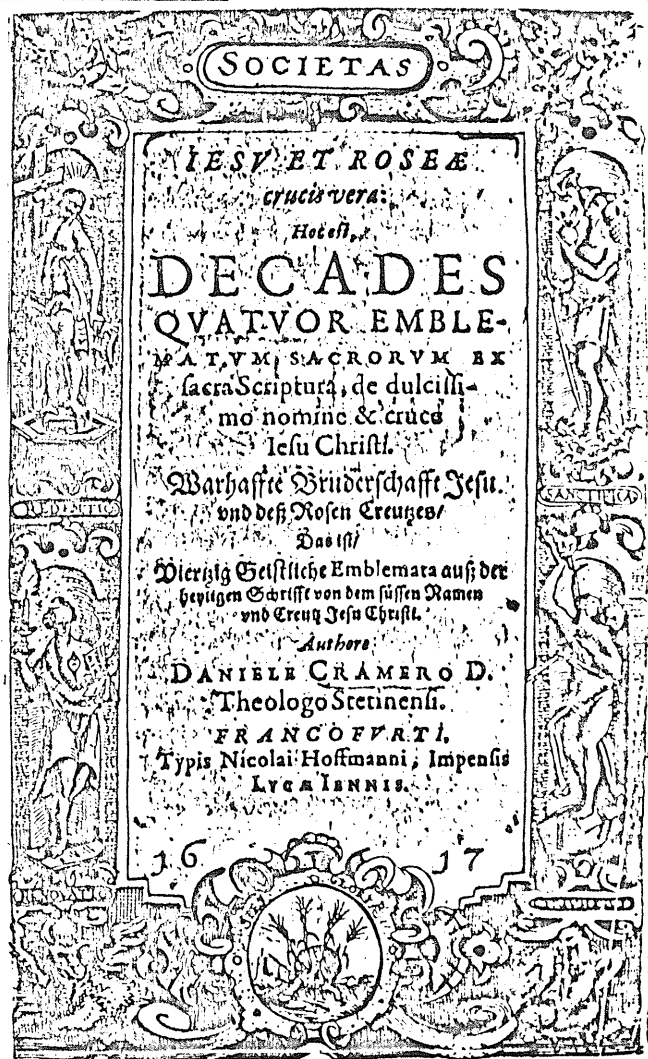


Figure 1. Title page

³Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 19, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., William Benton, Publisher, Chicago, 1966, p. 631.

Of interest, also, is the fact that Cramer's emblem book appears seven years prior to Hermann Hugo's Pia Desideria.

From the preface, we learn that the emblematic border is attributed to the work of Jacob Muller, the engraver of Cramer's emblems. At each corner of the border of the title page are featured four winged creatures and interspersed between them are five emblems with their respective inscriptions. As regards the winged creatures, a winged man is featured in the upper left-hand corner, diametrically opposite to this creature is a winged lion. A winged ox is depicted in the lower left-hand corner and opposite to it, an eagle is portrayed. The arrangement seems to have been carefully planned according to the sequence in which these creatures appear in the chariot-throne vision of Ezekiel where they are first mentioned.

Ihre Angesichter waren gleich einem Menschen und zur rechten Seite gleich einem Löwen bei all vieren, und zur linken Seite gleich einem Ochsen bei allen vieren, und hinten gleich einen Adler bei allen vieren. (Ezek.1:10)

The winged creatures are also described by St. John in the Apocalypse where they surround the celestial throne and pay homage to the Lamb. Collectively, these "symbolic quarter-nites"⁴ are referred to as tetramorphs.⁵ In Medieval times, these tetramorphs were looked upon, not only as being analogous to the four elements of the universe, of water (man), fire (lion), ox (earth), and air (eagle),⁶ but more important in this context is that they also symbolically represented the Four Evangelists.⁷ Commenting on Revelation 4:6, Cramer states:

⁴Francis Klingender: Animals In Art and Thought, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1971, p. 220.

⁵Ibid., p. 218.

⁶Ibid., p. 218.

⁷Ibid., p. 216.

Vier Thier] Die vier Thier bedeutet die vier Evange-
lin/so wol in den Schrifften des alten als neuen Testa-
ment/ verfasset/ darauff das gantze predigtamt gegrün-
det ist: Als auff die Schrifften der Propheten und Apostel/ Eph. 2:20. Die sind voller Augen und Erkanntnisz/
daraus man Gott recht erkennen lernet/ wer ihnen nicht
glaubet der bleibt in der Blindheit stecken: Dann sie
zeugen von Christo/ als (1) einen Löwen ausz Juda Genes. 49 v.9. (2) dasz er sey das rechte Opfer Kalb/
geschlachtet für das Menschliche Geschlecht und Sünde
der gantzen Welt. 1. Johan 35 (3) dasz er sey wahre
Sohn Gottes Joh. 1:14.⁸

According to ecclesiastical tradition, the winged man symbolizes St. Matthew because he traces Christ's genealogy to Adam. The winged lion signifies St. Mark due to the fact that his Gospel begins with "as a voice crying in the wilderness". St. Luke stresses the concept of atonement and hence he has been identified as the winged ox, since the ox was not only a burden-bearer but also a sacrificial animal. The soaring eagle represents St. John because his Gospel begins with the lofty theme of the Logos and deals with divine mysteries.⁹

The question arises as to the specific purpose of the winged creatures in relation to the title page. As these winged creatures are closely associated with the Lamb, it seems that their function is designed to bolster the title and the theme of the work. As celestial witnesses, their presence serves to foster credence of the truths presented in the emblems. As representing the Four Evangelists and eyewitnesses, Cramer declares "sie zeugen von Christo"¹⁰ and this view is also maintained by Bachmann in the preface, where he asserts,

All these things are proved (in case you have doubts) twice by two witnesses, and look you the whole corner has these witnesses.¹¹

⁸Daniel C. Cramer, Biblische Ausslegung, p. 1393.

⁹Gertrude Grace Sill. A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art, MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1975, pp. 44-48.

¹⁰Cramer, p. 1393.

¹¹See Appendix 3. Translation by Dr. E. G. Berry.

As intimated above, the ornate border contains five emblems with their respective inscriptions. The subscriptions were supplied by a certain Conrad Bachmann and are found in the preface after Cramer's Greeting to the Reader. It is apparent that every emblem illustrates a definite aspect of salvation. Upon closer examination, each emblem seems to be based on a specific biblical passage of which the emblem is a visual illustration.

The first emblem, with its inscriptio Redemptio, depicts the motifs of the cross, Christ and the riven side, the blood annulling the handwriting (the demands of the Law) and the fountain of cleansing. Scripturally, the emblem appears to be based on Col. 2:13-14.¹²

The second emblem portrays spiritual renewal in that it features the new heart (Ezek. 36:26) a new walk, divine enlightenment and guidance by means of the Word of God. Specifically, the emblem encapsulates the idea, "Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path" (Psalm 119:105).

The third emblem depicts the believer as a pilgrim (staff) who is beset by the trials and troubles (thorns) during his earthly sojourn. He is quickened and sanctified by partaking of the sacraments (chalice). The motif of the apple in his hand speaks of human depravity, a confession of this depravity as well as a token of an inner need of acceptance of salvation.¹³

In the fourth emblem, the conflict between the old and the new nature of the believer is dramatically set forth. The emblem appears to be based on the passage of Romans 7:24-25 where St. Paul depicts this conflict and its victory in Christ.

O wretched man that I am
Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?
I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

¹²Col. 2:13-14 "having forgiven you all trespasses, Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross."

¹³Sill, p. 54.

The pictura with its inscriptio, Triumphys, graphically portrays this spiritual struggle. The believer is depicted as reaching out to Christ with one hand while with the other, he points to his heart where the conflict rages. From behind, a skeleton has embraced him with one hand, while with the other he is aiming an arrow at the heart.¹⁴ Both the believer and the skeleton are poised on the lid of a coffin. The motif of memento mori in an emblem usually serves as a reminder of the imminence of death and depicts the transitory quality of life. In this emblem, however, it signifies spiritual death that threatens the life of the soul. The arrow is at times a symbol of the plague¹⁵ and, in this instance, it would symbolize sin. As implied by the inscriptio, victory rests upon a complete concentration on Christ as depicted in the pictura.

The fifth emblem signifies hope and glory. The idea of death and rebirth is portrayed by the motifs of the skull and the stalks of grain. The emblem encapsulates St. Paul's concept of the resurrection of the body and its glorified state.

. . . How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die, And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him and to every seed his own body. 1 Cor. 15:35-38.

It is apparent that, as a group, the five emblems comprise an emblematic unity. As such, they constitute a programme to be worked out in the emblem sequence to follow.

A group of Latin prefaces introduces the work: a "Dedication", a "Greeting to the Reader", a series of comments on

¹⁴Peter M. Daly. "Southwell's 'Burning Babe' and the Emblematic Practice", Wascana Review III (1968), p. 34. A parallel idea of a skeleton encompassing a human being is mentioned here. Daly remarks, "We find a striking example of the dramatic visualization of such a standing phrase in H. Hugo's emblem 38. . . which illustrates the words of Romans 7:24, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death'. A large skeleton sits lightly on the earth, its bony hand gently supporting its smiling skull; inside the ribs stands the praying figure of a girl (the soul)".

¹⁵Sill, p. 134.

the emblems of the title page by Conrad Bachmann and a commendation of Jacob Müller by a friend, Christopher Witke.¹⁶

The Dedication is written by Jacob Müller who dedicates the emblem book to the most illustrious and most high Prince and Lord, Master Philip II, Duke of Stettin and ruler of a number of principalities. The dedication is characterized by flowery language and adulation. According to Bachmann, the Duke is an ardent supporter of the arts although this may be an attempt at ingratiation:

Who does not know how in our time these things have pleased and still please princes, . . . how pleasant and sweet an exercise and delight of the mind it is.

Of interest, too, is the fact that he mentions such emblematisers as Alciatus, Reusner and Claudius Paradinus as masters in their field. Characteristic of humanist interest is, as Bachmann suggests, the delight in raritas and obscuritas: the joy in discovering the hidden meaning in their work: "who does not obtain an extraordinary delight from them when he considers the abstruse recondite learning that is hidden in them".

In commending the work of Daniel Cramer to the Prince, it is of particular interest that Bachmann considers Cramer's work in "sacred affairs as [an] hitherto untouched by others". That Cramer's inspiration "flows from the purest springs of Israel", adds to the delight of his pleasant task as the engraver of the emblems. From this we may infer that Cramer is one of the forerunners of the religious emblematic tradition in Germany.

In Cramer's Greetings to the Reader he points out that the source of his emblems is found in the sacred books. It is his design to refute the current idea that the secular field is the only germinal source of emblematic material. He is particularly concerned that the neglect of the sacred books be remedied. He recommends that a new interest in the reading of the Bible be fostered. He also hopes that his Societas will

¹⁶See Appendix 3.

endeavour to refute the current erroneous idea of emblematic barrenness of the sacred field. He states that "if this society of mine can avail at all to beat down this error, I shall rejoice with you".

Conrad Bachmann's contribution has an imposing title, namely, Lines Devised and Engraved on Bronze by the Right and Skilled Master Jacob Müller on the Emblems which precede the Frontispiece of this Book. He begins by pointing out that the visual portrayal of images can only be attributed to the "creative spirit of the poet within". He upholds the maxim that a "picture is silent poetry". Then, he explains the emblems of the title page. By naming the motifs of the pictura of each emblem and by interpreting their significance, his comments assume the function of a subscriptio in its representational and interpretational aspect. He closes with a colloquy wherein he reiterates the main points of each emblem which he has just raised. He assures the reader of the genuineness of the truth presented by referring to the tetramorphs as potential witnesses and he appeals to the reader to admire Müller's heaven which is better than "the work of the heaven of Phidias".¹⁷

The commendation of Jacob Müller by a friend, Christopher Witke, is an apostrophe to the contemporary admirers of the Grecian masters of sculpture and painting. He appeals to the admirers of Phidias, a most famous sculptor and to Apelles of Cos¹⁸ and Zeuxis¹⁹, renowned painters, as well as others whom mankind has held in high esteem, to cease from admiring them. He advises, rather, that they remove them from their lofty.

¹⁷The Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume 17, p. 813.

Phidias a most famous sculptor b. 500 B.C. noted for his grandest sculpture- the colossal gold and ivory statue of Zeus, at Athens. His statue of Athena known as the "Lemnian" and also "the beauty" was another of his famous works. The reference to the heaven of Phidias refers no doubt to the sculptures of the Parthenon which work he administered.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 169. Apelles was one of the most renowned painters at the court of Alexander the Great (332 B.C. Pliny)

¹⁹Ibid., p. 783. Zeuxis flourished 420-390 B.C. Seventeen of his works are known. He is noted for his famous picture of Helena at Croton.

pedestal, even to tread them under foot, for the study of their work was but a tedious toil and "brought to no fulfillment". In their places, he presents to them a new model—the emblems engraved by Müller, which he snatched from Themis.²⁰ He continues to praise the talent and the skill of Müller and his innate dexterity in creating emblems.

The commendation reflects the awakening interest in the use of the emblem as a medium for religious expression. It also communicates the great interest of many contemporaries in Greek art.

The portrait of Daniel Cramer is another significant feature of the emblem book. Not only does it add local color, but it also furnishes the reader with a visual image of the personality of the author. The Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie provides us with some pertinent facts about the life of Cramer. Daniel C. Cramer was born at "Reetz in der Neumark" on January 20, 1568. He pursued his theological training at various places such as Landsberg an der Warthe, Stettin, Danzig and Rostock. At the University of Wittenberg, he held the position as Professor of Logic and it was here that he received his doctorate of theology. In 1595, he went to Stettin, where he held the position of "Archidiaconus am Gymnasium" and "Consistorialassessor". Later he served as Pastor of the St. Marienkirche and concurrently held the position of inspector of the Gymnasium. During the years 1613-1618, due to a vacancy, he was asked to supervise the affairs of the general superintendent's office for the whole Stettin area.

He wrote many homiletical treatises. He also engaged in many written philosophical and theological disputations. At times, he used the pseudonym Daniel Candidus. His main literary contribution, however, was his work called Die Pommersche Kirchenchronik,

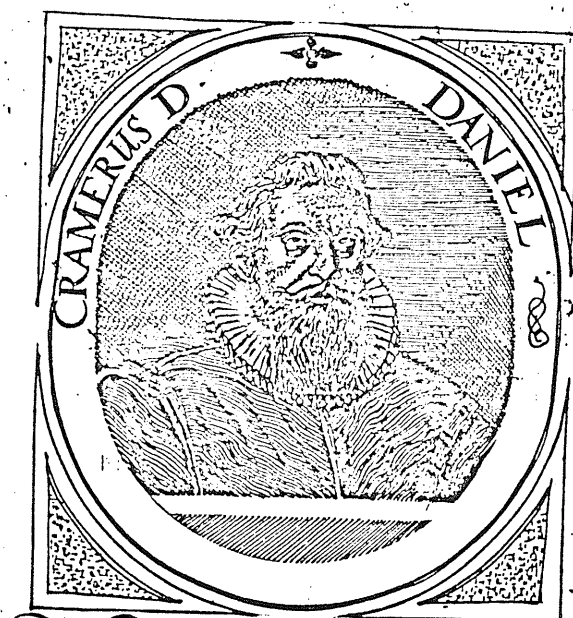
²⁰ Ibid., p. 250. Themis is the Greek mythological personification of custom. In modern writers, it stands for a personification of law and justice.

which appeared in Latin and in German. It was published at Frankfurt am Main in 1602 and at Stettin 1603. The publication serves as a good source of historical information on Pommern.

His death occurred on October 5, 1637.²¹

In keeping with the character of the emblem book, even the portrait of Daniel Cramer with its Latin motto and subscriptio conforms to the structure of the emblem. The motto

Domini Doctrina Coronat.



*Nil scio, nil possum, nil sum, quod in eo.
Ex vultu et genio aernor, id omne DEI est.*

Figure 2. Portrait of Daniel Cramer

asserts, "The Learning of the Lord Gives the Crown", while the subscriptio reveals the self-negation of the author in stating:

I know nothing, I can do nothing,
Nevertheless, the fact that I am seen by my countenance
and mind (talent) to exist all that is (the work) of God.²²

²¹ Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Dunckler und Humboldt, Band III, 1875, p. 546-547.

²² Translation by Dr. E. G. Berry. See Appendix 3.

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This self-effacement carries with it Cramer's intention and hope that the reader's interest would focus on the lofty theme of his work in which he endeavours to bring honour to God by means of his talents.

The emblematic device that precedes each of the four books, is another characteristic feature of the emblem book. It seems that the device which Cramer has chosen for himself as a member of the Societas, is an impresa which shows forth his desire for greater steadfastness in adversity.



Figure 3. Impresa

The pictura depicts four winds fiercely blowing upon an erupting volcano. The motto declares Ardeo Clarivs Adversis signifying, "I burn more brightly in adversity". The design of the device does not seem to be original with Cramer. The motto and pictura are found in Rollenhagen's Emblem I, No. 85 of "Mount Aetna and the four winds" with its motto, Adversis Clarivs Ardet or "Im Unwetter leuchtet er heller". The subscriptio elaborates on this idea.

Der Aetna stehet unerschüttet, er leuchtet heller
im Unwetter und verdoppelt seine Kraft durchs neues
Feuer.²³

²³ Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne. Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1967, p. 64. (translation by the editors).

It would be reasonable to assume that Cramer must have been profoundly impressed by the idea of steadfastness in adversity as exemplified by Rollenhagen's emblem and by dismissing the subscriptio, chose the motto and pictura for his impresa.

In regard to the organization of Cramer's sacred emblem book, it is arranged into four distinct divisions, which are marked as follows: Decas prima, Decas secundas, Decas tertia and Decas quarta. The ten emblems, which comprise each book, deal with certain aspects of the Christian life and doctrine.

Concerning the composition of the sacred emblem, it has besides the tripartite form, an added feature, namely, that every emblem is prefaced by a scripture verse which is given both in Latin and in German. In the latter, the Scripture reference is also given. The Scripture verse seems to be integrally related to the whole emblem and elucidates the meaning of the inscriptio, pictura and subscriptio. Of the 40 emblems contained in this book, 17 Scripture references are taken from the Old Testament, 22 from the New Testament and 1 from the Apocrypha.

In twenty-four of the emblems, the inscriptio consists of a single Latin word. The inscriptiones of the rest of the emblems are composed of two words in Latin, except for Emblem 33 where the inscriptio is given in two Greek words and Emblem 34 where the inscriptio is composed of four Latin words. All inscriptiones are therefore of impresa length. In Emblem 3, where the soul is pursued by a terrible enemy, the inscriptio "I seek the heights" has an impresa-like function. The same seems to apply to Emblem 27 where the motto declares, "I endure mocking faces".

Another striking feature of Cramer's emblem book is that of cardiomorphosis. The heart motif is present in 36 of the 40 emblems and as the heart represents the human soul, it is depicted as suffering various trials and afflictions. It is

hammered on a rock, pursued by a vicious enemy, wounded by a sword, nailed to the cross, tried in the furnace of affliction, chained to earthly treasures and attacked by a serpent and a vulture. On the other hand, it is pictured as enjoying sweet fellowship with God, yielding good fruit, being fervent in prayer and devotion, being shielded against God's wrath and finally completely emancipated winging its way to its celestial home. In this regard, Cramer utilizes a very popular motif of the time.

In England, as Freeman points out, Francis Quarles was the first to introduce it and later Christopher Harvey in his *Schola Cordis* (1647) used it for his 47 emblems.²⁴ In Italy, according to Mario Praz, Francesco Pona produced and published *Cardiomorphoseos sive ex corde desumpta Emblemata sacra*, containing one hundred heart emblems, in Verona in 1645.²⁵

Another characteristic aspect is the virtual absence of classical motifs or allusions. There are only two such instances in the whole book. In Emblem 20 there is a direct reference to a classical allusion in the subscriptio.

Christ is my rock, my hope and pillar of safety on whom
I am held aloft while the Stygian flood rages.

The Stygian flood refers to the "Hateful" river Styx of the underworld. The other indirect classical allusion is to the Prometheus myth. In the pictura of Emblem 29, a vulture and a serpent attack the heart. Prometheus was condemned by Zeus and bound by chains to a high rock in the Caucasus. Here an eagle tormented his body daily and feasted on his immortal liver.²⁶ Cramer, however, directly relates this emblem to the Ixion myth. He states, ". . . des IXIONIS Aszgeyer/ so sein Hertz in der Höllen naget und doch nicht auffressen kann."²⁷

²⁴Rosemary Freeman. *English Emblem Books*. Chatto and Windus, London, 1948, p. 134.

²⁵Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1964, p. 15.

²⁶cf. Henkel/Schöne, p. 1657.

²⁷Cramer, p. 805.

As regards the epigrams of the emblems, all are composed of two Latin lines and in this aspect are akin to Rollenhagen's emblems. As the subscriptiones will be dealt with in greater detail, suffice it here to state that they are used in a most intriguing way by Cramer to elucidate the pictura and to interpret the emblems.

Chapter III

Inscriptiones

As intimated in the preceding chapter, the approach employed in dealing with the inscriptiones will be based on the analysis sheet.¹ Some of the salient aspects that will be discussed are: the number of words, the dual function of interpretation and representation and the completeness or incompleteness of the sense of the motto in relation to the pictura. In the emblems, the relationship of the inscriptio to the interpretational part of the subscriptio will also be considered. Another aspect deserving attention is the function of the Scripture verse in its relation to the whole emblem.

As indicated previously, a characteristic feature of Cramer's emblems is that the inscriptiones consist mainly of one Latin word. An examination of the mottoes reveals that twenty-four of the forty emblems have only one word, fourteen have two words (except Emblem 33 which has two Greek words), one has three words and another has four. It is apparent that all of the mottoes are of impresa length and in so far as thirty-three of the mottoes are in the first person, it is observed that several of them truly have an impresa function. In an impresa, the motto, also designated as "soul", as compared with the pictura or "body", signifies the intention, aim or undertaking of the bearer of the device.² In Cramer, it is evident that several of these mottoes explicitly state a definite personal aim or course of action. In this way, such mottoes closely resemble an impresa-like function. Inscriptiones which function in this manner are found in the Emblems 3, 27 and 37.

As regards to the dual function of interpretation and representation of the inscriptio, thirty-six are purely interpretational, four are strictly representational in function while eighteen are both interpretational and representational in nature. Twelve

¹Peter M. Daly. See Appendix 4.

²Mario Praz. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1964, p. 58.

inscriptiones are pictura-related and only one, Emblem 32 is not at all connected with a motif in the picture. Some of the verbs of the inscriptiones have a concrete as well as an abstract function, such as Cresco, Lateo and Illuminor. There are many instances in which the inscriptio may have both a representational and interpretational function.

Regarding the completeness or the incompleteness of the sense of the inscriptiones, it appears that in all but two of the mottoes the sense is complete and the relationship is clear. In Emblem 33 and 34, the sense of the motto is incomplete. This aspect, however, is clarified by the pictura in each respective case.

In these emblems, the Scripture verse is featured both in Latin and German and has a definite bearing on the emblem. In some of the emblems, it yielded "the priority of the idea" in the creation of the emblem. Emblems 1, 3, 24, 25, 32, 36, and 40 are but a few of many which could be cited. Again, in other instances, the verse serves as an interpretational aid to the emblem as in Emblems 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 33 and 39. For those inscriptiones, which have strictly an interpretational function, the Scripture verse functions as a kind of gloss. It assumes a representational role in naming objects in the pictura. This is seen in such emblems as 1, 4, 5, 7, and 11. Again in emblems, where the inscriptiones may possibly have both a representational and interpretational function, the verse can be seen to function as a title or a maxim for the emblem. This aspect is seen in various emblems such as 2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 14, 20, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38 and 40.

Let us now illustrate these general comments on the function of mottoes by a fuller discussion of some characteristic examples.

An interesting emblem in which the inscriptio truly functions as an impresa is Emblem 3 which has as its motto Alta Peto or "I seek the heights". The Scripture reference is based on Psalm 143:10, "Errette mich mein Gott von meinen Feinden/ zu dir habe ich Zuflucht". The pictura depicts the soul fleeing to Christ

EMBLEMAT. SACR.

III. EMBLEM.

Eripe me de inimicis meis, ad te confugi.

Psalm. 143. 10.

Errette mich mein Gott von meinen Feinden / in dir
hab ich Zuflucht.



Ad te confugio, quia me petit hostis, IESU,
In pradam rape cor, praeda ego ne capiar.

Figure 4: Cramer: Emblem 3.

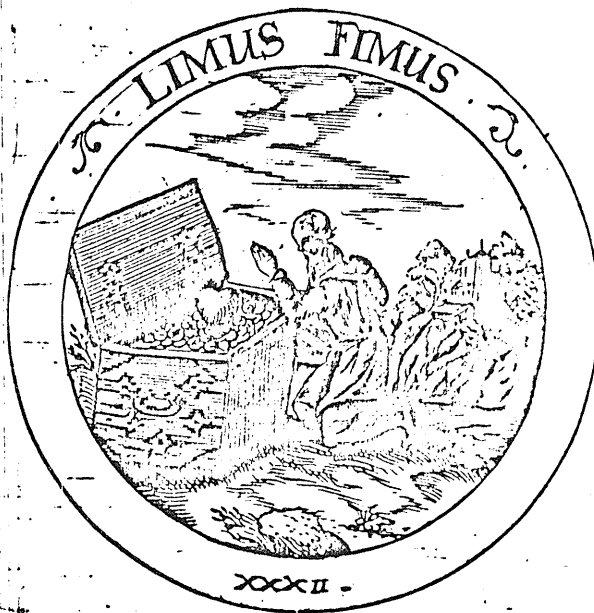
EMBLEMAT. SACR.

XXXII. EMBLEM.

Vbi est thesaurus tuus; ibi est & cor tuum.

Matth. 6. 21.

Wo ewer Schatz ist / da ist auch ewer Herz.



Cor ibi adest ubi adest, quia toto est exul in auro:
Cor renova, inque Polum malle animatus abi.

Figure 5: Cramer: Emblem 32.

because a vicious monster with bat-like wings and features endeavours to snatch it. The subscriptio consists of a fervent petition, "To you I flee, Jesus, because the enemy seeks me. Snatch my heart as spoils, lest I be seized as spoils".

In this emblem, the inscriptio functions in the impresa-like manner in that it expresses a definite intent or desire of the soul. As JÜns explains:

Die Impresa . . . und oft aus einer bestimmten Situation heraus geschaffen worden war, drückt durch Motto und Bild aus, was ihr Träger unternehmen will. Sie enthält eine Absicht, meistens sogar eine Lebensmaxime.³

The maxim of the soul in this emblem is clearly expressed by "I seek the heights". In this definitive course of action, the motto functions within the context of the emblem and its relation to the other component parts. The motto, "I seek the heights" has a dual function of representation and interpretation. As regards the former, the inscriptio serves as an object-related title, anticipating verbally the picture of the soul escaping from its enemy.

In its representational function, the inscriptio can convey the idea of something concrete or tangible, as for instance, seeking higher ground. Interpretationally, the motto connotes the abstract or intangible concept. The monogram "IHS", signifying Christ, indicates clearly that the heights, which the soul is seeking, belong to the metaphysical sphere. Inherent in the abstract idea is the need for an interpretation of the general abstract statement. In this way, a certain tension or Spannung, is created between the inscriptio and the pictura. The dramatic action of the fleeing soul, as seen by the oblique arrangement of the motifs, enhances the drama. Indirectly, the Scripture verse above the emblem also bolsters the idea of flight in the word Zuflucht. In its historical context, the petition of Psalm 143:10: "Errette mich mein Gott von meinen Feinden/ zu dir habe ich Zuflucht",

³Dietrich Walter JÜns. "Das Sinnbild". Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius. / J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1966, pp. 18-19.

reflects the plight of David, the refugee, as he flees before King Saul in the environs of the cave of Adullam in southern Judea.⁴ In the emblem, Cramer has spiritualized the historical setting of the Old Testament so that it conforms to the concepts of the theology of the New Testament. By analogy, instead of King Saul, the enemy of the soul depicted in the pictura assumes the form of a ferocious bat-like creature which has emerged from the cave of the underworld. The bat-like wings and claws⁵ reflect the sinister nature of the monster which is a personification of evil or the devil himself.⁶ Instead of David, the Christian soul is persecuted and seeks refuge in Christ.

The dynamics of the component parts of the emblem now come into clearer focus as they interrelate with one another in this emblem. The focal point is the motif of Christ in the pictura. In its representational function, the subscriptio names the motifs of "Jesus" and "enemy" in the pictura. Interpretationally, it explains the action in the pictura - "the enemy seeks me". It also introduces the notion of "spoils".

It is to the interpretive part of the subscriptio that the inscriptio is linked, namely, "To you I flee Jesus because the enemy seeks me". The soul seeks the heights because "the enemy seeks [it]". In this way, the inscriptio helps in the interpretation of the subscriptio.

The antithesis, "Snatch my heart as spoils lest I be

⁴1 Samuel 22:1.

⁵Ludwig Volkmann. Bilderschriften der Renaissance. B. De Graaf, Nieuwkoop, MCMLXIX, p.29. As regards "claws" Volkmann observes: "Die Klauen des Nilpferdes nach unten gerichtet bedeuten einen Gottlosen, Ungerechten und Undankbaren".

⁶Daniel Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. Strassburg, 1627, p. 451. He makes no specific comment on Psalm 143:10. However, in the introductory remarks to Psalm 143 in Sec. 2 he states that the Psalmist, "Klagt dasz der Feind der leidige Teufel ihn der Sünden halber hart zusetze".

seized as spoils"⁷ expresses a most urgent petition. The idea of "spoils" refers to the historical stratagems of King Saul to seize David as a "spoil" or trophy of his campaigns. Here in its spiritualized setting, it refers to the devil as Cramer points out. In the emblem, the petition is linked to the words of the Psalm which contributes to the coherence in the whole emblem, and all its parts.

In Emblem 34, the inscriptio, Nec citra Nec ultra, or "Neither this side nor that" is an example of a motto with a strictly interpretational function. It is also an inscriptio in which the incomplete sense is clarified by the pictura. The key word is "equilibrium" or "balance" and the concept expressed is keeping to the centre of the road. The pictura depicts a heart that has been pierced transversely by a wooden beam on which, at either end, a weight has been attached to serve as a balance. The heart is pivoted on top of a triangular pillar or obelisk⁸ which bears the inscription "IHS" on one of its sides. The motifs of the triangular obelisk which signifies righteousness and the monogram "IHS" for Jesus which in the Volksmund is interpreted as Jesus Heiland Seligmacher implies that the standard is the righteousness of Christ.

The subscriptio is of interest in that it repeats in the main the inscriptio before proceeding to explain the pictura. Also, it draws a moral lesson from the picture as seen in its context, "Neither on this side nor that the heart will proceed more safely in the middle: he who rushes from the standard (path) he races to ruin".

The inscriptio is closely related to the Scripture verse. In fact, it is a distillation of its main thought. In its historical setting, the children of Israel were at the borders of

⁷The concept of "snatching" and "spoils" seems to be an allusion to 1 Samuel 27:1, "David aber gedachte in seinem Herzen: Ich werde der Tage einen Saul in die Hände fallen;". It is also an overtone to Zechariah 3:2, "Ist dieser nicht ein Brand, der aus dem Feuer errettet ist?"

⁸Volkmann. p. 53. As regards the meaning of the triangular pillar or obelisk, Volkmann relates, "Das Dreieck vermerkt die Gerechtigkeit und Billigkeit, was der Grund dafür ist, dass die Ägypter zum Gedächtnis ihrer Könige . . . die Obelisken oder Pyramiden errichteten . . .".

Edom. In order to avoid a long and arduous circumvention of the Edomite land, Moses, their leader, requests,

Lass uns durch dein Land ziehen. Wir wollen nicht durch Hcker noch Weinberge gehen, auch nicht Wasser aus den Brunnen trinken, die Landstrasse wollen wir ziehen weder zur Rechten noch zur Linken weichen bis wir durch deine Grenze kommen. Num. 20:17.

It is interesting to note Cramer's approach in selecting the inscriptio from this verse. First of all, he omits the bucolic motifs and selects only six words of the verse, "Weder zur Rechten noch zur Linken". Secondly, he distills this idea into a general title, "Neither this side nor that". The sense of the inscriptio is incomplete and its enigmatical meaning is clarified by the motifs of the pictura. As a keyword, "balance" infers steadfastness, the meaning of the motif of the pillar⁹ is crucial in the interpretation. Cramer has spiritualized the historic event to apply to the spiritual pilgrimage of the soul. This is intimated by the insignia "IHS" on the one side of the pyramid. The inscriptio's meaning would hence imply that the Christian soul should be steadfast and keep to the standard. This idea is substantiated by the subscriptio when it states, "The heart will proceed more safely in the middle and he who rushes from the standard, races to ruin". By contrast, the Landstrasse finds its counterpart in the broad and narrow way motif. Commenting on the broad and narrow way, Cramer states,

Die Christen sind hie auff Erden noch auff dem Wege/
Treiben ihre Wallfahrt und sind Gottes Pilgram. Ps.
39:14. . . . Aber in der geistlichen Wanderschaft
muss man der grossen Heerstrasse/ nicht folgen. . ."

Further, he states, that as pilgrims we should heed the admonition of our teachers saying, "Also her/ disz ist der Weg denselben gehet/ sonst weder zur Rechten noch zur Lincken". Isa. 30.¹⁰

⁹Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. p. 1327. Cramer draws from the word pillar various meanings. He states, "Also ist die Christliche Kirche ein Pfeiler oder Säule der Wahrheit/ ja ein jeder in der Christenheit/ ist ein solcher Pfeiler auf welchem geschrieben ist/ der Name Gottes!"

¹⁰Ibid., p. 1020.

In Emblem 32, the inscriptio, Limus Fimus, or "We become filth" has an interpretational as well as a representational function. A singular feature of the representational function which occurs only in this motto is that it is non-pictura-object related. Representationally the word "filth" may refer to the gold coins in the treasure chest. In biblical usage, the term "filthy lucre" occurs three times in the pastoral epistles.¹¹ In each case, it is associated with an avaricious desire for monetary gain. In an abstract sense, the idea, "We become filth" implies moral defilement in the form of avarice.

In the pictura, a man is kneeling in an attitude of prayer before a treasure chest which is filled with gold coins. As a gloss to extend the meaning of the main motif, a heart is featured in an upright position resting on the coins. The subscriptio explains the pictura in that it states, "the heart is not where it should be because it is completely exiled among the gold". The heart is estranged among the material treasures and is defiled as earthly things seem to have completely captivated its affections. The inscriptio intimates this defilement of the soul. The portion of Scripture, from which the verse, "Wo ewer Schatz ist/ da ist auch ewer Hertz" is taken, thematically deals with the antithesis of earthly and heavenly treasures. The exhortation "recall the heart and go to heaven as one truly alive" is a clarion call to a reversal of values, to strive for the life-giving, lasting treasures of heaven. In regard to riches, Cramer warns repeatedly, "Füllet euch Reichthumb zu/ so henget das Hertz nicht daran . . . Weil Gott und Mammon nicht zusammen stimmen. Dann Gott will das gantz Herz haben Deut. 6.5. da stiehlt der Mammon das Hertz weg".¹²

¹¹Titus 1:7; 1 Timothy 3:3,8.

¹²Cramer, p. 1053.

As the love of money is the root of all evil, the purpose of this emblem is to illustrate the impossibility of serving God and Mammon at the same time.

In Emblem 16, Cramer depicts the means of release from the ensnarement of riches. The Scripture verse, "Fället euch Reichthumb zu/ so hängen das Hertz nicht daran" introduces the theme for the whole emblem. The pictura depicts a heart that is chained to a treasure chest of money. A hand from heaven extends a key toward the heart in order to unlock the lock on the chain. The inscriptio, Redimor, has a representational and interpretational function. Representationally, it intimates that a transaction has been made for release. In the tropological sense, it means "verkaufen" or a price has been paid. It also entails the idea of "loskaufen" or "auslösen . . . mit des Mittels".¹³ Here again the idea of "Lösegeld" or ransom undergirds the whole concept. Interpretationally, the inscriptio, Redimor, implies release from the sin of avarice. In the emblem the declaratory statement, "I am redeemed" seems ambivalent in relation to the pictura which features the heart chained to the treasure chest of money. Here is a case in point referred to by Heckscher and Wirth, that in an emblem the combination of the inscriptio and the pictura produce an enigma which is resolved by the epigram.

The subscriptio resolves the enigma by means of its representational and interpretational function. Representationally, it identifies the heart and the key in the Lord's hand. In its interpretational function, the explanatory aspect takes on the form of a confession. As such, there is first the personal confession of bondage to transitory things that "seize" and "bind my heart"; then there is a call to appropriation, "take the key from the Lord", and lastly, there is a response, "I will be freed".¹⁴

¹³ Dr. G. Mühlmann. Handwörterbuch. Druck und Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun, Leipzig, 1897, p. 538.

¹⁴ The concept of freedom or being freed by the Lord as alluded to in the subscriptio seems to refer to John 8:36, "So Euch der Sohn frei macht so seid ihr recht frei".

As the inscriptio is linked to the interpretational part of the subscriptio, it interprets the response as a completed transaction, "I have been redeemed". The relationship of the inscriptio to the pictura has thus been resolved in this way by the subscriptio.

In Emblem 19, Cramer features an emblem in which the inscriptio functions solely in a representational manner. In the pictura, a heavenly hand is holding a balance scale. In one of the trays are the two tablets of the Decalogue, while in the other is a heart, a chalice and a cross. The weight of the latter raises the two tablets of the Law aloft.

The inscriptio, Praepondero, or "I tip the scale" is picture-related and as such it not only describes the action but also names or refers to an object in the pictura. The relationship of the inscriptio to the pictura is clear and the sense is complete. The key-word is "tip" or Übergewicht haben and the concept is that the preponderance of grace overcomes the demands of the Law. This fact is explained by the subscriptio in these words:

The heart stained from the rose-coloured altar of the blood of Christ, overcomes the weight of the law with the rejoicing weight of the cross.

The verse, "Ihr seyd nicht mehr vnter dem Gesetz/ sondern vnter der Gnade", assumes the function of a title, sets the theme and names the theme clearly and completely.

Another emblem, in which the inscriptio functions in a representational way only, is Emblem 25. The motto, "I am cooled" is a general statement that describes the dramatic action of the heart as it is being cooled and refreshed by the "kind breath and water of heaven". The pictura depicts a heart being scorched by flames which come from what appears to be a burning cross below it. A breath from heaven blows upon the heart, while a hand from heaven pours water from a jug upon it.

In describing the parched soul, the subscriptio relates, "I burn and sweat in my hard labors, but the kind breath and water

from heaven are sweetly refreshing". The hard labor, heat and sweat referred to in the subscriptio seem to be associated with the cross. The representational function is not confined to the inscriptio and subscriptio only. The verse,

Ich wil Wasser giessen auff die Dürstige/ vnd Ströme auff die Dürre/ Ich wil meinen Geist auff deinen Samen giessen.

refers to the res picta in the pictura. In this, the verse displays a representational function in regard to the picture.

The concept of "Wasser giessen" and "Ströme auff die Dürre" is closely related to the idea expressed by the inscriptio, "I am cooled".

In another context, Cramer makes an interesting comment on "Wasser giessen", which encapsulates the meaning of the whole emblem. He interprets it in this manner:

Wasser giessen.] Der heilige Geist ist das rechte Hertz-Stürck= und Schlagwasser/ dadurch alle matte und dürre Herten erquicket werden welches entspringet aus dem lebendigen Brunquell der Barmherzigkeit Gottes/ welches ist die offene Seite des gecreutzigten Christi. Wer nun des Wassers trincken wird/ den wird ewiglich nicht dürsten/ Sondern das Wasser wird in ihm ein Brunn des Wassers werden/ das in das ewige leben quillet. John 4:15.¹⁵

¹⁵Cramer. p. 531.

Chapter IV

Picturae

Before considering the picturae of Cramer's emblems in greater detail, it may be well to refer to some of the general salient aspects of the pictura of an emblem. As Schöne has indicated, the pictura is the central focus of the emblem.¹ The reader's attention is first attracted to it and it is to this phenomenon that Schöne has referred as the "priority of the idea" in that the latter refers to the perception and creation of the emblem in the mind of the emblematiser. The res picta of the pictura is a res significans and as such presents a challenge to the beholder to discover the encapsulated meaning of the emblem, which may be enigmatic.

Holger Homann has summarized the function of the pictura in his essay on Sebastian Brant, where he remarks,

Der Grundgedanke, der jedem Emblem voran liegt, ist, dass die res picta zugleich res significans ist, dass das in der pictura Dargestellte über sich hinaus auf einen höheren Sachverhalt verweist. Daraus folgt, dass der pictura, bzw. dem in ihr Abgebildeten, die zeitliche Priorität vor der subscriptio zukommt, und zwar dergestalt, dass es die Verweiskraft der pictura ist, die die subscriptio hervortreibt. Diese "ideelle Priorität des Bildes" verlangt nun ferner, dass das in der pictura Dargestellte als etwas wirklich Existierendes als ein existierender oder doch möglicher Teil der Wirklichkeit aufgefasst wird; so gesellt sich als zweites Charakteristikum des Emblemildes die "potentielle Faktizität" zur "ideellen Priorität". Und schliesslich darf sich die pictura nicht selbst, etwas mit den Mitteln der Allegorese, interpretieren; ihr höherer Sinn muss vielmehr verborgen sein und darf erst in der subscriptio aufgedeckt werden.- Das eigentlich Emblematische ist also, dass das in der pictura Dargestellte nicht nur als Seiendes, sondern auch als Bedeutendes vorgestellt wird: die pictura ist also nicht Verbildlichung des Textes sondern der Text nimmt seinen Ausgang von dem in der pictura Abgebildeten und zeigt dessen verborgene, das Dargestellte übersteigende Bedeutung auf.²

¹ Albrecht Schöne. Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München MCMLXVIII, p.26.

² Holger Homann. Studien zur Emblematik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, Utrecht, 1971, pp. 14-15.

As regards potential facticity, Holger Homann makes the following comment,

Für die Emblematiker und ihre Zeitgenossen besaßen antike und biblische Berichte die gleiche Glaubwürdigkeit, also Faktizität, wie ihre eignen Beobachtungen. So können biblische, historische und mythologische Gestalten sehr wohl emblematisch behandelt werden.³

This observation is pertinent to Cramer's emblem book as his emblems are scripturally oriented and must be understood from this vantage point.

In considering the picturae of Cramer's emblems, it is observed that the pictured objects, some of which are real and others imaginary, are set against a background of landscapes, terrains and urban life. The inscriptio is inscribed above the pictura within a double circle which circumscribes the picture, whereas the subscriptio is found immediately below it. The number of motifs in a cluster may vary from three to eight. As regards arrangement, the majority of the picturae depict an inorganic or stylised combination of motifs which are found in nature, the life of man, mythology and the Bible. A cluster of motifs, within an emblem, may contain different objects representative of several of these realms.

From the Plant World, the picturae contain such motifs as stalks of grain and thorns (2), lilies among thorns (22), wreaths around a pillar (20), a flourishing rose (31), a stalwart palm tree (27), the fragrance of incense (4,8), anointing oil (12) and the olive leaf (30). The motifs of fire (4) (7) (8) (10) (24) (25) (33), water (13) (20) (25) (31), air (4) (7) (13) and earth (2) are representative of the Four Elements. From the Animal World, the serpent is the only reptile portrayed (11) (29) (35) whereas the bee is the only representative of the insects and is mentioned in conjunction with the spider (15). As regards the avian order, the eagle (29) (40) and the dove (29) (35) are the

³Ibid., p. 21.

only ones mentioned. The animal motifs present are those featured on the frontispiece. Concerning personification, the heart, which metaphorically represents the soul, is present in all but four picturae. Evil is depicted as a dragon-like monster (3) (27) whereas wrath is symbolized by arrows and the lightning bolts of Jove (5). The macrocosm is depicted as a gloss in Emblem 15; it features the sun, moon, stars and clouds. In the category of the Bible, the gospel of grace outweighs the demands of the Law (18) (19). The Christological motif of the cross is found in Emblems (14) (17) (19) (21) (37) and that of Christ is symbolized by the insignia of "IHS" in (3) (10) (11) (34) (39). The motifs of Providence, depicted as either a hand from a cloud, hands cupped (as a sign of blessing) and clasped hands (symbolizing an act of covenant) appear in eighteen picturae. The zephyrs or winds, blowing upon the heart, which come from the mouth of cherubs, portray the spirit of God and are present in Emblems (4) (7) (25).

As regards the classification of motifs, Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, in their Emblemata⁴ have systematized the emblematic motifs by grouping them into eight main categories⁵, namely, the Macrocosm, the Four Elements, Flora, Fauna, the World of Man, Personification, Mythology and Bible. If this approach is applied to Cramer's emblems, together with some modifications⁶, the motifs of the picturae can be classified in their respective categories. This distribution is featured on the sheet entitled "Classification of the Motifs of the Picturae".

⁴Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne. Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung und C. E. Poeschel Verlag, 1967.

⁵William Heckscher and Cameron F. Bunker, Rev. Henkel/Schöne. Emblemata. In Renaissance Quarterly XXII, 1970, . . . "Obviously and understandably, Henkel/Schöne have fallen in love with Picinelli's Mundus Symbolicus. The eight main groups in which they present the rich and varied materials are Picinellian in character and have some thirty subdivisions. p.61.

⁶Peter M. Daly. Regarding modified sheet on classification see, "A Scheme for the Categorization of Motifs in Emblematic Picturae". See Appendix 5.



At times, Cramer bases an emblem on a parable, a specific theme or a theme that is expanded by a gloss in the pictura; he can also base an emblem on mythology. Let us consider, in greater detail, some of the emblems and their picturae, in particular, which are based on these subjects.

An interesting emblem that is based on the well-known parable of the sower and the seed⁷ is Emblem 2. The pictura depicts a heart with three stalks of grain standing upright at the side of a highway. Thorns and stones encircle the heart and stalks of grain. From the sky, a bright sun is shedding its rays upon a rustic scene and this serves as a background to the main motif. The inscriptio, Cresco or "I increase" is picture-related. By its general statement and due to the enigma as to what actually does increase, tension is created. In its representational function, the concrete sense of the motto, Cresco, refers to the heart with the stalks of grain, whereas, in its abstract sense, it is linked to the idea of the need of patience in fruitbearing. In the biblical context of the parable, the motifs of the wayside, the stone and thorn-infested ground metaphorically depict various kinds of hearers of a negative disposition of mind, who reject the seed or the Word, whereas, those hearers of a positive attitude, who accept the seed or Word, are represented by the good soil or fruitful heart.

The subscriptio declares antithetically what the heart is not like and then what it really is like. It states, "I am not the highway, nor the thorns, nor the stone but the best earth and a spike [of grain] surges forth from my heart's embrace".⁸ In this way, the epigram explains the res significans

⁷The parable of the Sower and the Seed is also recorded in Matthew 13. It is sometimes referred to as the "Parable of the Soils".

⁸The idea of embracing the promises of God in faith is expressed in Hebrews 11:13 where it pertains to the progeny of the patriarch Abraham. ". . .and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."

DOMINICA IVBILATE.

EVANG. JOH. 16. v. 16.



Non pluvia semper; Phœbus quandoq; resulget,
Tunc caput extollunt, quæ cecidere prius.
sic submersus homo cruce, dum fax gratia ab alto
Hunc reficit, subito gaudia mille capit.

Figure 6. Mannich. Emblem 15

EMBLEMAT. SACK. 2

Hi sunt qui in corde bono & optimo audientes
verbum retinent, & fructu afferunt in patientia.

LUC. 8. 15.

Die sind die das Wort hören vn behalten in einem
seinen guten Herzen / vnd bringen Frucht mit
Gedult.



Non via, non sum spina, lapide, sed optima terra:
Et spica e cordis surget amena sinu.

Figure 7. Cramer. Emblem 2

of the pictura.

Thematically, the main idea of the parable is fruit-bearing as a result of receiving the Word and accepting it. As Cramer declares elsewhere:

Dasz das Wort Gottes ein Same genennet wird/ damit wird seine ewige unvergängliche Krafft angedeutet wie der Samen/ es sey Wytzen/ Rocken/ Gerste/ oder dergleichen etwas ein geringes Ansehen und dennoch eine grosse Krafft hat/ über sich zur steigen/ zu wachsen und herrliche Halme zu sitzen und Frucht zu bringen.⁹

This idea is substantiated in both the subscriptio and the pictura, for the epigram points this out verbally, while the pictura depicts this aspect pictorially. Also, both are closely related to the meaning of the Scripture verse. The receptive hearers are pointedly identified as, "Die sinds die das Wort hören und behalten in einem feinen und guten Hertzen/ und bringen Frucht mit Geduld. Luc. 8:15".

As regards fruit-bearing, this verse introduces specifically the need of patience. This aspect is applicable to both the physical and spiritual realm. In this way, the inscriptio seems most appropriate in that it is applicable to both. In the pictura, the need for patience is depicted by the heart with its spikes of grain among the thorns, stones and impervious ground of the highway. In this arrangement of the motifs, illustrating the concept of patience in fruit-bearing, Cramer has utilized the hieroglyphical mode of thought.

It is interesting to note that Mannich, in his Sacra Emblemata (1624), has an emblem with a similar motif, namely, that of a heart and twelve spikes of grain. In the pictura, the heart is featured as being partly exposed to sunshine, while the other part is pictured as enduring a severe rainstorm. In the foreground of the emblem, in front of the heart, minor motifs of stones, plants and a frog are seen. In this typological emblem, Mannich deals with the theme, "Freude nach Leid".¹⁰ The motif of the fruit-

⁹Daniel Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. p. 1038.

¹⁰Henkel/Schöne. Emblemata. p. 1032. cf. 601-2 regarding frog as a symbol of rebirth.

ful heart, illustrated as being half immersed in adversity and half enjoying pleasant surroundings, portrays the theme very appropriately. Further, the thematic meaning is enhanced metaphorically by the motif of the frog which can symbolize resurrection and newness of life.

Another striking characteristic of a number of the picturae is the presence of a gloss which reinforces or extends the meaning of the main motif. In the emblem book, there are eight picturae which have this feature. In each of the first three books, there is a gloss in one of the picturae (Bk. I - E. 9; Bk. II - E. 15; Bk. III - E. 30), while in the fourth book, there are five (E. 32, 36, 38 and 39).

In Emblem 9, the main motif of the soul and world is featured. Here the soul is endeavoring to fly heavenward but its attempt is hampered because it is weighted down by a globe to which it is attached by a rope. To emancipate the soul, the hand of God is featured, holding a knife, which severs the rope. In the foreground, there are a number of minor motifs, which serve as a gloss, expanding the notion of bondage to the world, which represents worldly power, desires and pleasures. The gloss features a regal crown, a bugle, a sword, a coronet, a mask, money and another ^{un}identifiable motif. The seven motifs of the gloss seem to suggest the seven "deadly sins" of power, covetousness, lechery (lust, lewdness), anger, gluttony, envy and sloth.¹¹ The inscriptio, Liberor or "I am set free" is picture-related and describes the emancipation in terms of the main motif as well as of the gloss. In the subscriptio, the dramatic action of the pictura is described in the antithesis, "The world wants me for itself, Jesus who has set me free wants me". The subscriptio points out that release from bondage is the envy of the world, while its bondage is linked with the world of desires.

In the biblical context, the Scripture verse above the pictura, "Ich vergesse was dahinden ist/vnd strecke mich zu dem/

¹¹Lorraine Boettner. Roman Catholicism. The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1962, p.200.



*Coarctor autem e duobus, desiderium habens discendi
et esse cum Christo. Ad Phil. 1.*

59



*I am in a freight betwixt two haueing a
Desire to Depart & to be wth Christ.
Phil. 1. 23. Will. Simpson. Sculpit.*

Figure 8. From HUGO, *Pia Desideria*. Figure 9. From QUARLES, *Emblems*.

EMBLEME CHRESTIEN

77

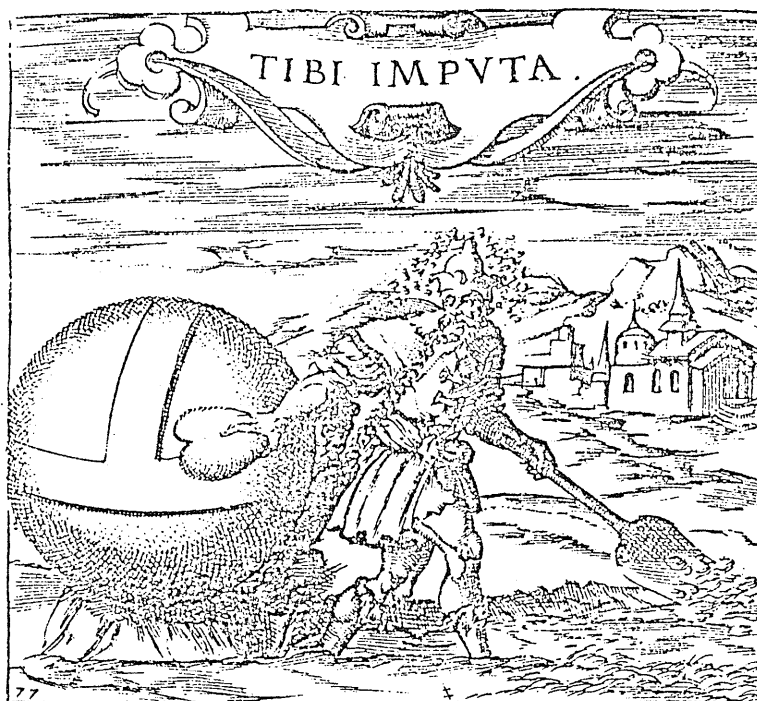


Figure 10. Montenay.
Emblem 77.

*L'homme qui tient tousiours son cœur au monde,
Soy-mesme enterré en la fosse qu'il cure,
Et n'en sent rien, car en bombance abonde:
Mais asses tost en payera l'usure.
Satan le tient lié de chaîne obscure,
Ployant son col que haut il ne regarde,
Tant que la fosse ait sa droite mesure,
Lors tombera qu'il ne s'en donra garde.*

das davor ist" has reference to St. Paul's emancipation from Jewish legalism and his new-found freedom in Christ.¹²

The motif of the soul, bound or chained to the world, is found in the picturae of Montenay's emblem as well as in Hugo's Pia Desideria and Quarles Emblems.¹³

In Emblems 32 and 36, Cramer depicts the dichotomy of the soul as it endeavors to serve two masters. In both picturae, the gloss depicts the heart as being estranged among money and worldly desires respectively. In Emblem 32, the proverbial saying, "Wo ewer Schatz ist/ da ist auch ewer Hertz", is pictorially depicted by the man kneeling in an attitude of prayer before his treasure chest of money. In the light of the biblical teaching, the man is an idolator.¹⁴ The gloss, featuring the heart among the gold, reinforces this meaning thereby extending the significance of the main motif.

Similarly, in Emblem 36, the heart is depicted as alienated among motifs of power and prestige. The gloss serves to expose the hypocritical attitude of the praying priest as his inner desire, in reality, is directed to material enrichment rather than spiritual values. The spectacles, extended to the priest by a hand from the cloud,¹⁵ also serve as a gloss to focus on the duplicity of the heart.

The motif of Memento mori occurs in three of the picturae, namely in Emblems 10, 11 and 39. Thematically, they all deal with the concept of life after death. In Emblem 10, the pictura depicts a skull and cross bones on which is set a candleholder together with an unlit candle. In the foreground, a mandible and grave marker are seen. A hand from heaven, holding a lighted candle, is in the process of lighting the candle in the holder. In the background, a cemetery with grave markers, a

¹²Philippians 3:7-9.

¹³Mario Praz. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratur, Roma 1964, p. 159.

¹⁴The inference is based on Eph. 5:5, ". . . nor covetous man who is an idolator."

¹⁵In Mannich's Emblemata Sacra(1624), Emblem 68 also features a motif of the spectacles. In his prose poem he states:"Auss der Wolck geht herfür ein Brill/Zeigt wer die Schrift ausslegen will/ Sein eygne Gloss nicht selbst muss ehren/":

church and a flock of birds in flight are featured.

In the epigram, light, fire and death are mentioned. By naming an aspect not depicted in the pictura, namely "Jesus", the representational function of the subscriptio is expanded. In its interpretational function, the epigram points out that Jesus is the light and the life. It also ponders the question, that if Jesus gives life and fire (spirit) to a person, why should such a one "fear death when he is dying"? The response to the question seems to be given by the Scripture verse, "Das Licht scheint in die Finsternis". The inscriptio describes this concept expressed in the pictura in terms of Revivisco or "I come to life again".

Cramer uses the motif of the candle only in this emblem.¹⁷ The lighting of the candle is an allusion to the Psalmist's words, "For thou wilt light my candle, the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness". The references to "light" "life" and "fire" (or spirit)¹⁸ are significant in that they connote biblical allusions to Christ and the hope of immortality.¹⁹ As such, the emblem exhibits the intricate relationship of the scriptura and the pictura.

¹⁷Quarles in his emblem book, Hieroglyphics (1638), uses the candle motif for his entire book, as a kind of leitmotif.

¹⁸The allusion to Christ as light and life is stated in John 8:12, "I am the light of the world, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life". As regards Spirit and hope of immortality, Romans 8:11 states: "But if the Spirit of him. . . that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken you mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you".

¹⁹Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. Regarding John 1:5, he remarks: "Der Sohn Gottes hat uns erleuchtet/(1) in der Schöpfung/ mit dem Licht der Natur/ (2) in dem der Wiedergeburt mit dem Licht der Gnaden/ in dem er uns seines Vaters Willen geoffenbart hat. Nutzet: dasz wer Todt ist in Sünden und steckt in Finsternisz und Schatten Todes sich an disz Licht halte". pp. 1146-7.

In the emblems 5, 20 and 29, the picturae contain motifs which allude to classical mythology. In Emblem 5, the heart is protected by a large shield held by the hand of God in the sky, the wrath of God is depicted in the form of Jove's lightning bolt²⁰ and arrows. The heart lies hidden waiting until the anger of God has passed by.

In Emblem 20, the pictura depicts the heart raised on a pillar, which is built on a solid rock. In the epigram, the turbulent sea, which surrounds the rock, is referred to as the Stygian flood. This is a classical allusion to the hateful river Styx (abomination) of the underworld.²¹

In Emblem 29, Cramer alludes to the myth of Ixion.²² According to classical tradition, Aeschylus designates him as the first murderer. Ixion also endeavored to seduce Hera, the wife of Zeus. He was struck down by Zeus' thunderbolts and was severely punished by being tied to a ceaselessly revolving four-spoked wheel in Hades. To add to his punishment, he was also attacked constantly by serpents.

In the pictura, the heart is portrayed as being attacked by an eagle and a serpent. The heart is featured as standing on the mound of an open pit. Thematically, the pictura portrays the idea of conscious torment which is appropriately interpreted by the inscriptio, Infernum Timeo or "I fear hell". The subscriptio interprets the pictura metaphorically in that the mind is tormented by a vicious tormentor and the nature of this torment is the deprivation of peace and the pangs of pain caused by the wounds. The epigram also points out the moral lesson applicable to all, to beware of this tormentor. As the epigram does not definitely identify the tormentor, it creates a certain tension as to meaning. The Scripture verse, "Ihr

²⁰ Michael Grant & John Hazel. Who's Who in Classical Mythology. Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., London, 1973. p. 255.

²¹ Ibid., p. 370.

²² Ibid., p. 250. Also as in Dan S. Norton and Peters Rush-ton. Classical Myths in English Literature. Rinehart V. Co. Inc. New York, 1952. Ref. is made to use of Ixion myth in literature: Spenser's "Faerie Queene" (1.5.35) Browning's poem "Ixion"; in Pope's "Rape of the Lock" (2.133) and "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day"; also Samuel Daniel's Sonnet 45 in "Delia" and Herrick as regards his mistress, Electra.

Wurm wird nicht sterben"²³ also adds to the enigma.

In his comments on the apocryphal verse of Ecclesiasticus 7:18, "Darum demütige dich von Herzen, denn Fewer und Würmer ist Rache über die Gottlosen", Cramer identifies the tormentor in terms of the Ixion myth, when he states, "Dieser Wurm ist der Wurm des bösen Gewissens/ der nicht stirbt sondern gleich ist des Ixionis Aszgeyer/ so sein eigen Hertz in der Höllen naget und doch nicht auffressen kan. Es. 66:24. Das Fewr aber ist die Ewige Straffe/ welches in Ewigkeit nicht ausgelesen noch zu dempfen sein wird".²⁴

In the Emblemata, the motif of the eagle, as inflicting pain on a victim, appears also in the emblem of La Perriere's in la Morosophie No. 46, where an eagle is tormenting Tityos in Hades.²⁵ Pictorially, it illustrates the theme of an evil conscience. Similarly, Alciati's (1531) Emblem 106, which is based on the myth of Prometheus bound to a cliff at the Caucaucus, where an eagle is constantly attacking his liver, expresses the punishment meted out for being presumptuous.²⁶

A conspicuous feature, common to most of Cramer's emblems, is cardiomorphosis. According to Praz, heart-symbolism can be traced to the fifteenth century. Specifically, he refers the reader to an essay entitled, Five Fifteenth-Century "Emblem" Verses From Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 37049 by Thomas W. Ross.²⁷ In this work²⁸, Ross deals with five Middle English poems of

²³Cramer. p. 554. Cramer comments on Isa. 66:24, "Ihr Wurm" Beschreibung der Hüllischen und ewigen Verdammisz. Darinn unter andern Plagen der Wurm wol eine von den aller schwersten sein wird. . . Sie werden kommen verzaget mit dem Gewissen ihrer Sünden".

²⁴Ibid., p. 805.

²⁵Henkel/ Schöne. Emblemata. p. 1658.

²⁶Ibid., p. 1657.

²⁷Praz., p. 152.

²⁸Speculum, XXXII, 2, April 1957, pp. 274-282.

which the poem entitled, "The Heart", appears to be related to the emblematic tradition.²⁹

The Heart

O man-kynde
Hafe in vi mynde
3 My passion smert,
And pou sal fynde
Me ful kynde.
6 Lo, here my hert!³⁰



Figure 11.
The "Heart"

"The Heart," Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 37049, fol. 24r.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 274. Ross intimates two things, first, that "there was also a certain measure of English tradition which may be added to the history of "emblems"-the poetic interpretations of graphic figures, usually symbolic in nature" and secondly, "to demonstrate, through these five hitherto unprinted poems, that two hundred years before Quarles there were Englishmen writing poetry surprisingly similar to the emblem verse which appeared with much greater sophistication and in such profusion in the seventeenth century".

³⁰ Ibid., p. 276

The poem is accompanied by a figure of Christ, who is profusely covered with wounds. He is standing behind a heart that has a huge gaping wound. As Ross points out, the heart is inscribed with lettering and a word, namely,

"M^tCCCC LX. XV. Woundes" (1475 wounds).³¹

Below the gaping wound is another inscription which reads,

M ^t	M ^t	C	
CCCCC	XLvij	V.	Drops

which represents 547,500 drops of blood.³² Ross states that the poem also appears in two other manuscripts. In one copy the word "heart" is omitted and in its place a drawing of a heart appears - a fact that even more firmly places the poem in the "emblem" tradition.³³

With reference to cardiomorphosis, Cramer follows the tradition of his precursor Georgette de Montenay. In her emblem book, Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes (1571)³⁴, thirteen of the one hundred emblems feature the heart-motif. The heart is depicted: as attracted to Christ the lodestone (5); as raised aloft on the pillar of faith (8); as a gloss on the theme of hypocrisy, it is dragged behind a seemingly pious person (25); as exiled within a money bag (27); as regards masters, the dichotomy of God and Satan (29); as regards destiny, the heart of the King is in God's hand (30); as to potential, God can do most with it (34); as in a strait between God and worldly riches (63); in terms of consecration, a temple of God (64); as unable to

³¹ Ibid., p. 275. In the footnote Ross refers to "the basis of the computation (as it) appears in a stament (Harley MS. 2869, fol. 204^r) that by saying fifteen Pater Nosters and Aves daily for a year one will have worshiped the full number of wounds: $15 \times 365 = 5,475$." Hence the first number, 1475 is an obvious error for 5475.

³² Ibid., p. 275. "The drops of blood which issued from the Wounds was stated as 547,000, a sum arrived at by a similar computation."

³³ Ibid., p. 276.

³⁴ Georgette de Montenay. Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes. The Scolar Press, 1973.

save itself (77); as being cleansed by the blood of Christ (81); as known of God (82); as vain, in the mere observance of ritualistic practices.

In Cramer, as Praz points out, the heart experiences many trials such as Mollesco, Cresco, Alta peto, Amo, Lateo.³⁵ It is also portrayed as being emancipated from worldly desire (9) and riches (16), the fear of death (11) and the demands of the law (19). Its sincerity is tested in the fiery furnace of affliction (24), (33) and its chastisements are considered remedial rather than punitive (12). In its relationship to Christ, His name is inscribed on it (23), by means of love (4) and prayer (8) it communes with him and in steadfastness, it is immovable in the face of its enemies (7) and vicious slander (27). It is protected by the shell of hope in the storms of adversity and is raised aloft by the pillar of Safety, while the Stygian flood rages below (20), its fear is an evil conscience (29). In virtue, it is unharmed by the cares of the world (23) and in its relation to others its maxim is Sapientia Simplex (35). It utilizes its span of life to do good (15). In its labors, it is refreshed by cool waters and wind of heaven (25) and its resolve is to be faithful unto death (28). However, it is depicted as having an intense yearning for the heavenly home (38) and to be where Christ has been (40).

The phenomenon of cardiomorphosis appears also in Johann Mannich's Sacra Emblemata 1625. Among the eighty-six emblems, there are seventeen based on this motif. As Praz has pointed out, the heart figures are similar to those in Cramer's work.³⁶ There is a striking similarity, particularly in Mannich's Emblem 15 of the heart and stalks of grain to Cramer's Emblem 2, Cresco. The motifs of Mannich's Emblem 37 and Cramer's Emblem 19 of the balance scale and the law of God in the one tray and the heart, the cross and the chalice in the other, are almost identical. The former's Emblem 43, on the heart resting on

³⁵Praz, p. 151.

³⁶Ibid., p. 151.

DOMINICA XV. TRINITA-
TIS, EVANG. MATTH. 6. V. 24.



olat instar avis male-parta-pecunia: avarus
Semper-egens prodest nec sibi, nec populo.
divitias, quas profert pagina sacra;
ire, quovis tempore, dives eris.

Figure 12.
Mannich Emblemata Sacra 43



De toutes gens est la nature telle
Qu'ils ont le cœur à ce qu'ils aiment mieux,
Dont cestuy-ci dedans une escarcelle
Appartient bien à l'avaricieux.
Or le Chrestien a mis le sien aux cieus:
Car son thresor est là, Et tout son bien,
Où le larron, la rouille Et l'enuieux
N'ont tel pouuoir qu'en ce val terrien.

Figure 13.
Montenay Emblème Chrestien 27

coins in a bag of money, is in concept and motif very similar to Cramer's Emblem 32 and to Georgette de Montenay's Emblem 27.

According to Praz, Father Benedict van Haeften was also influenced by Cramer. He states: "In his Schola Cordis Haef-ten did nothing but add the figures Anima and Love to the subjects which the German divine Daniel Cramer following Montenay had treated in his first part of his Emblemata sacra. . . (Frankfort, 1624)"³⁷

In tracing the aspect of cardiomorphosis after Daniel Cramer's lifetime, Praz mentions three other emblem books. In Italy, an emblem book consisting of a hundred emblems in the form of a heart was published in Verona in 1645 by a certain Franscesco Pona under the title Cardiomorphoses sive ex corde desumpta Emblemata sacra. Also Hieronymus Ammonius published a work entitled, Imitatio Crameriana, which contained several heart emblems at Nürenberg in 1647. At Jena, an edition of Johannes Gerhardus Meditationes appeared in 1678 and 1685 which also contained a series of heart emblems.³⁸ The heart motif was very popular for over a hundred years.

As regards the convention of cardiomorphosis in English emblem books, Rosemary Freeman states that the precursors of this practice were the images on the four tapestries of Hatfield House in 1611. She states, that among the many emblems, were images of winged cherubs blowing a heart with bellows. The motif of a hand from heaven hammering a heart bearing the motto Cor contritum Gratium Deo, displayed on the tapestry, she maintains, belong to the earliest manifestation of this religious genre.³⁹

Rosemary Freeman also points out that Christopher Harvey utilized van Haeften's plates and his plan in creating his own Schola Cordis, consisting of forty-seven emblems in 1647. She

³⁷Ibid., p. 151.

³⁸Ibid., p. 152.

³⁹Rosemary Freeman. English Emblem Books. Chatto & Windus, London, 1948, p. 95.

states that Harvey's Schola Cordis traces the separation of the heart from God and its ultimate return to Him. In describing the emblem book, Miss Freeman states that the heart is featured as being "burned on a sacrificial altar, washed in a fountain of blood, ploughed and sown with good seed." There is also pattern poetry, emblematic in shape as well. She refers to "the Ladder of the Heart" where the ten lines are arranged in a scale of increasing length and "The Flying Heart" whose lines are arranged in such a way as to resemble wings.⁴⁰

Another emblem writer to whom Rosemary Freeman refers, is John Hall, whose Emblems with Elegant Figures⁴¹ appeared a year after Schola Cordis. In this book, Amor and Anima form the central motifs, at times, while in others the heart is the central focus. In particular, she mentions Emblem 11 where Anima holds up a heart to heaven. It is filled from a chalice from above. The corresponding motto is "Inebriate my heart, O God, with the sober intemperance of thy love".⁴²



Figure 14. John Hall: Sparkles of Emblem 11

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 135.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 137.

⁴²John Hall, Emblems with Elegant Figures 1658. English Emblem Books No. 17, Selected and Edited by John Horden, Scolar Press, 1970, p. 40.

As suggested above, the tradition of cardiomorphosis may be traced to the fifteenth century. It was the most popular motif of the seventeenth century. As regards Daniel Cramer's Emblematum Sacrovum 1617, it may be considered as being one of the first emblematic works in which the majority of the emblems portray the phenomenon of cardiomorphosis. Cramer influenced directly or indirectly other emblem writers, in their employment of heart symbolism.

Chapter V

Subscriptiones

The epigram plays an important role in discovering the meaning of an emblem. Authors have described its function in various ways. Ernest Friedrich von Monroy states,

Das emblematische Bild ist also doch eine Form der Illustration, . . . Sie illustriert tatsächlich die explicatio, ist aber als Verbildlichung der Devise selbst gemeint. Da die explicatio die "Auflösung" des Emblems enthält, also seine "obscuritas" gefährdet, bleibt sie ein blosses Hilfsmittel und steht gleichsam in Klammern.¹

In his Studien Zur Emblematic Des 16. Jahrhunderts, Holger Homann, in discussing the work of Nicolaus Taurellus, who believed that by observing nature one could discover many examples for use in emblematic imagery, makes the following observation on this emblematicist's view of the epigram:

. . . bei der Beobachtung einer natürlichen Begebenheit (das wird die pictura) ergibt sich dem Emblemverfasser die Assoziation einer sittlichen Lebensregel, die das Epigramm erläutert und das Motto zur Sentenz verdichtet. So verschmelzen hier zum erstenmal Bild und Wort zu einer Funktionseinheit; und es ist dieses Funktionsgefüge, das Taurellus "Emblem" nennt und wie folgt beschreibt: Materia Physica est: formaque moralis: & ornatus exterior poeticus est.²

Schöne points out that the epigram has a dual function of representation and interpretation. The representational function is observed in an epigram when it names the objects of the pictura, whereas in its interpretational function, the epigram explains or elucidates the pictura. As the inscriptio may also assist in this interpretive function of the subscriptio, the combined function of these parts serves to portray the res significans of the pictura and thus reveals the pre-existing meaning of the emblem.

¹Ernst Friedrich von Monroy. Embleme und Emblembücher in den Niederlanden. 1560-1630. Haentjens Dekken & Gumbert, Utrecht, 1964. p. 17.

²Holger Homann. Studien zur Emblematic des 16. Jahrhunderts. Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, Utrecht, 1971. p. 114.

He also maintains that in interpreting the pictura, the epigram may frequently point out "eine allgemeine Lebensweisheit oder Verhaltensregel".³

As regards Cramer's emblems, the epigrams consist of two Latin lines. Of the forty subscriptiones, fourteen are written in the first person while twenty-six are written in the third person. This implies that several of the former may be eschatological, while the latter may be more didactic in character. It is also observed that several of the subscriptiones contain the words of the inscriptio such as in Emblems 20, 34, 38 and 39. Two of them contain the complete Scripture verse with only slight modifications, namely, Emblems 6 and 11. Many of the epigrams are composed of a general statement, while others consist of an explanation and a rule of conduct or a piece of worldly wisdom. Several of the epigrams contain a thought-provoking rhetorical question, whereas some are expressed in the nature of a prayer.

As mentioned above, a characteristic feature of some of the subscriptiones is that they are expressed in the form of a prayer. Examples are found in Emblems 3, 4, 28 and 30. In Emblem 3, the soul is seeking the refuge of Christ in order to escape the enemy. In interpreting the pictura, the subscriptio assumes the nature of a prayer of supplication in that it not only expresses the dire plight of the soul in terms of "To you I flee Jesus, because the enemy seeks me", but, also, it explicitly presents its urgent request, "Snatch my heart as spoils, lest I be seized as spoils".

In contrast, the epigram in Emblem 4 assumes the form of a prayer of consecration. The pictura depicts a cherub blowing a glowing heart upon which a hand from a cloud is sprinkling incense. As a result, a cloud of fragrance is seen ascending heavenward. The flames around the apex of the heart appear to be coming from the stylised arrangement of two pieces of wood in the form of a cross and, together with the other pieces, seem to suggest the monogram "IHS". The inscriptio Amo or "I love"

³Albrecht Schöne. Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock. C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München MCMLXVIII, pp.19-22.

describes the pictura in terms of the significance of the motifs. In biblical symbolism, incense is associated with prayer, whereas fire and wind represent the Holy Spirit and the cross signifies love.

A significant factor in this emblem is the Scripture verse, "Webe durch meinen Garten/ dass seine Wurtze trieffen" Cantic. 4.16. It seems to have given Cramer the priority of the idea for the creation of the emblem and has been purposefully selected to serve as a gloss to reinforce the meaning of the pictura. In its biblical context, in the Song of Solomon, the maiden Sulamith addresses the north and the south wind to blow upon her aromatic garden and to spread its aroma for her lover.

As regards its symbolic interpretation, Dächsel explicitly states:

Wir brauchen den Nordwind und Südwind nicht so auseinanderzuhalten, dass der eine dies, der andre das bedeute, und der eine dies, der andre das bewirke; sie schliessen sich vielmehr zu Einer Bedeutung und Einem Werke zusammen. Sie versinnbilden beide das Wehen und Walten des heil. Geistes, sein Wirken und Schaffen am Herzen; dieses Wirken und Schaffen selber aber erfordert ein Zwiefaches, indem einerseits das Herz zur Entwicklung von Wohlgerüchen christlicher Tugenden muss gebracht, andererseits aber dies Duftmeer dem Herrn muss entgegengebracht und ihm zugeeignet werden.⁴

In the emblem, Cramer has encapsulated pictorially the concept of the fragrant garden and the maiden as a soul aglow with the spirit of prayer. The subscriptio expresses this thought in the words of a prayer of consecration, "O Jesus, let me be set on fire with your incense and your breath. I burn, be it your love; I burn, be it your fragrance".

In Emblem 30, the epigram expresses an unusual prayer in the form of a request. As such, the prayer is based on Genesis 8:11.

Die Taube kam vmb Versperzeit/ vn sihe/ eine Oelblat hatte sie abgebrochen/ vn trug es in jhrem Munde.

⁴August Dächsel. Dächsel's Bibelwerk. Dritter Band. A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., Leipzig, [1876], pp. 610-611.

In the pictura, the heart is depicted together with a dry defoliated tree protruding from its very bosom. A dove, bearing a twig with leaves in its beak, is seen perched on its main branch.⁵ As a gloss to this main motif, the ark, as seen in the background, is resting on the ledge of a mountain. The inscriptio, Refectionem Spero or "I hope for restoration" is picture-related and functions in the dual capacity of representation and interpretation. Representationally, it expresses in a concrete way the idea of restoration as based on the historical account as found in Genesis. It is also applicable to the defoliated tree which awaits eventual rejuvenation in another spring. The sprig of leaves, whose green color symbolizes hope, buttresses this idea. In its interpretational function, the inscriptio bears an abstract metaphysical significance in that the evening of life has approached and the idea of the dawn of a spiritual restoration is intimated in its words. In this aspect, the inscriptio is linked to the prayer of the soul as it is expressed in the epigram.

In the prayer, the soul is cognizant that it is evening and it, therefore, makes two requests as expressed in its words: "Now evening comes, may the leaf-bearing bird* also come, and may it make an end to the flooding of the world. (*the dove bearing the olive branch)". The one request is for peace as symbolized by the leaf-bearing bird and the other is to make an end to a devastating flood. In the metaphysical sense, the expression "Now evening comes" is associated with the motif of the defoliated tree signifying that death is at hand. The gloss of the ark reinforces the idea of peace and the desire that the devastation in the world should come to an end.

Cramer makes a spiritual application in commenting on this incident of the flood:

Gleich wie die Taube ein Zeugnis war/ dasz die Sündflut mit der Zeit auffhörete Gen. 8:12 also solte die himmlische Taube Zeugnis geben dasz die Sündflut des Zornes Gottes durch Messiam/ mit der Zeit Gantz sollte auffgehoben und gestillet werden.

⁵In his Emblem 83, Mannich uses the motif of the turtle dove and the dry branch.

The idea of universal peace is in keeping with the expression in the epigram "and make an end to the flooding of the world".

In some of the emblems, the subscriptions contain the complete Scripture verse with only slight modifications. In Emblem 6, the Scripture verse reads, "In deinem Liecht sehen wir das Liecht". This is repeated in the subscriptio as follows:

In your light do I see the light, depart afar, dark night. He is wise who gains wisdom from the book of the Lord.

It will be noted that there is a slight variation in that the "wir" is changed to the personal pronoun "I". In Emblem 11, the first part of the Scripture verse, "Christus ist mein Leben/" is contained verbatim in the subscriptio. The second part "sterben ist mein Gewinn" - "death will not be the end of me, but will be my gain" is paraphrased in the future tense. It is observed that the subscriptio assumes the form of a personal testimony about the soul's relationship to Christ. In the pictura, death is symbolized by the motifs of the skull and the serpent, whereas Christ who is life, is represented by the monogram 'IHS'. As regards the notion, "Christ is my life", the biblical allusion seems to be a reference to Gal. 2:20 where we read, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me". The idea of "death will be my gain" or interest on lent-out capital alludes to 2 Tim. 1:12, ". . .for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day" which points to the belief that faith or trust will be rewarded. The motifs of the serpent and the skull as well as the monogram alludes to Rom. 6:23, "For the wages of sin is death but the gift of God is eternal life through Christ Jesus our Lord".

In Emblem 24, the epigram contains an admonition expressing a moral rule of conduct. In the pictura, the hands of God are holding a ladle on which the heart has been placed in order to put it in a huge fiery furnace. As the Scripture verse intimates, it is the furnace of affliction. Interpretationally, the subscriptio elucidates, "The Lord burns and plagues me with the forge's fire" and then adds the admonitory words, "Be you good and steadfast, and you also will be worthy of approval".⁶ The inscriptio Probor or "I am found to be good" is picture-related and as such it indicates that in interpreting the pictura the heart is found to be good and of a constant nature. The motto reinforces the thought expressed in the admonition to follow the example of the approved heart. The motif of the furnace and the fire as means of testing the soul has its counterpart in Emblem 33 where the crucible and the fire test the excellency of the soul.

The analogy of fire and affliction in these emblems seem to be an allusion to the trials of a Christian to which St. Peter refers to when he says, "lasset euch die Hitze so euch begegnet nicht befremden".⁷ In commenting on this verse, Cramer calls the furnace of affliction "ein Probierofen Gottes" as seen in the following comment:

Nutzet/ das wir uns die Hitze des Creutzes/ so uns begegnet/ nicht befremden lassen/ als wiederführe uns etwas seltzames/ sondern uns frewen das wir mit Christo leiden 1 Pet. 4.12. Ja das wir uns gern in dem Probierofen Gottes schmelzen lassen/ damit wir gestäubert und das böß von uns müge gescheiden werden/ und wir nicht ein verworffen silber heißen müssen Jer. 6.30. Sondern vielmehr eine schöne Krone/ und Königlicher Hut in der Hand unseres Gottes sein mügen. Es. 62.3.⁸

Georgette de Montenay also uses the same motif of the furnace, fire and crucible. In her emblem, the hand of God scums off the froth of sin, while Christ employs the bellows to make the fire burn

⁶ Daniel Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. Re: "approval" In explicating Sap. 3.6, Cramer states, "Er prüft sie wie Gold im Ofen und nimmt sie an wie ein völliges Opfer. Gleich wie das Gold durchs Fewr also werden die so Gott gefallen durchs Fewr der Trübsal bewahret". Syr. 2.5, p. 751.

⁷ 1 Petrus 4:12.

⁸ Cramer, p. 794.

more fiercely. Thematically, Henkel and Schöne, in their Emblemata, describe her emblem in terms of "Läuterung der Sünden".⁹

Peter Daly points out that in Southwell's "Burning Babe" the metaphor of Christ's breast as the furnace in which men's souls are cleansed, is used.¹⁰

One of the many epigrams which consists of an explanation or statement is found in Emblem 20. The emblem is based on the account found in the Sermon of the Mount where we read of the wise builder, who, as the text indicates, is called, "Ein kluger Man/ der sein Hausz auff einen Felsen bawet". In the pictura, Cramer features a rock in the midst of a turbulent sea. Instead of a house, he depicts a pillar on the rock with three encircling garlands. The garland at the base of the pillar seems to be composed of laurel leaves, the centre wreath seems to be made up of oak leaves and the garland near the top of the pillar appears to consist of olive leaves and blossoms. Between the wreaths at the centre and the top, the tower bears the ensign of a cross indicating thereby that the pillar represents Christ. Raised aloft the tower, a heart is featured which, in turn, is surmounted by a cross. The inscriptio, Superaedificor or "I am raised aloft" is picture-related and functions in a representational and interpretational way in describing the picture. In the subscriptio, the motifs of the rock, the pillar and the flood are named. The epigram is written in the first person and its implied concept is "safety in Christ". In the explication of the pictura, the epigram assumes the nature of a personal confession of faith in stating, "Christ is my rock, my hope and pillar of safety on whom I am held aloft while the Stygian flood rages". The allusion to the river Styx of Hades in classical mythology seems to refer here to its bitter waters. In explaining the

⁹ Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne. Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1967, p. 91.

¹⁰ Peter M. Daly. "Southwell's 'Burning Babe' and the Emblematic Practice". Wascana Review III, (1968), p. 30.

paradigm of the wise builder, Cramer, in his commentary, refers to the flood in these words: "Ein rechtgläubiger Christ ist vielen bösen Sturmwettern und Winden unterworfen".¹¹ Then, again, elsewhere in his work, in referring to the house of the wise builder, the rock and the flood, Cramer states:

Das Hausz ist eines jeden Christenthum,¹² Der Fels ist Christus/ darauff sich der Glaube gründet. Das Gewässer ist allerley Trübsal/ Verfolgung und Anfechtung. Wer nun wohlgegründet ist/ der bleibt unbeweglich/ und wird den Sieg erhalten.¹³

The garlands encircling the tower¹⁴ seem to symbolize the attributes of Christ as victorious and eternal (laurel) strength and firmness of faith in God (oak) and generosity and peace (olive).¹⁵ The res picta of the rock, the pillar and the cross (which is slightly raised above the heart) seems to pictorially suggest the res significans of the constancy of Christ in all ages of the past, present and future.¹⁶

The biblical allusion to Christ as "my rock, my hope and pillar of safety on whom I am held aloft" finds its counterpart in the Old Testament in the Psalmist's words, "The Lord is my rock, my fortress and my deliverer, my strength, the horn of my salvation and my high tower".¹⁷

¹¹Cramer, p. 1021.

¹²Ibid., p. 1389. The concept of the rock and pillar as symbolizing Christ and personal Christianity respectively is referred to in Cramer's commentary. "Christus allein ist der Eck- und Grundstein/ die Apostel und andere fürnehme theure Zeugen/ sind Seulen/ an welchen geschrieben ist das Monument und stets wehrende Gedächtnisz der Wahrheit".

¹³Ibid., p. 1113.

¹⁴Considered as a gloss, the garlands represent the virtues of wisdom, strength and peace, which the soul enjoys in Christ.

¹⁵Gertrude Grace Sill. A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art. MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1975, p. 206.

¹⁶Heb. 13:8. "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day and for ever."

¹⁷Psalm 18:2.

Georgette de Montenay has an emblem with the motto IVSTIFICAT , which depicts a rock with the inscription CHRISTVS. Upon this rock, a winged pillar has been erected surmounted by a glowing heart.¹⁸



Figure 15. Montenay. Emblème Chrestien 8

As regards the motif of the rock in a turbulent sea, Giovio¹⁹ uses the motif in the creation of an impresa for an Italian Marquise of Pescara, Vittoria Colonna, who was noted for her piety and chastity, yet was calumniated by jealous suitors. Regarding this remarkable woman, Giovio writes: "The Lady the Marquise of Pescara, Vittoria Colonna, to whom I account myself infinitely bound. She leads a chaste and sober life. Envious people spread ill report. Therefore I figured her certain Rocks standing in the midst of a turbulent sea beating against the boisterous waves

¹⁸Georgette de Montenay. Emblems ou Devises Chrestiennes 1571. The Scolar Press, 1973. p. 8.

¹⁹Samuel Daniel's translation of The worthy tract of Paulus Iovius, containing a Discourse of rare inventions, both militairie and amorous, called Imprese, London, 1585. N/P.

with this briefe added above it: Conantia frangere fragunt. As much as to say that the Rockes of their firm force and strength repell the furious surges of the raging Sea breaking and consuming them into froth. And this Impresa bearing a gallant shew, I caused to be figured in my house".²⁰

In several of the emblems, Cramer makes good use of antithesis in his epigrams. A good example is Emblem 12, which illustrates the concept that the trials and tribulations are not punitive but remedial. In depicting this notion, the pictura features a heart that has been partially cleft by a sword. From above, the hand of Jesus, indicated by the monogram 'IHS', holding a horn of balm, is pouring oil into a gaping wound of the heart. The inscriptio Savor or "I am healed" functions in an interpretational way to explain the pictura. Of interest is the text of Scripture, which sets the theme for the entire emblem and also introduces the antithetical element²¹ by the words: "Er hat vns geschlagen/ er wird vns auch heylen".²² The res significans of the pictura is given in antithetical concepts to illustrate the remedial nature of the afflictions of the soul. "He cures when he burns, he heals when he hurts, he anoints when he stabs, he cuts but still he does not kill with the sword". As the epigram indicates, the total thrust of the emblem is that the hurts and the healing of the soul are for its good and are inflicted and healed by Jesus. The reference that "he does not kill with the sword" appears to be an allusion to the Word of God which both wounds²⁴ and heals²³.

²⁰Ibid., N/P.

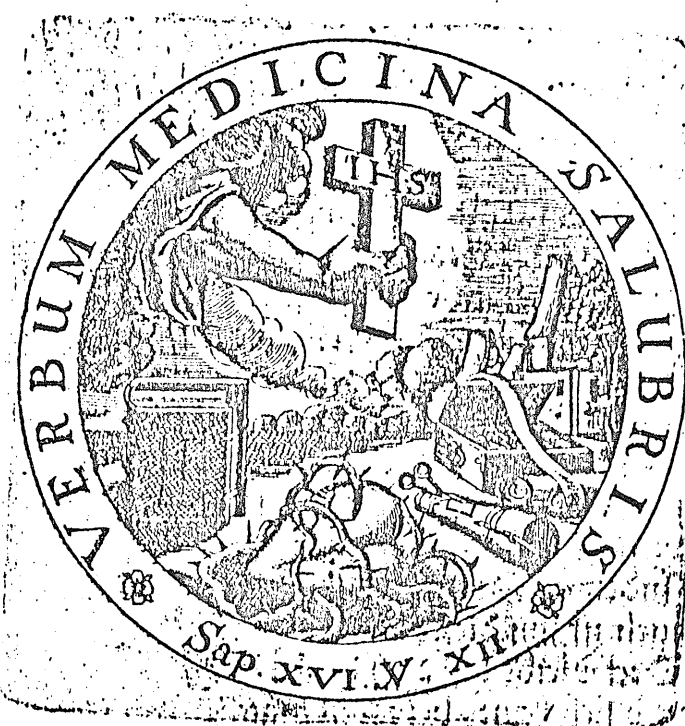
²¹It is noted that Cramer rearranges the textual order of the verse and thereby creates a chiasmus. This in turn helps to emphasize the antithesis. In the chiasmatic arrangement of the concepts, the letter "chi" or "X", representing Christ, is formed, as seen in this arrangement: er hat uns zerrissen, er wird uns auch heilen
er hat uns geschlagen, er wird uns auch verbinden

²²Job 5:18. "For he maketh sore, and bindeth up; he woundeth, and his hands make whole".

²³Psalm 107. "He sent his word and healed them and delivered them from their destructions".

²⁴Heb. 4:12. "For the word of God is quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword . . .".

In his Sacra Emblemata (1624), Mannich has an emblem which alludes to the idea that the Word of God heals.²⁵ The heading of the prose poem reads: "Dess Hertzen Wund/ Das Wort macht gsund". The motto of the emblem is VERBUM MEDICINA SALUBRIS. The res picta of the pictura features a hand reaching out from a cloud and holding forth Christ's cross. In the foreground, a heart entwined by wounding thorns is depicted. The motifs of the Bible and a first aid kit are featured as a gloss to reinforce the main motif.



NEc lesam spinis cor lex, unguentave sanans:
 Est solium nostri crux panacea mali.
 Sub cruce quando premor: mihi crux Christi sit asylum.
 In cruce, sit, CHRISTI, gloria, honor, meus!

Figure 16. Mannich Emblem 46.

²⁵ Johann Mannich. Sacra Emblemata. Nurnberg, 1624. Emblem 46.

The epigram in Emblem 23 is of interest because of its allusion to several biblical truths. The picture depicts a heart lying upon a book and being inscribed with the name of "Jesu" by the hand of God. The inscriptio interprets the inscribing of the heart as Praedestinor or "I am predestined". The subscriptio interprets the pictura in these words: "I am added to Christ's account, by whom I am noted by name; he is my law of life, my pen and book".

The inscribing of the heart with the name of "Jesu" by the hand of God, indicates that the soul has been divinely chosen. The allusion refers to the statement of St. Paul that God has predestined the believing soul unto Himself by Jesus Christ.²⁶ The idea of being chosen by the Lord is alluded to in the chapter from which the Scripture verse has been selected as it pertains to Israel. In the epigram, the words, "I am noted by name", is an allusion to recorded names in the Book of Life.²⁷ The words, "added to Christ's account", could be taken to mean that the heart has been accepted by Him as his liability and His charge.²⁸ The response in the epigram, "he is my law, my pen and book", is a biblical allusion to the new covenant that the Lord will make in order that the spiritual laws will be written in the hearts and that He will put His laws in the mind.²⁹ Cramer makes a practical application by saying that the mark of a Christian is one, "Dasz sie nicht nur den Munde/ sondern auch mit der Feder/ ja wol mit ihrem eigen Blut ihr Bekantnisz darthun und bekräftigen/ und sich also dem HERren verpflichtet machen."³⁰ This voluntary surrender

²⁶Eph. 1:5. "Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself . . ."

²⁷Phil. 4:3. ". . .whose names are in the book of life" cf. Luke 10:20. ". . .your names are written in heaven".

²⁸Philemon v. 18. This is an example of where St. Paul assumes the liability of Onesimus, the slave, and states, ". . .put that to my account".

²⁹Heb. 8:10. ". . .put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts".cf. Jer.31:31-34; Heb.10:16.

³⁰Cramer, p. 532.

is intimated in the Scripture verse found above the pictura,
 "Und dieser wird sich mit seiner Hand dem HERRN zuschreiben".

In Emblem 22, the epigram, which in the Latin version functions as an explanatory poem, combines within itself representational and interpretational functions to explain the pictura. The res picta features a heart from whose very centre six flourishing lily blooms are growing. The heart is entirely encompassed by ugly thorns. The epigram describes the situation in these words: "Here am I among thorns and strife and cares. Yet my lilies flourish with rosy bloom". The keyword of the epigram is "flourish"³¹ and the implied concept appears to suggest delight and vitality of life despite adversity. Representationally, the epigram names the thorns and lilies and it expands its representational function in that it refers to the "rosy bloom". Interpretationally, the thorns are equated with strife and cares. The motto describes the pictura in terms of Non Laedor or "I am not harmed" and it aids in explaining the meaning of the epigram. The analogy "Wie eine Rose"³² unter den Dornen" buttresses the idea of the whole emblem that the heart or soul is unharmed.

The res significans of the lily in emblematic literature is that of purity. Jüns speaks of the symbolic meaning of the lily as "altes Sinnbild der Unberührtheit", "des unversehrten Herzen" and "die Auferstehung von den Toten".³³ Georgette de Montenay uses the motif of the lily among the thorns in an emblem with the motto Sic Amica Mea Inter to illustrate virtue.³⁴

³¹ Dr. G. Mühlmann's Handwörterbuch, Druck und Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun., Leipzig, 1897. The word "flourish" from the Latin vigeo here means "lebenskräftig sein, thätig sein, in blühenden Zustände sein, sich in seiner Blüte zeigen"

³² Dietrich Walter Jüns. Das Sinnenbild. p. 106. He quotes Fricke as saying regarding the rose-motif, "Wo es im Hohenlied erscheint wie 2, 1f., gilt das nur für Luthers Übersetzung, die Vulgata hat "lilium". cf. Duchsels, p. 596 also suggests for this passage the better wording is "lily" instead of "rose".

³³ Jüns, p. 128.

³⁴ Henkel/ Schöne, p. 306.

whereas Mannich has an emblem which depicts lilies growing from a heart symbolizing purity of heart.³⁵



Reinheit
des Herzens

Cor quid designat? Castam mentem atque pudicam,
Qua Iuveni nullum maius in orbe decus.
Casta tibi sit mens; Ornat pudor ille Iuventam;
Casta bonis grata est mens, Superisque placet.

Figure 17. Mannich. Emblem 84



De tous costez de ronces et d'espines
Ce pource Lis se void enuironné:
Mais la vertu de ses viues racines
L'entretient vif, et de blancheur orné:
Ainsi est-il troupeau deux-fois-né
Viuant a Dieu, et pressé des bastards:
Lesquels ayant leur Dieu abandonné
Comme l'espine a la fin seront ars.

Tugend, von
Gott
beschützt

Figure 18. Montenay. Emblem 39

As regards the symbolic significance of the thorns, besides the metaphorical meaning already given in the emblem of strife and care, Jöns states, "Die Dornen bedeuten das Leid, das 'Creutz' der Welt"³⁶. In another instance, he states that the thorns symbolize "Der Zustand des menschlichen Lebens nach dem Sündenfall!"³⁷

As regards the emblem, Cramer makes an interesting comment elsewhere in his commentary, which seems specifically to apply to this emblem. In explaining Ecclesiasticus 39:17-18, where the motif of the rose and the lily are also mentioned, Cramer elucidates:

Wie die Rosen.] Ein frommer guter Prediger ja auch ein jeder getreuer Gottseliger Zuhörer/ und frommer Christ

³⁵Henkel/Schöne, p. 307.

³⁶Jöns, p. 112.

³⁷Ibid., p. 124.

ist ein rothes Röslein mitten unter den stachelichten Dornen/ Cant. 2.2 mit Christi wolriechenden rosinfarben Blut gefürbet/ welches den matte un verschmachteteten Seelen in der Hitze des Creutzes die beste Milterung und Erquickung gibt. Oder wie ein herrlich wolriechender Weyrauch/ denen die da selig werden ein Geruch des Lebens zum Leben 2 Cor. 2.15. Und sein Gebet ist wie ein liebliches Rauchopffer Ps. 141.2. Oder aber wie eine weisse Lilien/ ist weisz und rechtschaffen wie weisz Salz. Matth. 5.13. Und behält die weisse Farbe der Redlichkeit/ Einfalt und Wahrheit. Ps. 25. 21 Syr. 4.17 2 Cor. 1.12 und 17.

In the metaphorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon³⁸ to Cramer, the lily among the thorns³⁹ represents, "Die Christliche Kirche in dieser Welt mitten unter den Feinden umgeben. Doch aber halt der Bräutigam Christus mit seinem Schatten Über sie/ dasz sie nicht zu fürchten hab!"⁴⁰

In three of Cramer's epigrams, the qualifying words "rose" or "rosy" appears. In Emblem 22, as we have seen, the "rosy bloom" to Cramer represents "Christi wolriechenden rosinfarben Blut".⁴¹ In Emblem 19, the heart is stained from the "rosecolored altar of the blood of Christ, and in this way overcomes the weight of the law with the rejoicing weight of the cross". The righteousness of the law is juxtaposed with the altar of love and the joy of imputed righteousness of the cross. Mannich has an emblem with the motto, Contritos Gratia Sanat, in which the theme and pictura are very similar to that of Cramer's emblem. In the prose poem which accompanies that emblem, he differentiates between those who build on the righteousness of the Law of Moses and those who accept the imputed righteousness of Christ. In Emblem 18, Cramer illustrates

³⁸Gershom Scholem. Zohar, The Book of Splendor. Schocken Books Inc. New York, 1949, p. 118. The Cabbalistic interpretation views the Rose of Sharon as the Community of Israel who loves the King to whom she sings her praises. "At first she is a rose with yellowish petals, and then a lily of two colours, white and red, a lily of six petals, changing from one hue to another. She is named "rose" when she is about to join with the King, and after she has come together with him in her kisses, she is named "lily".

³⁹"Dachsels, p. 596. As in the basic original text, the etymological root is "lily" or "purity" from which the maiden name Susanna is derived. He alludes to Susanna who rather would endure death than surrender her personal integrity and chastity as depicted in Apocryphal book, The Story of Susanna and Daniel.

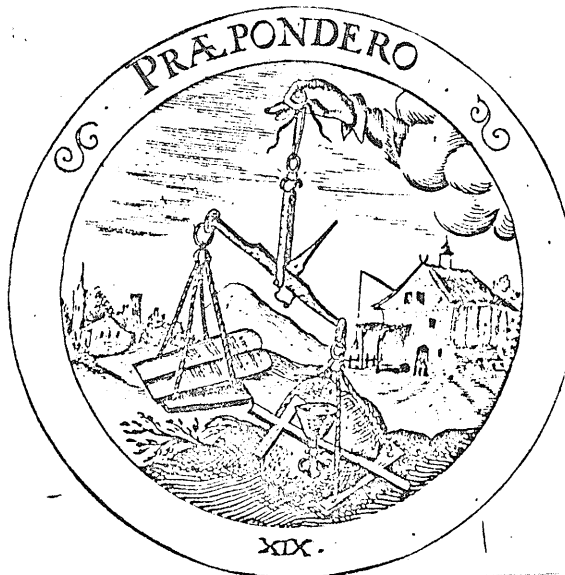
⁴⁰Cramer, p. 964.

that this merit is solely due to grace. The epigram declares, "I am nothing⁴² but I am lifted up and I triumph by the gospel so does grace prevail over law; I seek the stars". The latter words, "I seek the stars", assume an impresa-like character.

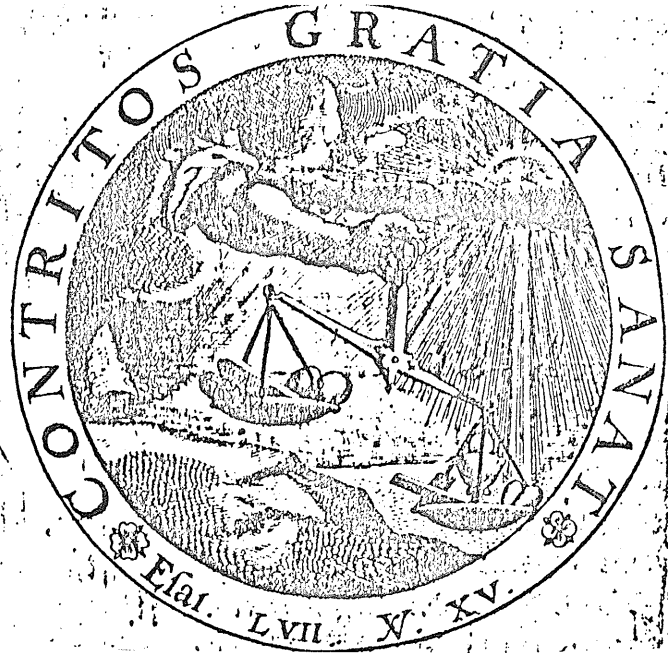
Non sub lege estis, sed sub gratia.

Rom. 6. 14.

Ihr seyd nicht mehr unter dem Gesetz/sondern unter der Gnade.



*Cortinulum rosea Christi de sanguinis ara,
Vincit, quante crucis pondere, legis onus.*



*Ipse Deus trutina suspendit ab axe bilancem,
A cruce, cor, Christi & sanguine pondus habet.
Iustitia propria diffidas. pulvis & umbra est.
Sed fides Christi, & salvus eris, meritis.*

Figure 19. Cramer. Emblem 19

Figure 20. Mannich. Emblem 37

In Emblem 31, the expression "rosy liquid" appears in the epigram. The Scripture verse in this emblem, "das Wasser/ das ich ihm geben werde/ das wird jm ein Brunn desz Wassers werden/ das in das ewige Leben quillet", serves as a gloss to reinforce and expand the meaning of the emblem. In the pictura,

⁴¹ Carl-Alfred Zell. Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Dichtung Johann Heermanns (1585-1647). Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 1971, p. 187. He points out that "Heermann nennt das Blut 'rosinfarb'" in one of his songs. "Drumb ist getrost mein Hertz vnd Muth/ Mit kindlichem Vertrawen./ Auff diss sein Rosinfarbes Blut/ Wil ich mein Hoffnung bawen,/ Das er für mich vergossen hat,/ Gewaschen ab die Missethat/ Vnd mir das Heyl erworben". Heermann also cites Luther in a "Leichpredigt": ". . . Da sie durch das Wasser-Bad der heiligen Tauffe/ oder vielmehr wie es der Herr Lutherus giebet/ durch das rosinfarbe Blut Christi gewaschen vnd gereiniget/ vnd in das Buch des Lebens eingeschrieben worden ist".

⁴² The identical words are used in the subscriptio under Daniel Cramer's portrait as found in the Preface of the book.

the hand of God is holding a chalice to the lips of a pilgrim as he stands and leans on his staff. In the breast of the pilgrim is a wide open wound exposing the heart from which a stream of blood gushes forth to the ground. From this spot on the ground, a blooming rose has sprung up. The function of the inscriptio, Qui Sitit Bibet, or "He who is thirsty will drink" is strictly representational. The sense is complete and its relationship to the picture is clear. The keyword of the motto is "thirsty" and its implied concept is "spiritual refreshment" or "renewal".

The epigram is in the form of a general statement. Representationally, it refers to the "heart", the "lips" and the "rose". It expands its function by naming things not depicted as the "rosy liquid". It explains the res significans of the pictura by stating, "The lips are moistened with rosy liquid from which source the heart, drinking freely, gushes forth whence springs a flourishing rose". The implied meaning of "the heart drinking freely" results in blessings and new life. Cramer states that "Ein frommer Mann soll sein wie ein Brunquel/ und gern umb sich theilen".⁴³

The epigram does not explicitly resolve the enigma of the "rosy liquid" nor of the "flourishing rose". Cramer throws some light on the observation of nature that lies behind the image of "gushing forth", in his explication of the Scripture verse:

Es schreiben die Naturkündiger/ dasz die Wasser so
hoch steigen können wie sie entspringen und fallen.
Weil nun dieser Brunn hoch ausz dem Himmel entspringet/
ausz dem Hertzen des Vaters/ und nichts anders ist/
als ein Exuberantia und überflüssiges Reichthum der
Göttlichen Gnade/ darumb ist es kein Wunder/ dasz sich
die Krafft wider so hoch erhebt/ als sie entsprossen
ist.⁴⁴

The "rosy liquid" of the emblem would therefore, according to Cramer, seem to imply the water of God's fountain of grace to man. Similarly, the rose would be a symbol of God's love and renewed life. The symbol of the flourishing rose, therefore is

⁴³Cramer. p. 458.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 1155.

closely associated with salvation. In this aspect, the "Rosenwunden"⁴⁴ motif is also inherent in this emblem. Jöns underscores the idea of salvation when he states that in a religious sense, the rose can be used as "Sinnbild des heilsgeschichtlichen Standorts des Menschen zwischen Sündhaftigkeit und Erlösung".⁴⁵ In this soteriological relationship, the "rosy liquid" would appear to connote the blood of Christ of which the pilgrim partakes from the chalice in the hand of God. The biblical allusion seems to be Christ's words, "whoso. . . drinketh my blood has eternal life and I will raise him up at the last day". In the light of the pilgrim motif in the emblem, the rose allegorically may be looked upon as the "Himmelsrose", which symbolizes "Das Verlangen nach dem himmlischen Vaterland".⁴⁶

In the epigrams of Emblems 21 and 28, the word "golden" is used as a substantive modifier of "Cross" and "gate" respectively. In Emblem 21, a cross is featured, together with a scroll that has handwriting on it, which the hand of Jesus has annulled.⁴⁷ The epigram describes the picture in these words:

A great lawsuit had been brought against me the golden cross
of Christ alone has made amends [given satisfaction] the cross
alone will make amends [gives satisfaction].

If one considers "golden" in terms of money, then Cramer transfers the term from secular litigation to spiritual litigation. It seems to be a direct allusion to Christ's own words, "Even as the Son of man came. . . to give his life a ransom for many".⁴⁸ The

⁴⁴Zell. p. 201. He remarks, "Von Dichtern, die der Mystik nahe-
stehen, werden die blutigen Wunden verschiedentlich als rote Blumen,
als rote Rosen bezeichnet; Scheffler spricht von ihnen als
"Rosenwunden", Spee nennt sie "rüselein" und "blumen".

⁴⁵Jöns, p. 125.

⁴⁶Heribert Breidenbach. Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S. J.
1581-1638. Thesis-Graduate College of the University of Illinois,
1970, Urbana, Illinois. He lists the various kinds of roses and
their allegorical significance as found in Drexel's work. p.345.

⁴⁷Mannich. His Emblem 10 also features a cross, handwriting,
scroll and heavenly hand.

⁴⁸Matthew 20:28, cf. 1 Tim. 2:6.

idea of ransom also alludes to "Lösegeld" in the Old Testament and symbolically is associated with freedom just as the inscription, "I am freed", intimates. Johann Heermann expresses this idea in a stanza of one of his songs when he says:

Sein Blutschweisz war das Lösegeld,
Das Er der Heyland aller Welt,
Für sie baar auszgezehlet.⁴⁹

A similar idea is beautifully expressed by Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg in her Sonnet 150:

O Guldne Blutes=Münz/ ach allgeltends Geld
das mein' und aller Welt ihr Sünden=Last aufwäget,⁵⁰

As a refiner refines the gold, separating the dross, so likewise Cramer seems to emphasize the divine worthiness of the "golden cross" of grace, which was tested in the furnace of affliction. This cross makes amends in being motivated by divine love. In this aspect, Catharina says so fittingly regarding Christ's passion or "Lieb=Begierden": "Sie ist der Gold=Geist/ der das schwere Leidens=Bley/ vor GOTT-Goldgültig macht/ dasz es Erlösung sey."⁵¹

In Emblem 28, the words "golden gate" appear in the epigram which is expressed in the form of a petition addressed to Faith. It states:

O Faith, be my heart and my covenant true, even unto
death and there will be in heaven a sure golden gate.

Thematically, the whole emblem speaks of faithfulness and destiny. The Scripture verse, "Sey getrew biss an den Todt/ so will ich dir die Kron dess Lebens geben", serves as a title and introduces

⁴⁹Zell, p. 180. He remarks, "Heermann braucht das Wort, 'Lösegeld' allegorisch, er verwendet es in den hier möglichen Bezügen. Das 'Auszehlen' ist wirklich, ein Vorzahlen von Münzen das Auszahlen von Geld".

⁵⁰Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg. Geistliche Sonnette, Lieder und Gedichte. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1967, Sonnet 150.

⁵¹Ibid., Sonnet 146.

the theme. The pictura depicts a heart that has been pierced by a spade and a scythe in such a way as to form a cross internally.⁵² The heart is buoyed up by two clasped hands above what appears to be the earthen mound of a newly dug grave. These clasped hands seem to symbolize a contract or covenant of faith. Suspended above the heart, a crown is featured. The inscriptio interprets the pictura in terms of Fidelis Sum or "I am faithful". The spade and the scythe substantiate the theme of faithfulness in that both are symbols of labor as well as indicators of time. The spade, which is used to dig a grave, represents the span of the time of labor while the scythe symbolizes time as a reaper. The crown is a symbol of destiny and reward.

In its representational function, the subscriptio names the heart only. It also expands the representation to include unnamed motifs such as "covenant" and "gate". In its interpretational function, it qualifies the motifs by referring to the "covenant" as "true" and to the "gate" as "golden". The thrust of the epigram appears ^{to be} that the faithful heart will be rewarded by having an abundant entrance⁵³ into heaven itself where the crown of life awaits it. This notion is intimated by the presence of the motif of the crown in the pictura and as stated in the Scripture verse. Cramer states that "Die Krone des Lebens soll alles vergüten und vergelten"⁵⁴ and also elsewhere in his commentary, he states, "Den Gläubigen/ so beständig bleiben/ bisz an den Todt/ ist beygelegt die Krone der Gerechtigkeit. . .".⁵⁵

Another characteristic feature of several of the emblems in Cramer's emblem book is the presence of a rhetorical question

⁵²The spade and the scythe seem to be arranged in such a way by Cramer so as to form the cross of St. Andrew, who, because of his faithfulness in the ministry, was martyred on a saltire or X-shaped cross at Patras. cf. Sill, p. 8 and 32.

⁵³2 Peter 1:11, "And God will open wide the gates of heaven for you to enter into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ". (Living Bible)

⁵⁴Cramer, p. 1389.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 754.

in the subscriptio.

In Emblem 1, which deals thematically with the penetrating power of the Word of God, the rhetorical question, "Why but that I be better?" appears within the subscriptio. The pictura shows a hammer in the hand of God, whose blow has penetrated a heart lying upon a rock. The Scripture verse in this instance is decisive in that the hammer is indentified with the Word of God. The inscriptio functions in an interpretative way in conveying the idea that the heart is being softened. The general notion of the text, inscriptio and pictura are here seen working together in close harmony to convey the notion that the purpose for the softening of the heart is for the penetration of the Word of God. The subscriptio is explanatory in nature. It names the various motifs of the picture and in this it also serves in a representational aspect. In the Latin, it consists of two lines, which read in translation:

My heart is like stone; the hammer softens me
I sustain its blows: Why, but that I be better?

In this emblem, the close connection between the verse, the pictura and the subscriptio is seen in a dynamic relationship in that the motif of the hammer and the rock (analogy-"stone" in the epigram) is common to them all. It explains that the hammer is analogous to the Word of God which penetrates the impervious heart. The inscriptio, "I am made soft", and the expression in the subscriptio, "the hammer softens me" complement each other and together assist in featuring the compactness of the emblem. The rhetorical question, "Why that I be better?" features the reflective thought of the soul as it considers the moral import of its softening experience.

In the tropological sense, the allusion to the heart as being like stone has overtones of the reference in Ezekiel 36:26. "A new heart also will I give you and a new spirit

will I put in you and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh and I will give you a heart of flesh".

In Emblem 26, the epigram assumes the nature of a soliloquy in interpreting the pictura. The apprehension of the soul is in the form of a rhetorical question, "Why do I fear?". It allays its own fear by the reassuring words, "The thick shade of Jehovah's wings enfolds me, lest I be thoroughly cooked by the fire of fierce anger". In the pictura, the heart is featured as covered by the enfolding wings of Jehovah, while the bright sun, symbolically representing the "fire of fierce anger", is sending forth scorching rays upon it. Interpretationally, the inscriptio, Protegor, or "I am protected" describes the safety of the soul. Of interest is the Scripture verse and its reference to "Schirm" and "Schatten". According to Grimm's Wörterbuch, the word "Schirm" was first used as a military term to designate "eine Schutzvorrichtung", "ein Schutzdach" and "eine Schutzwehr".⁵⁶ As regards "Schatten", Dächsel points out that in Psalm 91:1 the more exact translation regarding this word is "übernachtet; auch zur Nachtzeit darunter weilet".⁵⁷ The reference to Jehovah's wings in the subscriptio allude to the Psalmist's words "beschirme mich unter dem Schatten deiner Flügel",⁵⁸ and the imagery is analogous to the eagle, "wie ein Adler sein Gefieder über seine Jungen streckt"⁵⁹ as well as to the mother hen, "wie eine Henne versammelt ihre Küchlein unter ihre Flügel".⁶⁰

A verse in the Apocrypha to which Cramer refers elsewhere as being a gloss on Psalm 91 seems to describe emblematically the pictura to a major extent.

Die Augen des Herren sehen auf die, so ihn lieb haben.

⁵⁶Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm. Deutsches Wörterbuch. S. Herzog Verlag, Leipzig, 1899, Band 9, p. 210. They state that the term was incorporated for religious usage as in Nahum 1:6 where it states ". . .who can abide the fierceness of his anger".

⁵⁷Dächsel, p. 323.

⁵⁸Psalm 17:8. Also see Appendix 9 re: origin of name "Jehovah".

⁵⁹Deut. 32:11.

⁶⁰Matth. 23:7.

Er ist ein gewaltiger Schutz eine grosse Stärke, ein Schirm wider die Hitze eine Hütte wider den heissen Mittag, eine Hut wider das Straucheln, eine Hilfe wider den Fall: der das Herz erfreut und das Angesicht frölich macht und gibt Gesundheit Leben und Segen.⁶¹

According to Duchsels, a Lutheran theologian, we find that Arndt defines the "Schirm Gottes" as follows:

Der Schirm Gottes heisst ein latibulum, d.i. ein Versteck, ein heimlich Oertlein, dahin man sich verbirgt und versteckt in öffentlichen, allgemeinen Nöthen; und will uns hiemit der heil. Geist trösten, dass, so ein Mensch einen verbergen kann an einem heimlichen verborgenen Oertlein zur Zeit der Noth, vielmehr kann's Gott.⁶²

Among the many exciting emblems contained in Cramer's Emblematum Sacrorvm is Emblem 27, which in its subscriptio also contains a rhetorical question. It is expressed in these words, "My innocent heart is enclosed by an encircling ring: what harm can mocking faces and insults do me?" The emblematic imagery of the pictura is rich in meaning and the arrangement of the motifs, as well as the interplay of their meaning create an atmosphere conducive to dramatic action.

The inscriptio is of impresa-length and consists of two Latin words, Sanno Fero or "I endure mocking faces". It is written in the first person and the sense is complete. In function, the inscriptio is both interpretational and representational. Representationally, it is noted that it names an object in the pictura namely mocking faces. The key word is "endure" and the concept expressed by the inscriptio is that one should endure or suffer the onslaught of vicious slander. The relationship of the inscriptio to the pictura is lucid and it is linked intrinsically with the central idea of the pictura.

The res picta of the pictura depicts a palm tree, from whose branches suspended by a chain is a heart enclosed by an

⁶¹Cramer, p. 853. He states, "Dieses Wort sind eine herrliche Glosz aufführliche Erklärung des 91 Psalms/Wer unter dem Schirm des Höchsten sitzt. Dann wie der Psalm nach der alten Lehrer Meinung wider die Pestilenz gemacht ist/ . . ."

⁶²Duchsels, p. 323.

encircling ring; the heart stands against a cross. Juxtaposed to this tranquil scene and protruding from a cave is a hideous creature with bat-like wings and several vipers on its head, who is spewing a volley of arrows at the heart.

The subscriptio of the emblem has a dual function representation, in that it names certain objects in the pictura such as the heart, the ring and mocking faces; and interpretation, in that it qualifies the "innocent" heart and implies the notion in the form of a question, that an innocent heart need have no fear of harm or insults from mocking faces. The key words of the subscriptio are "the innocent heart" and the implied concept is that integrity of heart is the best protection against slander. The unifying element which is common to all parts is "mocking faces". These words, in turn, are linked to "bösem Maul" of the Scripture text. In this way, the whole emblem is a coherent unit.

The expressions "böse Mäuler" and "böses Maul" occur in Luther's translation, while The Zürich Bible captions the section of Ecclesiasticus 28:13-26 as "Warnung vor Zungensünden". In this section, slander is referred to as "die dritte Zunge", as in 28:13, "Auch die dritte Zunge soll verflucht sein, denn sie hat viele friedsame Leute ins verderben gebracht". In the footnote, referring to this verse, the following annotation is made. "So nannte man die Zunge des Verleumders der zwischen zwei Menschen Unfrieden stiftet".

The palm tree symbolizes constancy despite adverse conditions. The heart, enclosed by an encircling ring, seems to suggest the soul's perfect composure and equanimity of mind because it is in contact with the cross. As the cross carries the typological meaning of justification and its inference is vindication, it seems that in this way that the innocent heart, mentioned in the subscriptio, is protected against "mocking faces". If this was Cramer's intention,

then the encircling ring could be the "bond of perfection or love" (Col. 3:14) which keeps the soul in vital relationship with Christ. The biblical allusion, inherent in these thoughts, seems to refer to "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee".⁶³

The hideous villain with bat-like wings and vipers on its head, symbolizes evil and metaphorically represents the devil, whose very name "diabolos" means "slanderer". The forked tongue of the serpents connotes duplicity and deceit. The monster is an allusion to the "slanderer" whose "tongue is as an arrow shot out, it speaketh deceit".⁶⁴ In the following statement, Johann Arndt mentions how difficult it is to control the evil tongue:

Eine böse Zunge ist einer Wasserschlange gleich welche man Hydra nennet. Haut man derselben einen Kopf ab, so wachsen ihr sieben wieder.⁶⁵

Ultimately, the emblem refers to Christ, who at his trial endured unperturbedly slanderous accusations. (Matthew 26:59). This is seen in the motif of the palm which represents the constancy of Christ and whose branches signify peace. Arndt points out, that Christ suffered the onslaught of venomous slander from the Pharisees. He says that Christ overcame "die Pharisäischen Schlangen und Ottern mit ihren vergifteten Zungen beide in Leben und Tode".⁶⁶

Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, in her sonnet "Auf meines schönsten Seelen-Herrschers Verspott- und Verspeyung", refers to the slander directed at Christ in terms of "Strahl" and "Drachengift". She says, "Je mehr die Göttlichkeit die Strahle in sich rückt/je mehrer deren Krafft aus deinem Leiden blickt".⁶⁷

⁶³ Isaiah 26:3.

⁶⁴ Jeremiah 9:8.

⁶⁵ Johann Arndt. Vom Wahren Christentum. Druck und Verlag von J.F. Steinkopf, Stuttgart, 1919, p.255. This is referred to in his sermon, "Wie wir durch Christum und aller Heiligen Exempel die Verleumdung böser Mäuler und falscher Zungen Überwinden sollen".

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 252.

⁶⁷ von Greiffenberg. Sonnet 141.

Cramer's subscriptiones are characterized by brevity, subtleties and a certain enigmatical element which make them interesting and intriguing. In this aspect, they exhibit a certain similarity to the epigrams of Rollenhagen, which Wolfgang Harms describes in the following words and which to a major extent are applicable to Cramer's subscriptiones.

dass Rollenhagens emblematische Epigramme in dem Sinne Fragmente sind, dass hier durch eine offene Form der Leser zur Fortsetzung oder Erfüllung des Vorgegebenen aufgefordert wird, womit Autor und Leser bei dem Bemühen um Wahrheiterschliessung auf gleicher Stufe zu stehen scheinen.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Wolfgang Harms, "Der Fragmentcharacter emblematischer Auslegungen und die Rolle des Lesers. Gabriel Rollenhagens Epigramme" Deutsche Barocklyrik. Gedichtinterpretationen von Spee bis Haller, ed. Martin Bircher und Alois M. Haas, (Bern und München, 1973), p. 62.

Chapter VI

Mode of Thought

In dealing with the mode of thought, we are speaking of the relationship which exists between the pictura and the scriptura of the emblem, between the pictured object and the concept.¹ Hence the res significans of the motifs is of paramount importance in determining the meaning of the emblem. As regards the various modes, Cramer's emblems contain examples of all the three modes of thought. In frequency of occurrence, there are three emblems that exhibit the typological, seven emblems that portray the allegorical and thirty emblems that display the hieroglyphical mode of thought.

In the typological mode of thought, the objects of the pictura may have several meanings. In Emblem 13, the relationship between the pictured motifs and the word exemplifies the typological mode of thought. The pictura depicts a heart buoyed up by a shell in a raging storm-tossed sea. The inscriptio, Periclitor, "I am in danger" has an interpretative function in its relation to the picture. Representationally, the danger is concrete in that the physical elements threaten the soul. However, in another way, it is apparent that the inscriptio refers to a psychological peril.

From the context of the Scripture verse, "Deine Fluthen rauschen² daher/ dasz hie eine Tiefe und da eine Tiefe brauset" and from the interpretation of the subscriptio, it is apparent that the danger implied is of a spiritual nature. The subscriptio identifies the shell as a symbol of hope.³ Hence, in the spiritual sense, the waves, tempest and storm must be looked up-

¹ cf. Peter M. Daly. "Zu den Denkformen des Emblems". Akten des V. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses. Cambridge, Herbert Lang, Bern, 1975, p. 51.

² August Dächsel, Dächsel's Bibelwerk. Dritter Band. A Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., Leipzig, p. 219. This Lutheran commentator interprets "die Fluthen" as "Fluthen der Trübsal, die du (der Herr) über mich herabschüttetest. Regarding "hie eine Tiefe und da eine Tiefe brausen" he refers to the Noachian deluge and its judgment. The sea becomes "Trübsalsmeer". The shell of hope could hence typify the Ark.

³ Colossians 1:27 - speaks of "Christ in you the hope of glory".

on as motifs of adversity of the soul.

In general, Cramer interprets the verse as a description of the true Christian whose banner is "stets unter der Fluth⁴ und Ungewitter des Creutzes zu sein⁵". For Cramer, collectively, the waves, tempest and storm symbolize the cross which each Christian must bear with fortitude.⁶

It is thus seen how the significative character of the various motifs exhibit the typological mode of thought of the emblem; meaning derives from concepts associated with the natural properties of the motifs thus typological.

The well-known traditional typological spider-bee⁷ motif has been used in secular as well as in religious emblematic literature. In Emblem 17, Cramer uses this motif for a didactic and religious purpose. As such, the emblem is a good example not only of an illustration of a typological mode of thought but also it shows the cohesive relationship of the structure of the emblem.

As regards its structure, the inscriptio, Mellifico or "I make honey" has only a representational function. The keyword "honey" has the implied concept of that which is "sweet" or "attractive" to man. In the pictura, all the motifs, except for the cross, come from the realm of nature. The scene

⁴Daniel Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. p. 394. Cramer speaks of "Wasserfluth" (Ps. 32:6,7) as synonymous with "Zweiffelmuth".

⁵Ibid., p. 401. (Ps. 42:8) "Beschreibung rechter wahrer Christen. Das ihre Hoffarbe ist stets unter der Fluth und Ungewitter des Creutzes zu sein."

⁶Ibid., p. 401. "Wir müssen nicht zarte Heiligen sein sondern uns darzu gewöhnen/ das ein Creutz nicht allein ist. Ex. Jacob/ dem Stirbt die Deborah. Gen. 35:8. Die Rahel.v. 16. Reuben beschläfft sein Keksweib. v.22. Sein Vater Isaac stirbt." v. 28.

⁷Peter M. Daly. "Trends and Problems in the Study of Emblematic Literature" Mosaic, V (1972), p. 62. cf. also Henkel/Schöne, Emblemata. pp. 302-304.

Angelus Silesius

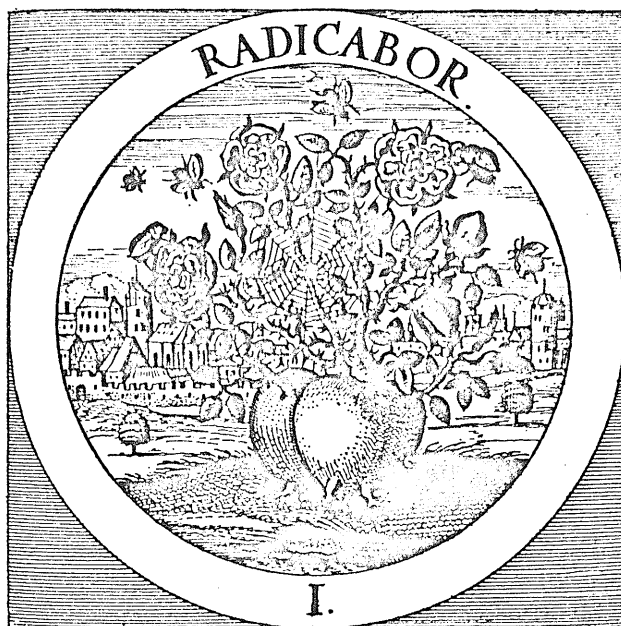


Figure 21. Cramer
Emblem I.
(Emblemata Sacra)

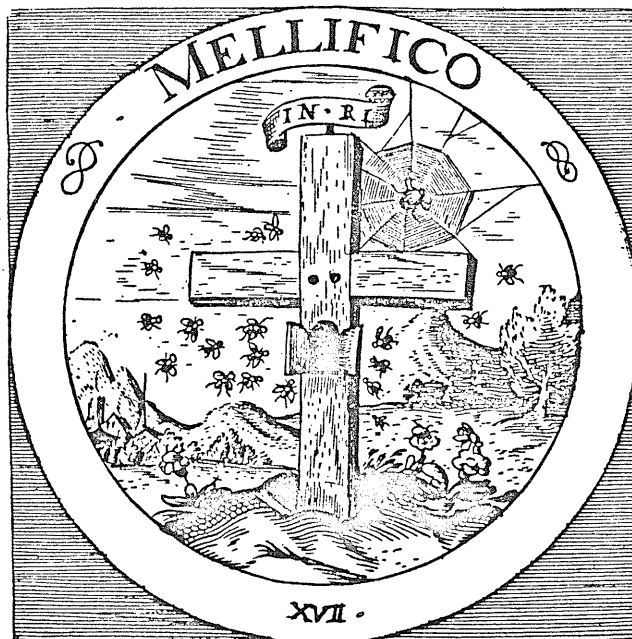


Figure 22. Cramer
Emblem 17.

Daniel Cramer / Cunrad Bachmann, *Emblemata Sacra. Hoc est decades quinque Emblematum ex sacra scriptura, de dulcissimo Nomine & Cruce Jesu Christi*, Francofurti 1624, Part. II. Decas I, Emblema I, S. 17, und Decas II, Emblema XVII, S. 81

depicts a cross which has a door-like opening in the lower section of its stem. Bees have accommodated themselves in this opening and have built a hive in it. A spider and web are depicted on the upper left arm of the cross. Below the cross, bees are actively engaged in gathering nectar from the flowers. On one flower, however, a spider is also engaged in sipping nectar. The inscription on the cross is "INRI" indicating that it is not a general cross of tribulation and suffering, but specifically it is the Cross of Christ.

The inscriptio, "I make honey" is closely related to the pictura. As a motto, it defines the activity of the scene in its sententious abbreviation of Mellifico. However, due to the spider and the web and the spider on the flower, an enigmatical element is present which militates against the sense of the inscriptio and seems to render it ambivalent. We have here an instance of what some theorists, particularly Jöns, have emphasized, namely that a certain tension or enigmatical relationship should exist between inscriptio and pictura.⁸

As Schöne points out, the res picta has a transcendental significance which must be taken into account. The res significans of the spider and the web is that this creature is considered to be poisonous and that it transforms the nectar of the flower into harmful and destructive venom. The honey-bee on the other hand, utilizes the nectar to make honey that is palatable and beneficial. The spider's qualities are interpreted in malam partem,⁹ whereas the bee is interpreted in bonam partem.¹⁰ Here the symbols of the bee and the spider are based on medieval typology. Due to the diversity of the nature of these creatures and the end product of their activity, the enigmatic tension between inscriptio and pictura must needs be solved by the subscrip-

⁸Dietrich Walter Jöns. Das "Sinnenbild". Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius. J. B. Metzlersche Verlagshandlung, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 17.

⁹Ibid., p. 119. Jöns speaks of "Spinnen der Anfechtung" and in their activity they are compared to the devil by Picinelli.

¹⁰Mario Praz. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, Roma, 1964, p. 29. He refers to the bee as also causing burning wounds.

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tio as Heckscher and Wirth have suggested.¹¹ The tension is based on the polarization of life and death which the bee and the spider exemplify in the natural realm as seen in their relation to the flower and its fragrant nectar. In the spiritual realm, however, as the Scripture verse intimates, life and death are juxtaposed in an individual depending on his attitude and reaction to the Cross of Christ.

In the light of this knowledge, the meaning of the subscription in its representational and interpretational function becomes lucid for it states: "Christ's cross is for some the bitterness and stench of death - but for me the cross is the love and sweet smell of life". The inference is that the cross is a symbol of the great Divider, for to some it is the bitterness and stench of death or a "stumbling block",¹² while to others it is a symbol of love and sweet smell of life.

As indicated in the Scripture reference, "Diesen ein Geruch desz Todes zum Todt/jenem ein Geruch des Lebens zum Leben",¹³ we are dealing with the effect the cross has on two diverse categories of individuals. In the emblems, the motifs portraying these effects, namely, "ein Geruch desz Todes zum Todt" and "ein Geruch des Lebens zum Leben", or as Dachsel calls them, Gattungsbegriffe,¹⁴ may be arranged in the following parallel order:

Geruch des Todes

The Cross of Christ
The Spider
The Net
The Venom
The Flower
The Nectar

Geruch des Lebens

The Cross of Christ
The Bee
The Hive
The Honey
The Flower
The Nectar

¹¹ William S. Heckscher und Karl-August Wirth, "Emblem, Emblembuch" Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1959) Col. 95, 5.

¹² 1 Cor. 1:23.

¹³ William Barclay. The Letters to the Corinthians. The Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1961, p. 205-6. Paul uses the metaphor of the triumphal procession of a general in Rome. In the procession were priests swinging the incense-filled censers. To the general and the victors, the perfume from the censers would be joy, triumph and life but to the wretched captives walking ahead it was a perfume of death.

¹⁴ Dachsel, Band VII, p. 309.

The close relationship of the subscriptio and Scripture is seen in the negative aspects in such words as "bitterness", "Todt", "stench" and "Geruch des Todes", while "love" and "sweet smell" are associated with the positive aspect of "Geruch des Lebens". The Scripture verse sets the theme and topically the concept of life and death is contained in the tripartite structure of the emblem. The inscriptio is personalized and is closely linked to the subscriptio by application "for me" and "I make honey". Seen from this vantage point, the inscriptio assumes an impresa-like function.

Now in regard to its typological use in the secular sphere, the spider-bee motif was employed by emblematisers for a didactic purpose. It was used to advocate discretion in the choice of reading material. In Picta Poesis, Clement states that "more than any other group in the Renaissance, the emblematisers revered books as symbols, favored symbols almost independent of their content".¹⁵ He refers to Valeriano, who advocated a method of culling books. Valeriano suggests:

As the bees fly indeed to all flowers, although the crow-foot plant and other species contain bitter acrid fluid, nonetheless they suck out there from nectar from which they proceed to prepare wondrous honey.¹⁶

Elsewhere, Clement also states that "Both Valeriano and Boissard conceive of poets as bees culling the best from literary gardens of the past".¹⁷ Grimmelshausen also advocates discretion as to reading books as seen in the following comment where he uses the spider-bee motif:

Gleich wie die Bienen Honig und die Spinne Gift aus den Blumen saugen, also schöpfen auch die guten Menschen Guts die Schlimmen Böses aus den Büchern.¹⁸

¹⁵ Robert J. Clements. Picta Poesis. Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Via Lancellotti 18, Roma 1960, p. 69.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 227.

¹⁸ cf. Dietrich Walter Jöns. "Emblematisches bei Grimmelshausen". Euphorion VXII, 1968, p. 386.

Jöns refers to a parallel use of this motif in Jakob von Bruck emblems which appeared in 1615. He points to the latter's Emblem 21 which depicts bees and spiders attracted to roses. He states:¹⁹

"Überschrift und Erklärung lauten:

Usu Diverso

An einer Blumm ein Bien und Spinn
Haben beyde ihren Gewinn
Diese such Honig: Jene Gifft/
Eine Natur d'andr vbertrifft
Klug wird genendt derselbig Mann
Der bösz zum guten brauch kann.²⁰

Rose aus der die Biene Honig, die Spinne Gift saugt

USU DIVERSO.



Usu diuerso diuersa insecta probantur:
Colligit haec virus; colligit illa favum.
Ut cuique est animus quoque sic operatur: et una
Usus diuersos Res habet atque capit.

Figure 23. Bruck Emblem 21.

In the religious sphere, the spider-bee motif was used to indicate that in reading the Scriptures, the genuine Christian would discriminate between good and evil accounts:

¹⁹ibid. p. 387.

²⁰Henkel/Schöne. Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1967, p. 303.

Darumb ob sol fromme Christen guts und böses in der Bibel lesen/ so folgen sie doch den Guten im Glaubben und Leben/ aber fuer dem Bösen hutten sie sich/ gleich wie die binen auff allerley Blumen herumfliegen undt den Honig davon tragen.²¹

With regard to the tenets of faith, the spider-bee motif was used to symbolize the heretic and the believer because both utilize the same source from which to assimilate their respective doctrine.²²

Cramer refers to the spider-bee motif directly in his explanation of 1 Corinthians 1:18.²³ He equates the motif of the rose with the gospel message of the Cross of Christ. The bee typifies the positive attitude of all those who accept the message and as a consequence realize its power.. The spider symbolizes those who, by their character, entertain a negative attitude to the message of the gospel which they deem as something that is foolish. Cramer explains this verse in the following words:

Ist die Frage/ ob das Wort vom Creutz das ist das H. Evangelium vom gekreuzigten Christo an ihm selbst also bewand seyn, dasz es gegen etliche die verloren werden sollen/ eine Torheit/ gegen etliche die selig werden sollen eine Krafft Gottes sey? Antwort nein! Das Evangelium ist und bleibet eine helysame Lehr in sich/ und an ihm selbst: aber per accidens und zufellig geschieht es auch dem der Zuhörer ist/ dasz es dieses und jenes wircket. Daran doch Gott durchausz keine Schuld hat/ dann gleich wie ausz einer Rose die Biene Honig/ die Spinne Gifft sauget/ und ist doch die Rose²⁴ einerley: Also gehet es auch dem Evangelio/ dasz nach dem sich die Leut befinden/auch auff das Evangelium.²⁵

In Emblem 17, Cramer extends this basic typological idea along these lines by referring to 2 Corinthians 2:16. The message of the Cross becomes for those who reject it, "ein Geruch des Todes zum Todt

²¹Jöns. p. 387. He refers to the preface of a translation of Isagoge des Petrus Palladius.

²²Ibid., p. 388.

²³1 Corinthians 1:18: For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.

²⁴Martin Bircher und Alois M. Haas. Deutsche Barocklyrik, Francke Verlag, Bern und München, 1973, p. 97. See "Rosenwunden" by Angelus Silesius.

²⁵Cramer. p. 1257.

while to others who heed it "ein Geruch des Lebens zum Leben".
Cramer explains these two concepts as follows:

Das Evangelium ist niemand an ihm selbst ein Geruch des
Todes zum Tode/ sondern allen Menschen ein Geruch des
Lebens zum Leben/ was Gottes Ordnung und Meinung betrifft/
dann er wil/ dasz alle zur Erkantnisz der Wahrheit kommen.²⁶

In the pictura of the emblem, the typological motifs are a visual representation of the distillation of the ideas contained in Cramer's comments. Expanding on this main motif, the door-like opening of the Cross typifies Christ as the door, access to Him, the abundant life and liberty.²⁷ The activity of the bees symbolizes the proclamation of the gospel.²⁸ In contrast, the spider-web motif suggests bondage and death. In all these aspects, it can clearly be seen that the emblem exhibits the typological mode of thought.

The allegorical mode of thought is expressed in an emblem when a personification of a certain figure exemplifies a single significance. An example is that of Virtue sitting on the grave of Ajax.²⁹ The allegorical mode of thought is also observed in emblems where an object or an event represents a general notion with which it is always associated.³⁰

An interesting emblem which exemplifies the allegorical mode of thought is Emblem 36. In the pictura, there is a main motif as well as a gloss that serves as an extension of the main concept. In the pictura, a priest is kneeling before an altar in an attitude of prayer. His arms and eyes are lifted heavenward. A rosary hangs loosely from one arm. From the sky, a hand holds forth a pair of spectacles. In the pictura, the praying priest is the particular embodiment of hypocrisy. For the visual gloss, functioning as an interpretation of the main motif, depicts the

²⁶ Ibid., p. 1279.

²⁷ John 10:9-10.

²⁸ Cramer, p. 1279.

²⁹ Daly, "Zu den Denkformen des Emblems". p. 97

³⁰ Ibid., p. 97.

heart among its real desire for worldly power (sword), honour (crown), rulership (sceptre), eminence (staff), and wealth (money). The inscriptio, O Vanitas is picture-related and interpretational, establishing the theme of the vanity of the prayer of the hypocrite and the vanity of worldly things. The inscriptio is a distillation of thought of the Scripture verse "Disz Volck nahet, sich zu mir mit seinem Munde vnd ehret mich mit seinen Lippen aber ihr Hertz ist ferne von mir". Matth. 15:8.

The close relationship of the verse to the picture is not only titular in function but more than that for it sets the theme for the whole emblem. In fact, as such, it encapsulates within its words the main motif as well as the gloss in the pictura. The motif of the heavenly hand holding forth a pair of spectacles is significant in that it implies the spiritual vision of the priest is blurred and that he is oblivious to his own spiritual condition. The subscriptio assumes a hortatory aspect in that the admonition is reiterated, "let one spirit move both mind and chin, let both mouth and heart speak". This exhortation is followed by a spiritual maxim: "Faith does not carry an untuned lyre".³¹ The idea of a discordant note or disharmony relates back to the typological theme of hypocrisy and the various motifs of the pictura which contribute to buttress this idea.

Another case in point of an emblem in which the objects represent paradigmatically the notion of the passing of time is Emblem 15. The whole emblem is pervaded by a consciousness of the time element in the microcosm and the macrocosm. The pictura depicts a table with a tablecloth upon which an hour glass, a heart and a record book are featured against a background of typological motifs of the sun, moon, stars and clouds. As such, these latter motifs function as a gloss to underscore the concept of time. The allegorical mode of thought is displayed in the one to one relationship of the main motifs. The hourglass

³¹Ludwig Volkmann. Bilderschriften der Renaissance. B. De Graaf, Nieuwkoop, MCMLXIX, p. 53. He states: "Endlich die Lyra als Sinnbild der Weisheit. . ."

is a symbol of time, the heart is a symbol of the soul and the book is the Book of Life which contains the record of how the time was spent. The background cluster of motifs of the sinking sun, the last quarter of the moon, the stars of night, the vapour cloud³² and the waning day signal the approach of night. As such, these motifs symbolize the limitation of time and bolster the meaning of the three main motifs.

The inscriptio, Meditor or "I meditate" is a general statement. It is picture-related and conveys the idea of the abstract to reflect on the transitory nature of life.

In the words of the subscriptio, the element of time, as it pertains to the macrocosm and microcosm as well as life itself, is encapsulated in the words "the ages fly by", "the days disappear" and "the span of time is spent". In its interpretational function, the subscriptio is an extension to the idea expressed in the pictura in that it makes the appeal "we should be busy with what is good for each man". This added notion of doing good is linked with the purpose of the meditation of the inscriptio.

The purpose of the emblem is not only expressed by the epigram, but the Scripture reference, "Als wir nun Zeit haben/ so lasset uns gutes thun an jederman",^{32a} restates the theme and accents the fact that time is available to do good deeds. In keeping with the notion of time and doing, Cramer, elsewhere, makes an interesting comment that the macrocosm personifies this principle. In Genesis 1:15,16, Cramer asserts:

Sonn/Mond und Sternen gehören mit in das Naturbuch und Creatur Register (v.15). . .die Sonne ist ein Wunderwerck des Höchsten und ist diesselben nebst Mond und Sternen nicht zur Müssigkeit erschaffen sondern müssen sie Liecht Stralen von sich geben. . . die vier Jahreszeiten machen/ Lentz/ Sommer/ Herbst und Winter. . . Weil nun solche grosse Wunderlichter nicht müssig seyn/ viel mehr wollen wir Menschen uns der Müssigkeit entbrechen.³³

³²James 4:13. For what is your life? It is a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away.

^{32a}Gal. 6:9.

³³Cramer. Biblische Auslegung. p. 2.

The cosmos paradigmatically represents the general notion of diligence. Cramer extends this idea and applies it to practical Christian living so that one should be diligent in doing good to every man during the brief span of life. As the main motif, the hourglass, heart and record book depict representationally the general concept of the brevity of time. The book suggests that an account must be given of how the time was spent.³⁴

Another emblem that exhibits the allegorical mode of thought is Emblem 39. The motto, "Death is gain" encapsulates the idea of the pictura in that the prisoner, by means of death, would be released from the stocks and chain. In the picture, the prisoner in his extremity, lifts his manacled hands heavenward to Christ, the sun, in prayer. Beside him stands death personified as a skeleton with an arrow. The action is dramatic, expressing the anguish of the prisoner as the arrow is poised to be thrust into him. In the foreground, a heart is seen chained to a coffin while in the background the stump of a tree stands with a new branch flourishing. The stump of the tree and its branch is a typological minor motif which is juxtaposed to the allegorical motif of the heart chained to the coffin. Both motifs not only enhance the tension within the emblem but bolster the main motif of "Death is gain". The bondage of the heart to perpetual fear of death³⁵ ceases, whereas the stump, with its flourishing branch,³⁶ symbolizing hope of new life, now acquires paramount significance. Inherent in this motif is the concept of the resurrection as Cramer points out in his Bible commentary:

Ein Baum hat Hoffnung. . .dann die wachsen natürlich wiederumb auff/ aber wir. . .übernatürlich/ und durch die Allmacht Gottes und seines Sohnes Christi der uns auferwecken wird.³⁷

³⁴Rev.20:12." . .the books were opened. . .the book of life. . .the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

³⁵Hebrews 2:15. "And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage".

³⁶Schöne, p. 22. Schöne refers to Camerarius' emblem of a stump of a tree with a flourishing branch signifying perseverance in adversity. (Henkel/Schöne. Emblemata. p.839).

³⁷Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. p. 359, re. Hiob 14:7 & 12.

As in the previous emblem, the allegorical mode of thought is expressed by the one to one relationship of the meaning of the main objects in the picture. The skeleton is a symbol of death, while the monogram "IHS" signifies Jesus. The figure in the picture is an allegorical representation of the soul as a prisoner in life.

The subscriptio explains metaphorically that life is a prison and that the eventual punishment is the death sentence. It continues to expand the meaning of the pictura by adding the notion that life is a sanctuary and that death is gain, an honour and not a horror. The negative aspects of "death" and "horror" are superceded by the positive idea that life is a sanctuary. The latter aspect in the religious sense is related to destiny³⁸ and immortality. In expanding the idea, the subscriptio interprets the pictura in terms of life, death and eternal life in Christ. In essence, the subscriptio contains a mixture of biblical connotations of thought expressed in Isaiah 42:7, Philippians 1:21 and Romans 6:23.

In this aspect, Johann Mannich has created an emblem which is very similar to Cramer's Emblem 39. It too, expresses the allegorical mode of thought in that death is featured as a skeleton with an arrow and life also is metaphorically compared to a prison in the subscriptio. The emblem is based on Romans 6:23, which states that the "wages of sin is death". In Cramer's emblem, this idea is contained in the words "the punishment is the death sentence". The inscriptio in Mannich's emblem states, Mortis Telum Ad Coelum or "Durch Todtes Pfeil zum Himmel eyl." Death's arrow is seen as a means of liberation to gain access to heaven. In Cramer's emblem, the motto, "Death is gain" is linked to the soul's desire to be in the presence of Christ. It seems that despite Cramer's sententious brevity in the scriptura of the emblem, as compared to Mannich's emblem, the former appears

³⁸Psalm 73:17. "Until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end."

to have created an emblem expressing a deeper sense of meaning.

As mentioned previously, most of Daniel Cramer's emblems in this volume exemplify the hieroglyphical mode of thought. In an emblem of this type, the stylised combination of individual motifs are arranged to represent a general notion.³⁹ It seems that the hieroglyphical mode of thought lends itself particularly well in the employ of the religious emblem. It allows the emblematist to convey his attitude by a skillful arrangement of inorganic motifs.

An example of a hieroglyphical mode of thought is found in Emblem 14. Here there is a strange combination of motifs. The pictura depicts a cross with the lettering J-E-S-U, to which a heart is nailed. Above it, two hands benignly touch each other over the cross. The motifs are all taken from the world of man.

The inscriptio is both representational and interpretation-al in function. The keyword is "crucified" and the implied concept is death. In this emblem, I believe, the Scripture reference helps to resolve the enigmatical aspect. The subscriptio does not seem to interpretationally resolve the enigma of the picture nor of the inscriptio.

The res significans of the cross indicates that it is the cross of Christ upon which the heart is crucified. This is indicated by the lettering on the cross namely the word J-E-S-U. The didactic nature of the emblem is apparent, for the intimation is that the heart, that has been crucified with Christ, is dead to the things of the world. The expression seems to refer to the mortification of the desires of the carnal nature and is an indication that the heart knows its own weakness as Cramer explains in a Bible commentary:

Wie Christus am Stamm des Creutzes an Händen und Füßen fest angenagelt war/ also sollen wir auch Krafft seines Creutzes/ die Füße vernageln/ lasz sie nicht schnell seyn mögen Schaden zu thun: Die Hände/ dasz sie nicht zu weit greiffen. Das Hertz das mit bösen Tücken umbeget/ sollen wir mit Christi spaer durchboren/ und

³⁹ cf. Daly, "Zu den Denkformen des Emblems". p. 92.

den Kopff/ der mit Ehrgeitz pranget/ mit einer dornich-
ten Krone krönen/ und allerdings zu sehen/ das wir die
Mahlzeichen Christi an unsern Leibe tragen.⁴⁰

The second portion of the text "aber Christus lebt in mir" helps to explain the seemingly ambivalent statement, "admittedly I am alive but I lead my life and draw my breath in heaven". The inference is a spiritual union of the soul with Christ who has ascended to heaven. The spiritual injunction in Col. 3:2-3 seems to have a bearing here:

Set your affections on things above, not things on earth,
for you are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God.

The last expression "O Christ how often I have been nailed to your cross" seems to refer to the fact that the soul has been persecuted for Christ's sake. In this connection regarding persecution, Cramer states elsewhere:

Die Gläubigen haben mit Christo das Creutz gemein/ und müssen ihm darinne Ähnlich werden/ nicht nach der Art Francisi (der von keinem rechten Leiden wusste) sondern Trübsal und Verfolgung zur Zeit der Bekanntnisz/ und im stätigen Kampff wider den leydigen Teuffel und die Arge Welt. Das heist das Sterben Christi an unserm Leibe umbtragen.⁴¹

In the pictura, the benign hands above the cross and the heart are suggestive of the beatitude of Christ, "Blessed are ye when me shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake."⁴²

It is, therefore, apparent that in the inorganic combination of an emblem the emblematicist can express his attitude by means of its stylised composition.

Similar inorganic combinations of motifs with the cross illustrating the hieroglyphical mode of thought, are encountered in Emblems 21 and 35. In the former, the pictura depicts a cross with a scroll and handwriting. The handwriting has just been disannulled by a hand holding a pen, which has ascribed the

⁴⁰Cramer, p. 1295.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 1296.

initials "IHS" to the scroll. The inscriptio, Absolvor, or "I am freed" interprets the significance of the pictura.

In Emblem 35, the pictura consists of a variety of inorganic motifs in combination to express the idea of Sapientia Simplex. The pictura depicts a cross around whose stem a serpent is coiled. On top of the cross is a dove, while on the cross-bar of the cross to the left and the right at each end, is a heart and an eye respectively. The composition of the emblem shows a more intricate construction based on the hieroglyphical mode of thought.

As Daniel Cramer's emblems are characterized by cardio-morphoses, it follows that the majority of his emblems exhibit the hieroglyphical mode of thought since the heart plays a central role in a strange combination of motifs.

A further instance is Emblem 6 where Cramer portrays the theme of the heart and the Word of God. In the pictura, the heart with an eye at its center is depicted resting upon an open book (presumably the Bible) upon whose pages the words, Verbum Domini Manet In Aeternum are discernible. Above the heart is a bright shining lamp which is held by the hand of God. The inscriptio above the pictura consists of one Latin word, Illuminor or "I am illuminated". As such, it is apparent that it serves as an interpretational and representational function. The latter is linked to the fact that "illumination" or "enlightenment" is related to wisdom, a word which is also referred to in the subscriptio. The Scripture text, "In deinem Licht sehen wir das Licht"⁴³ seems to have been carefully chosen as a biblical caption for the emblem. The motif of light pervades the whole emblem.

The res significans of the pictura plays an important role in the meaning of the emblem. The lamp held by the hand of God connotes heavenly or spiritual light. The implication is that it is supernatural in origin. The heart, which represents the human soul has also the connotation that it refers to the three faculties of the mind, namely, intellect, emotion and volition. The fact that

⁴³Psalm 36:10.

the eye is present symbolizes intelligence or the light of reason. The Word of God is also designated as light.⁴⁴ This would agree with the Scripture text, "In deinem Liecht sehen wir das Liecht". The question now arises as to who or what is "das Liecht"?

In the biblical context, the bright shining light personifies Christ. Commenting on the word "Liecht" in Psalm 36:10, Cramer asserts elsewhere:

Wollen wir das Liecht sehen/ das ist beständigen Trost/
Friede und Freude im Herten empfinden/ so finden wir
es allein in Kirchen Gottes/ dann Christus ist das Liecht
der Welt. John 1:4, 8:12.⁴⁵

As man's understanding has been darkened, he does not recognize Christ as the true light unless divinely illumined. In this regard, Cramer states that:

Dann gleich wie die Sonne das Auge und Liecht der Welt
ist: Die Vernunft/ die Sonne und Liecht des natürlichen
Menschens: Also ist auch das Wort Gottes die rechte
Sonne und Liecht der Gnaden/ und des Geistlichen Menschens/
dadurch die Finsternisz unsers Hertzens erleuchtet und ver-
trieben wird.⁴⁶

As an aside, this emblem illustrates some of the main points which Schöne advances in regard to emblem theory. The "priority of the picture", which suggests that the beholder is first attracted to or arrested by the pictura is applicable here. The function of the inscriptio, as representational and interpretative is also illustrated in this emblem. The subscriptio, too, functions in an explanatory way. Besides its dual function of representation and interpretation, the epigram lays down a general piece of practical wisdom and a line of conduct to follow.

As representative of the category of the Animal World, Emblem 40 depicts a hieroglyphical combination of an eagle-heart flying towards the cadaverous remains of two pierced feet, two pierced hands and a pierced heart which are lying on the ground near a tree. The Scripture verse declares a maxim observed in

⁴⁴Psalm 119:105. "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

⁴⁵Cramer, p. 396.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 874.

nature, "Wo ein Aasz ist da sammeln sich die Adler". The in-scriptio interprets the scene in the words, Sic Alor or "So I am nourished". Due to the fact of the five wounds, it is apparent that the interpretational function of the inscriptio infers the abstract notion of spiritual nourishment related to Christ. The subscriptio confirms this idea in that it states:

The aquiline heart and eye senses your body, my Christ;
wherever you will have been I shall be.

In its representational function, the subscriptio mentions the "aquiline heart", the "eye" and the "body". Interpretationally, it identifies the feet, hands and heart as "your body my Christ". In its interpretation, the subscriptio goes beyond the pictorial meaning and adds to it: "Wherever you will have been, I shall be."

The emblem per se presents a challenge to discover Cramer's attitude to this strange combination. The enigmatic element in the pictura of the eagle sensing Christ's body seems strange and puzzling. Also, the words "wherever you will have been, I shall be" in the subscriptio are esoteric and mystical in meaning. A solution will be found in the medieval belief concerning eagles and how they are attracted to a cadaver. Secondly, Cramer's interpretation of the maxim, "Wo ein Aasz ist, da sammeln sich die Adler" helps us to understand his emblem.

According to Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, an eagle is attracted to a cadaver not by sight nor smell, but by magnetism.⁴⁷ In the light of this knowledge, the words "senses your body" in the subscriptio come into proper perspective. The idea of magnetism has overtones to the words of Christ in regards to His death, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me". (John 12:32).

In the pictura, this principle of the magnetic power of Christ is pictorially illustrated by the personification of the

⁴⁷Christian Knorr von Rosenroth. Aufgang der Artzney-Kunst. . . ("Übersetzung von J.B. van Helmonts Ortus Medicinae), Sulzbach 1683 (Reprint: München 1971), p. 1028, #84, #85.

Christian heart as eagle searching for and attracted to Christ.

Cramer's comments support this reading. With reference to the Scripture verse in John 12:32, Cramer explains:

Christus ist der rechtemagnet/ der uns zu sich zeucht/
dann er will für uns auffahren Mich. 2.13. er gehet hin
uns den Weg und Wohnung zubereiten Johan 14.2. und wir
sollen seyn/ da er ist Johan. 17.34. Und uns dahin als
Adler samlen Matth. 24.28. Doch aber wer sich von Christo
will erhöhn lassen der musz sich erstlich unter sein
Creutz stellen.⁴⁸

As regards to the maxim expressed in Matth. 24:28, Cramer associates the cadaver-motif with Christ. This aspect is portrayed by the pierced feet, hands and heart. In explaining the verse, Cramer states: "Ein Aasz] Christus wird ein Aasz geheissen umb seines Todes willen/ wir aber sollen Adler sein".⁴⁹ In another context, Cramer encapsulates the meaning of the whole emblem in his comment on Luke 17:36:

Wo das Aasz ist] Die auf den Herren harren/ kriegen neue
Kräfte/ dasz sie auffahren mit Flügeln wie Adler. Esa.
40. 31. Und sich zu Christo versammeln/ dann er ist unser
Nahrung und Speise/ und er will dasz wir auch seyn sollen
da er ist. John 17.24,⁵⁰

The enigmatic aspects of the pictura and the subscriptio are thus resolved. In all these features, the richness of meaning derives from the res significans of the motifs in this hieroglyphical emblem.

In conclusion, it appears that Daniel Cramer employs, in varying frequency, all the three types: the typological, allegorical and hieroglyphical. As such, each type contributes in its own peculiar way to the enrichment of the volume. Given the thorough going use of cardiomorphosis, it is not surprising that the great majority of Cramer's emblems are hieroglyphic.

⁴⁸Cramer, p. 1173.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 1065.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 1133.

Chapter VII

The Religious Content

In order to appreciate the religious content of Cramer's Emblematvm Sacrorvm more fully, it seems appropriate to consider briefly the religious milieu of the Lutheran Church in the sixteenth as well as in the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

Early in its development, the Lutheran Church encountered internal doctrinal differences, which scarred its religious life. According to Albert Newman, a church historian, nearly all of the great doctrinal controversies of the century arose from within the Lutheran Church.¹ Several reasons have been suggested. Firstly, as regards Luther, the man, Newman points out,

The vehemence of Luther and the illogical constitution of his mind led him frequently to express himself extravagantly and inconsistently.²

Secondly, with regard to Luther's writings, he states,

His writings abound in contradictions and it was exceedingly easy for his disciples, by laying hold upon extreme statements in this or that direction, and by attempting to formulate such statements into systems, to create an indefinite number of divergent systems.³

Some of the major controversies to which Newman refers to are the Antinomian⁴ and the Majoristic.⁵ These were based on the

¹ Albert Henry Newman. A Manual of Church History. The American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1944. p. 317

² Ibid., p. 317.

³ Ibid., p. 317.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 318-319. Newman points out that John Agricola stated that "repentance must be taught, not from the Decalogue or any law of Moses, but through the gospel". Luther insisted that "through the law is that contrite and penitent state of mind induced which eagerly lays hold upon Christ as a Saviour".

⁵ Ibid., p. 319. Majorism declared that good works are necessary to Salvation; that no one will be saved through evil works; that while good works do not merit salvation, they are the necessary fruit of faith, their absence being a sure sign that faith is dead. This view was opposed by Nicholas Amsdorf. He insisted that good works are hurtful to salvation.

Law. Others, such as the Osiandrian and the Stancarist, dealt with the doctrine of justification,⁶ while the Synergistic and Flaccian controversies concerned themselves with the issue of the freedom of the will and with original sin.⁷ The conflict raged for many years and the polemical issues took precedence over other spiritual matters of the church. The writer of the preface to Johann Arndt's Wahres Christentum described the situation in the church in these terms:

. . .theologische Kämpfe und Streitigkeiten treten so sehr in den Vordergrund, dass sie fast als das einzige Lebenszeichen der Lutherischen Kirche jener Zeit erscheinen.⁸

Harmony, however, was finally achieved to a greater or lesser degree by the Formula of Concord of 1580. Most of the specious views were condemned and the ultra Lutheran stance on all these aspects was emphasized.⁹

It is interesting to note that Cramer in his commentary states his view about these controversialists in explicating Acts 15:24:

Spaltungen. . .was ist es dann heut zu Tage zu verwundern/ dasz die Zwinglianer/ Adiaphoristen/ Majoristen/

⁶Ibid., pp. 319-320. Osiander believed that we are saved solely by the divine nature dwelling in us. Luther emphasized the forensic imputation of Christ's righteousness. He also believed in a righteousness in which the Christian, as transformed in character through the Holy Spirit, is seen as righteous. Francis Stancarus believed that the human not the divine nature in Christ is our righteousness.

⁷Ibid., pp. 322-323. Newman states: Synergism stressed the freedom of the human will to resist the Word of God. This view was held by Melancthon whereas Luther emphasized "the absolute denial of the freedom and assertion of the slavery of the human will". As regards the Flaccian controversy, Matthias Flaccius held Manichaeian views on the doctrine of original sin stating that man has been transformed in the image of Satan, marked with his stamp infected with poison and vehemently antagonistic to God and true piety.

⁸Johann Arndt. Wahres Christentum. Druck und Verlag von J.F. Steinkopf, Stuttgart, 1919. Preface, p. VII.

⁹Newman, p. 326.

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Stancaristen/ Flaccianer/ Osiandristen/ und andere ausz uns entstanden und ausgegangen seyn? Dann sie waren nicht von uns.¹⁰ 1 John 2:19.¹¹

In the meantime, however, due to a spiritual need in the Protestant ranks, mystical elements resembling their Catholic counterpart, were being introduced by such men as Valentin Weigel (1533-1588), Jakob Böhme (1575-1624) and Johann Arndt (1555-1621).¹²

In assessing the religious situation of this era, Carl Alfred Zell declares that certain factors were instrumental in inaugurating this trend:

In der Strenge der lutherischen Orthodoxie des 16. Jahrhunderts, doch auch in der Reformation selbst, liegt der eigentliche Grund für die Annäherung der protestantischen Volksfrömmigkeit an die katholische. Die "Gelehrsamkeit" der Streittheologen gab den Menschen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts nicht das, was sie im Glauben suchten. Der Zustand der Kirche, die sich nach der Meinung vieler schon bald nach der Reformation nicht von der Papstkirche unterschied, die "Babel" war wie diese, befriedigte sie nicht. Wenn Luthers Lehre von der heutigen Theologie richtig verstanden wird, wenn der Glaube wirklich nur in einem dialektischen Prozess möglich ist, dann war es ganz natürlich, dass der "evangelische Ansatz" verlorenging, dann musste es notwendig zu dieser Rückwendung auf die katholische Frömmigkeit kommen.¹³

As regards the aspirations of the seventeenth century layman, he makes this summary statement:

Die Menschen des 17. Jahrhunderts suchten im Glauben Ruhe und Geborgenheit, sie suchten etwas, dem sie schlichte Verehrung entgegenbringen konnten, sie suchten "Andacht", und sie fanden all dies nicht in dem, was die Kirche ihnen bot. Die Reformation oder doch die Theologie der Nachfolger Luthers wurde den "religiösen Bedürfnissen" dieser Menschen nicht gerecht. Sie wollten "Leben" und nicht

¹⁰ Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. Strassburg, 1627.

¹¹ 1 John 2:19. "They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be manifest that they were not all of us."

¹² Arndt. Preface XIV-XVII.

¹³ Carl-Alfred Zell. Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik. Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 1971, pp. 109-110.

"Lehre", sie suchten die "Nachfolge Christi".¹⁴

Arndt, however, stressed the importance of both "Leben und Lehre" as well as discipleship. His favorite motto, "Christus hat viele Diener, aber wenige Nachfolger"¹⁵ reflects this. Zell states, "Arndt will Leben und Lehre verbinden. Wahres Christentum zeigt sich da, wo diese beiden übereinstimmen. . . Christliches Leben und Wandel und die Nachfolge Christi¹⁶ stehen für Arndt an erster Stelle . . . Christi Leben soll in Lehre verwandelt werden und Christi Lehre soll Leben werden. Die Theologie soll eine lebendige Erfahrung sein."¹⁷

In applying this concept to his work, Wahres Christentum, Zell shows that Arndt traces three stages of development of the spiritual life namely, "Kindheit/ Mannheit/ vnnnd Alter/" Correspondingly, these are stages that lead to a mystical union of the soul with God by means of repentance, illumination by means of meditation, prayer, the cross and finally by union with Him in love.¹⁸ Of the topical content Zell writes:

Inhalt des ersten Buchs ist also die Schrift des zweiten Christus des dritten der Mensch. - Führen schon die ersten drei Bücher hin zu einer 'gänzlichen Vereinigung durch die Liebe', so leitet die Übereinstimmung mit der 'Natur' zurück in den 'Vrsprung/ welcher Gott selbst ist'.¹⁹

In the light of Zell's remarks regarding Arndt's Wahres Christentum, it appears that some of these aspects, which he mentions, are applicable and analogous to features in Cramer's Emblematum

¹⁴Zell, p. 110.

¹⁵Arndt, Preface V.

¹⁶Ibid., Preface XLII-XLIV. Cramer accused Arndt of making Christ a mere example by overstressing "Nachfolge". Arndt defended his positions in two letters.

¹⁷Zell, p. 124.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 123.

Sacrorvm. Just how much Cramer was influenced by the writings of Johann Arndt is difficult to assess. The emblems set forth theological doctrines and, as such, graphically demonstrate Arndt's idea that theology shall be "eine lebendige Erfahrung". As regards the mystical union of the soul with God by means of repentance, illumination and love, these mystical elements are featured to a large extent in the emblems of Book I. In the first emblem, the rhetorical question, "Why but that I be better?", carries the connotation of moral rectification and as such seems to imply repentance. In Emblem 6, the need for divine spiritual illumination is graphically set forth by the res picta of the pictura which features the hand of God as the lightbearer which sheds its light on the heart and the Scriptures. In his commentary, Cramer seems to repeatedly emphasize the need for inner illumination of the heart, as for example in this instance,

dasz wir uns mit Gewalt der Finsternisz entschlagen/
zu dem wahren Liecht Christo Johan. 8.12. Zuflucht
nehmen damit unsere verdunckelte Hertzen dadurch er-
leuchtet werden.²⁰

As regards meditation and prayer, Emblems 7 and 8 feature this facet of mystical illumination. In Emblem 7, the meditation stirs the heart against the enemies. As Cramer says, "Wider Ehrenschränder sollen wir eyffern".²¹ Emblem 8 depicts the soul's fellowship with the Lord by means of prayer. Cramer states, "Auch ist das Gebet der Heiligen ein lieblicher Geruch".²² In the emblem, the res significans of the "Rauchwerk", "Rauchfasz", "Fewr und Rauch" as depicted in the pictura, carry a mystical meaning which Cramer explains elsewhere in his commentary when he states:

²⁰Cramer, p. 1341. He also refers to "Erleuchtung" on pp. 309, 401, 440, 837, 870 and 1350.

²¹Ibid., p. 399.

²²Ibid., p. 85.

1) Christus ist der Altar . . . 2) das Rauchwerk und Rauch-
 fasz ist der Glaube 3) das Fewr/ welches das Rauchwerk an-
 zündet ist der Heilige Geist. Solch Fewr musz Christus
 selbst geben und Ausschütten 5) Rauch der gen Himmel stei-
 get ist das liebe Gebet der Heiligen/ die auff Erden leb-
 en Ps. 141.2. welches durch die Wolcken dringet und nicht
 abläst. Syrach 35.20.²³

In Emblem 4, the mystical love relationship of the soul for Christ is graphically depicted by the pictura and expressed verbally by the epigram in the form of a sincere prayer.

O Jesus, let me be set on fire with your incense and your breath. I burn be it your love, I burn be it your fragrance.

As Zell has pointed out, the four books of Arndt's Wahres Christentum, deal with the Word, Christ, Man and God as the original Source of all life.²⁴ Similarly, Cramer in his Emblematvm Sacrorvm features thematically the Word of God in Book I, the Soul's Resources in Christ Book II, the Walk of the Christian Believer Book III, the Demands of Discipleship Book IV. Cramer in Book IV features the culminating event of the soul's desire for ultimate mystical union with Christ in the last emblem.

As intimated above, the accentuation in Book I of Cramer's Emblematvm Sacrorvm falls on the Word of God. In Emblem I, the penetrating power of the Word of God is pictorially illustrated. Thematically, it is a visual representation of the Scripture verse, "Ist mein Wort nicht wie ein Hammer der Felsen zerschmeist?"^{24a} In this Emblem, the res significans of the hammer and its mollifying effect of the heart is significant. According to Cramer, the transmitting of the Word of God is achieved in various ways and by diverse means. Explicating Romans 1:16, where

²³Cramer, p. 1398.

²⁴Zell, p. 123. Zell points out that Arndt states the following regarding Book IV: "Das vierdte Buch aber habe ich darumb hierzu ihren sollen/ dasz man sehe wie die Schrifft/ Christus/ Mensch/ vnd wie alles in dem einigen/ Ewigen/ Lebendigen Vrsprung/ welcher Gott selbst ist/ wieder einfliesse/ vnd zu demselben leite."

^{24a}Jer. 23:29.

St. Paul states, "Denn ich schäme mich des Evangeliums von Christo nicht: denn es ist eine Kraft Gottes." Cramer explains, "Das Wort des Evangelii. . . Ja es ist ein kräftiges Werckzeug/ ein Hammer der Felsen zerschlägt und ein Fewr. (Jer. 23:26). Ein zweischeidig Schwerdt. Heb. 4:13."²⁵

Elsewhere in the Biblische Ausslegung, Cramer equates the hammer with the decalogue which he designates as a "usus Politicus dasz durch das Gesetz der Ungerechtigkeit/ Sünden und Schanden und Schanden im gemein Leben gestewret und gewehret werde. Dann das Gesetze ist ein hammer der Felsen zerschmeist." Jer. 23.29.²⁶

In differentiating between two kinds of hearers, namely those who are weak and in need of comfort and others who are more outspoken and of an unruly nature, Cramer advises:

Mann findet zweierley Leute für sich/ etliche sind Krafft und Trostlosz/ derer sol man sich annehmen/ und wider auffrichten/ Etliche aber sind freymuthiger/ und wild/ diesselbe sol man mit dem Gesetz Hammer schrecken (Jer. 23 v. 29) damit sie mit Forcht und Zittern schaffen mögen dasz sie selig werden. Phil. 2:12.27.

He also considers the preaching ministry as an effective tool which can be utilized to soften hearts:

Das heilige Predigtampt ist nicht blosz Gewasch sondern ein kräftiges Werckzeug/ damit Gott die Hertzen als durch einen Hammer zerschlägt. Jer 23.29 und als ein zweyschneidiges Schwerdt des Geistes Eph. 6 v. 17. Heb. 4 v. 12. Und ein Scharff Messer damit er das steinerne Hertz auszscheidet. Ez. 11:19.²⁸

As regards the removal of the stony heart, Cramer thinks of this as the permeating power of the Holy Spirit and in the spiritual realm he regards it as a spiritual circumcision of the heart as seen in this passage from his commentary.

²⁵Cramer. Biblische Ausslegung. p. 1235.

²⁶Ibid., p. 1354.

²⁷Ibid., p. 1384.

²⁸Ibid., p. 1289.

Ward der heilige Geist über sie ausgegossen welcher das sündlich steinerne Hertz auch die geistliche Beschneidung in der heiligen Tauff auszschneidet/ und die Menschen zu neuen Creaturen macht. John 3.5. Darauf erfolget die heilige Frucht/ Vergebung der Sünden/ Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit/ das sie mit reinen Herten in neuen Leben wandeln.²⁹

He describes this radical transformation in terms of the following analogy:

Gott kan ausz Wölffen wol Schaffe machen. Dann er hat die Herten in seiner Hand/ unnd lencket sie wie er will Prov. 21.1. Ja, er schneidet der steinerne Hertz ausz und gibt ein fleischern Hertz.³⁰

As an example of an incident of such a case, he refers to St. Paul in the New Testament, while in the Old Testament he points elsewhere to the incident where Samuel anoints Saul as King of Israel and subsequently God gave Saul a different heart. Cramer believes that this radical change is an example of a spiritual rebirth:

Fürbild der geistlichen Wiedergeburt darinnen uns das steinerne Hertz wird ausgeschnitten/ und ein Fleischern gegeben Ez. 11.19.³¹

The res significans of the hammer of God's Word, as it penetrates the stony heart, must needs be interpreted in this tropological sense.

The emphasis on the Word of God and the need for patience in fruitbearing is exemplified in Emblem 2. As such, the emblem is a visual representation of the parable of the soils and the seed. It illustrates what happens to the seed as it falls on various kinds of soil. The res picta features two birds, the highway, the stones, the thorns and the fruitful heart with its spikes of

²⁹Ibid., p. 548.

³⁰Ibid., p. 548.

³¹Ibid., p. 209.

grain. Elsewhere, Cramer speaks of the first three as being "Drey unterschiedliche und verwerfliche Stücke Ackers/ darin uns dreyerley würckliche Ursachen der Verderbnisz Göttliches Worts fürgehalten werden."³² According to his interpretation, the birds and the highway represent those hearers who are a bad example to others by walking on the broad way and who are constant procrastinators.

Böse Exempel/ die durch den Weg und böse Vögel angedeutet werden dann es ist eine breite Strasz zum Verderben/ und viel sind die darauff wandeln. Matth. 7.13. Und der Teuffel gebraucht solcher bösen Werckzeuge/ dasz er dadurch das Wort Gottes aus dem Hertzen vertilget. Dann sie ruffen mit den Aaszkrähen cras, cras, morgen wollen wir weisz werden Ex. Die zu Athen. Actor 17. 32. Die da sagen wir wollen dich davon weiter hören.³³

The stony ground, he states, symbolizes hearers who are easily offended: "Ist Creutz/ Verfolgung und Trübsal/ dann das ist die Hitze die sie befremdet 1 Pet. 4.12. Und werden müd unter der Trübsal."³⁴ Again, "Die Dornen", Cramer interprets elsewhere as, "Die Sorge der Welt/ ist ein Dorn/ der das Hertz verunruhet/ dasz es weder Tag noch Nacht Ruhe haben kan/ sondern trachtet nach Viehischer Wollust und Säu-Frewde damit die Gedancken der Gestalt erfüllet werden/ dasz sie das Wortes Gottes vergessen. . . ."³⁵ As regards the good soil, Cramer admonishes, "Darumb soll es uns zu thun seyn/ dass wir ein gut Land seyn mögen. Dann weil das Wort Gottes nicht sol ohne Frucht abgehen. Esa.55.10. So sehe ein jeder zu dasz er bey ihm sonderlich faseln und Frucht schaffen möge."³⁶ This emphasis on the Word of God and the need of patience, in order to bring forth fruit, is reinforced elsewhere by Cramer when he summarily states, "Wir sind Gottesackerwerck/ 1 Cor. 3.10. welches mit unvergänglichen Saamen beseet wird 1 Pet. 1.23. Darum sollen wir auch Früchte mit Gedult bringen

³² Ibid., 1082.

³³ Ibid., p. 1082.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 1082.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 1038.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 1082.

auff einem guten Lande. Luke 8.15."³⁷

As exemplified in Emblem 6, which has been mentioned previously, Cramer stresses the Word of God in the realm of spiritual illumination. Such enlightenment entails prayer, meditation and love. These metaphysical aspects are present in the emblems of Book I and reveal Cramer's accentuation on the Word of God.

In Book II, Cramer thematically features the soul's resources in Christ. By appropriation, the attributes of Christ become the sustaining element of the soul. As such, Emblem 11 is introductory for this section and in the visualization of the Scripture verse, "Christus ist mein Leben/ sterben ist mein Gewinn" introduces Christ, the life of the soul, in whom it fully trusts. The parameters of life and death are also set forth in the subscriptio: "Christ is my life, my total life: death will not be the end of me but will be to my gain." With reference to the verse, Cramer expands elsewhere on the resource of the soul, when he says:

Kurtze und doch schöne Bekäntnisz Christus ist unser Leben
(1) Creatione: denn er hat uns gemacht (2) Redemptione:
dann er hat uns erkauft da wir sassen im Finsternisz und
Schatten des Todes. (3) Regeneratione : dann da wir todt
waren in Sünden/ hat er uns mit sich lebendig gemacht.
Eph. 2.5. Dann in ihm war das Leben/ und das Leben war das
Liecht der Menschen John 1.14. (4) Endlich Resuscitatione,
dann er ist unsere Aufferstehung und das Leben Joh. 11.25.
Und die Todten welche die Stimme Gottes hören werden/ die
werden leben/ Johan. 5. vers. 25.³⁸

In the traumatic experiences of life, Cramer, in Emblem 12, features the soul as having a recourse to Christ, the physician and healer of its hurts. Cramer speaks of these chastisements as remedial and he states anthropomorphically elsewhere in his commentary:

Gott hat zwo HÄnde/ wenn er mit der einen schlägt/ so kan

³⁷ Ibid., p. 415.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 1306.

er mit der andern heilen. Darumb kompt auch Creutz und Anfechtung von Gott. Aber er l sst uns nicht darin verderben/ sondern hilfft uns wieder/ dasz die Ehre gr sser wird/ denn alles Leid zuvor gewesen ist.³⁹

In Emblem 13, Christ is featured as the shell of hope which buoys the soul up in the seas of unbelief and tribulation. Emblem 14 features the soul as crucified with Christ and in regard to the stigmata of suffering for Christ's sake, Cramer states the following in explaining 2. Cor. 4.10:

Aber am Leib tragen wir das Sterben Christi umb/ wann wir die Mahlzeichen des Leyden Christo tragen/ nicht mit solcher Afferey wie Franciscus gethan/ der ihm 5. Wunden in den Leib gebeisset hat/ sondern in der Gleichf rmigkeit der Verfolgung/ unnd des Leydens Christi als wahre Glieder seines Leibes.⁴⁰

In Emblem 15, the admonition to "do good for each man", is also an allusion to the ministry of Christ "who went about doing good".⁴¹ As such, it serves as an incentive for the believing soul to emulate the example of its Master.

In Emblem 16, Cramer illustrates the truth that the soul has been ransomed and that its status is one of liberty. For the soul, Christ is the key and power of release from the ensnarement of the material world. In the word, "I will be free", Cramer alludes to the Synergism of Melanchthon, that the will may either accept or reject God's offer. It seems that this emphasis on the will is also present in Emblem 17, where the message of the cross is a savour of life to the believing soul. In explicating the Scripture verse above the motto, Cramer states that it is God's plan that "er will/ alle zur Erk nntnisz der Wahrheit kommen. Und solchen seinen geoffenbarten Willen/ ist kein ander heimlicher Will zuwidern."⁴² Cramer will evidently have no part of the Calvinistic doctrine of election which he

³⁹Ibid., p. 203.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 1280-1281.

⁴¹Acts 10:38.

⁴²Cramer, p. 1279.

calls, "das Calvinische Gedicht von Gottes blassen Decret."⁴³

In Emblem 18, the salvation of the soul is a gift of grace. The allusion is to works of righteousness which do not avail as man cannot fulfill all the high moral standards of the Law. Cramer remarks in the commentary:

Dann das Gesetz wil eytel vollkommene/ hohe/ heilige/
Zeitliche/ göttliche Werck/ Wort/ Gedancken/ Lust und
Bewegung/ innerlich und äusserlich an Seel/ Leib
und Geist/ von uns haben.⁴⁴

As regards the depravity of man and his carnal nature, Cramer points out the universal phenomenon of this condition in these words:

Nicht nur die rohen Weltkinder/ sondern auch Paulus/
alle Heiligen/ und Gläubigen bekehrte Christen müssen
auch bekennen (dasz sie sich mit dem sündlichen Fleisch
in dieser Welt noch schleppen müssen/ und von ihnen
selbst nicht anders thun können/ dann Sünde.⁴⁵

The soul only triumphs, as intimated in the subscriptio, because salvation is not earned but is received by faith as a free gift of grace. Luther's dictum of sola fides is the basis of this emblem.

In Emblem 19, the soul is justified by the vicarious atonement of Christ. As such, it alludes to St. Paul's first mention of justification by faith in Acts 13:39, where he states, "And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." In this emblem, Cramer, by featuring the "überwiegende Gerechtigkeit" of the cross, the chalice and the heart, stained from the rose-colored altar of the blood of Christ seems to derive from Luther's doctrine on forensic justification.

The safety of the soul in Christ, is featured in Emblem 20. Christ is its rock, pillar and hope in the struggles and tribulations of life.

⁴³Cramer, p. 1279.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 1279.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 1242.

The emblems in Book III thematically depict the walk or new life of the believer. Cramer commences this series of emblems by featuring pictorially the freedom from the indebtedness of the believer to observe the Mosaic ceremonies. In the pictura of Emblem 21, Cramer depicts a disannulled handwriting which has been nailed to a cross. The hand of God is seen as enforcing the annulment by means of the authority of Christ as indicated by the monogram "IHS". The subscriptio describes the handwriting as a "great lawsuit" for which the "golden cross of Christ alone has made amends." In his commentary, Cramer makes no explication of the Scripture verse. The biblical allusion, however, seems to be the abrogation of the law as referred to in St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians.⁴⁶ On the other hand, Calvin, in his commentary, explains:

Now Paul contends that ceremonies have been abolished and to prove this, he compares them to a handwriting, by which God holds us as it were bound that we may not be able to deny our guilt. He now says, that we have been freed from condemnation in such a manner that the handwriting is blotted out that no remembrance of it might remain.⁴⁷

Another commentator points out that the cancelling of the handwriting or bond and the nailing of it to the cross has the basic thought that "the abrogation of the law is effected through the death of Christ" and that "the context would suggest a full payment of the indebtedness which mankind incurred to God through sin."⁴⁸ In the epigram, the words "the golden cross of Christ alone has made amends given satisfaction, the cross alone will make amends give satisfaction alludes to the idea of a satisfactory transaction and a payment in full of the debt. The former part of the epigram implies this idea of propitiation or "Versöhnung" whereas, the latter part intimates reconcilia-

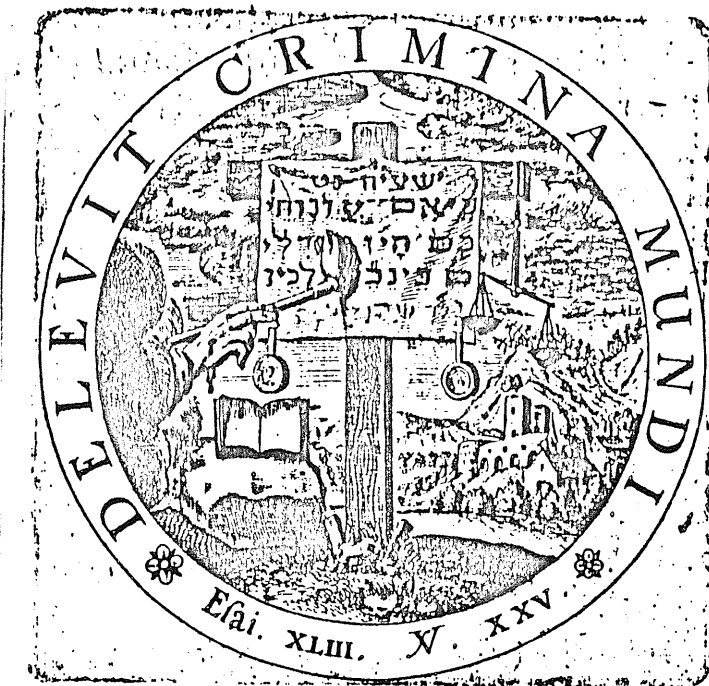
⁴⁶Ephesians 2:15-16. "Having abolished. . .the law of commandments contained in ordinances;. . .that he might reconcile both unto God. . .having slain the enmity thereby."

⁴⁷John Calvin. Calvin's Commentaries on Philippians, Colossians and I & II Thessalonians. Edited by Rev. John Pringle.Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1948, p. 188.

⁴⁸The Interpreter's Bible. Volume XI, Abingdon Press, New York, 1955, pp. 198-199.

tion or "Versöhnung" between God and man. Hence, the new life does not consist of obeying an external code, but rather it is governed by an inward relationship to Christ based on "the golden cross of grace."

Mannich has a similar emblem in which the handwriting is given in the Hebrew and in this way it alludes to the Mosaic ceremonies. Suspended from the cross, is a balance scale implying the concept of weight as well as that of debt.⁴⁹



*S*yngrapha sit duplici quamvis munita sigillo,
 In cruce per CHRISTUM est facta litura tamen.
 Aeterna mortis reus, absolvor: quia lytron
 Pro me morte suâ solvis HOMO: ille. DEUS.

Figure 24. Mannich Emblem 10.

As suggested by the pictura of Emblem 22, the new life is characterized by purity and virtues. The prickly thorns suggest

⁴⁹Johann Mannich. Sacra Emblemata. Emblem 10.

the trials and afflictions which endeavor to choke the life. As regards thorns, Cramer refers to them in the parable of the soils in this manner:

Geitz/ Sorge der Nahrung/ Böse Gedancken und andere Affecten werden durch die Dornen angedeutet Fleischeslust/ Augenlust/ und hoffertiges Leben.⁵⁰

The six rosy-colored lily blooms seem to allude to the six virtues which St. Paul recommends to other believers as stated in the verse:

. . . whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.⁵¹

Another feature of the life of the believing soul is the concept of predestination as depicted in Emblem 23. In the pictura, the heart is inscribed by a heavenly hand with the name of "Iesu". The inscriptio interprets the pictura as Praedestinator or "I am predestined". The subscriptio underscores this assurance in the words, "I am added to Christ's account, by whom I am noted by name." The latter part of the epigram, "he is my law of life, my pen and book" and part of the Scripture verse, "Vnd dieser wird sich mit seiner Hand dem HERREN zuschriben", however, indicate a resolve of the will and thus the teaching implied is not a Calvinistic but rather a Synergistic doctrine of determinism.

Cramer depicts the testing of the faith of the believer in the furnace of affliction in Emblem 24. He refers to the fiery furnace in a variety of ways. As the "Probieroffen des Creutzes", he deems it necessary that the believer be subjected to it in order that he realize who he really is and that it be instrumental in training him in certain virtues. He explains this elsewhere in his work when he states,

⁵⁰Cramer, p. 1082.

⁵¹Phil. 4:8.

Wir können selber nicht wissen/ was wir ausz Gottes Wort studieret haben/ bisz uns Gott durch den Probieroffen des Creutzes und Trübsal examiniert und unsere Lectionauffsagen heisset als dann lernen wir uns selbst erkennen denn Trübsal bringt Gedult/ Gedult/ bringt Erfahrung, Erfahrung bringt Hoffnung, Hoffnung last nicht zu schanden werden.⁵²

In another instance, he refers to the furnace as the "Probieroffen Gottes" in order to cleanse the soul of all dross.⁵³ Cramer also designates it as "Creutzes-Ofen"⁵⁴ that tests the constancy of the believer in times of persecution and also his fortitude in bearing his cross.

Emblem 25 depicts how the believer is refreshed in his labour by the Holy Spirit, whom Cramer designates as "das rechte Hertz=Starck= und Schlagwasser/ dadurch alle matte und dürre Hertzen erquicket werden welches entspringet aus dem lebendigen Brunquell der Barmherzigkeit Gottes welches ist die offene Seite des gecreutzigten Christi."⁵⁵

In several of the remaining emblems of Book III, the blessings which the believing soul enjoys in its relationship with Christ, are figuratively set forth. In Emblem 26, the believer is protected from the consuming fiery wrath of God by the divine enfolding of Jehovah's wings.⁵⁶ Emblem 27 portrays the heart as protected against slander by being enclosed by an encircling ring. The cross, within the ring, on which the heart leans, alludes to that which Cramer says elsewhere regarding the Lord in terms of "Auch ist er eine Fewrmaur umb uns herumb/ das uns der Teuffel mit seinen gifftigen Pfeiler nicht verderben mag."⁵⁷

In the last three emblems, the life of the believer is fea-

⁵²Cramer, p. 841.

⁵³Ibid., p. 794.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 382.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 531.

⁵⁶Hebrews 12:29. "For our God is a consuming fire."

⁵⁷Cramer, p. 496.

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tured as a covenant of faith that will eventually be rewarded with a crown and entrance into heaven. It also stresses personal vigilance against an evil conscience, as figuratively portrayed in Emblem 29. Finally, it is also a life of hope and restoration as featured in Emblem 30.

In Book IV, Cramer seems thematically to centre on the demands of discipleship. It is observed that besides the regular function of introducing the theme of the emblem or commenting on the pictura, the Scripture verse, as a backdrop, alludes to a biblical figure or happening which, as a paradigm, serves to reinforce the total meaning of the emblem. Cramer begins by stressing the faculty of the mind in the appropriation of the spiritual means of redemption. The aspect of the will is stressed in Emblem 31, the affections in Emblem 32 and the intellect in Emblem 33.

As regards Emblem 31, Cramer portrays the freedom of the will in partaking of spiritual benefits. This aspect is implied in the inscriptio. Qui Sitit Bibet or "He who is thirsty drink". It is also inherent in the words "drinking freely" of the epigram. It seems that Cramer wants to portray not only the divine aspect of providing redemption but also human responsibility in appropriating the same by a definite act of the will. The backdrop of the biblical account, from which the Scripture verse above the motto is taken, reinforces this idea of the act of the will. In it, it speaks of the Samaritan woman who, after Christ had quoted the promise of the verse to her, requested, "Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not." John 4:15. As regards thirst Cramer explains:

Wir haben alle von der Schlange gefressen/ darumb haben wir einen febrilischen Durst. Darum sollen wir schreien nach frischen Wasser wie der Hirsch, Ps. 42.2. und er wird uns das rechte labtrüncklein des lebendigen Wassers geben. Sapr. 4.10.⁵⁸

From the above remarks, it becomes apparent that Cramer seeming-

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 1162.

ly entertains the Melanchthonian view of the freedom of the will in its choice to accept or reject the offer of grace.^{58a}

As intimated above, Emblem 32 deals with the affections of the heart. The emblem alludes to the commandment of God in Deut. 6:2, "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." As such, the pictura of the emblem portrays a direct violation of the commandment in that the man kneeling before his treasure chest is endeavouring to serve God and Mammon simultaneously. Such divided loyalty of affection puts the soul into great jeopardy and endangers its relationship with Christ, as "no man can serve two masters."⁵⁹ In explicating this passage of the Sermon on the Mount, Cramer refers to St. Paul's warning, "Dann Geitz ist ein Abgötterey Eph. 5.5." and then in commenting on the words, "no man can serve two masters" he explains, "Weil Gott und Mammon nicht zusammen stimmen. Dann Gott will das gantze Hertz haben Deut. 6.5. da stiehlt der Mammon das Hertz hinweg."⁶⁰ In the subscriptio, it is interesting to note that Cramer not only points out the dichotomy of affections as indicated by the words, "The heart is not where it should be, it is completely exiled among the gold", but also suggests remedial action be taken by appealing to the will to "recall the heart" and "go to heaven as one truly alive".

In Emblem 33, the motif of suffering and of knowledge are related to the faculty of intellect. On the one hand, the mind endeavours to ascertain the rationale for suffering, while on the other, it is sustained in its Christian orientation by means of the Word of God.⁶¹ In the emblem, the aspect of suffering is pictorially represented by the heart subjected to the testing fire of the furnace. The subscriptio indicates the purpose of the affliction as

^{58a}Newman, p. 322.

⁵⁹Matthew 6:24.

⁶⁰Cramer, p. 1018.

⁶¹Philippians 1:29. Paul states a principle of discipleship, namely, "For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake;"

being that of "bear[ing]" witness to the excellence of the soul". As regards the refiner's fire, Cramer speaks of a three-fold testing of faith:

Wer Christ Jünger sein will/ der musz sich von Christo reinigen und reformieren lassen: (1) Durch das Fewer des heiligen Geistes Acts 2.3. Esai 4.4. (2) Durch das Fewr des Wortes Gottes Jer. 23.29. (3) Durch das Fewr des Creutzes Syr. 2.5. Denn gleichwie das Gold durchs Fewr, also werden die, so Gott gefallen durchs Fewer der Trübsal bewahrt. Syr. 2.5.⁶²

On the subject of the Word of God and knowledge, Cramer in explicating the Psalmist's words, "Die Rede dess HERren ist lauter/ wie durchläutert Silber im erdenen Tigel/ bewäret siebenmal", states "Wo Creutz und Verfolgung ist da wird das Wort Gottes mit macht getrieben/ und lauter gemacht . . . Falsche Lehr ist kein Gold oder Silber/ sondern nur Schaum".⁶³

In this connection, J. G. Butler makes an interesting comment as to the above mentioned verse. He states,

God's Word is pure silver that has flown off and left all dross behind it. Silver is an emblem of everything that is precious and pure and seven is the number of a completed process. . . Vain conceits comfort us not in a time of trouble but the word of God the more it is tried the more you will find the excellency of it - the promise is tried as well as we are tried in deep afflictions . . . as pure gold suffers no loss by fire so promises suffer no loss when they are tried but stand us in our greatest troubles.⁶⁴

In his essay "Emblematische Strukturen in der Dichtung der Greiffenberg", Daly makes reference to Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg who fittingly describes this testing of faith or "Glaubensprobe" in her Sonnet 42:

Gott probt des Glaubens Gold/ im Tiegel unsrem Leib:

⁶²Cramer, p. 723.

⁶³Ibid., p. 382.

⁶⁴J. Glentworth Butler. Butler Bible Works. Ps. I-LXXII Vol. IV. The Butler Bible-Work Company, 85 Bible House, New York, 1892, pp. 100-102.

und weiss des Creutzes Feur doch also zu regiren/
dass beides unverseert/ das Gold und Tiegel/ bleib.⁶⁵

Certain practical guidelines are delineated by Cramer in Emblems 34, 35 and 36. These emblems contain guidelines as to a moral standard, interpersonal relationships and manner of life respectively. Emblem 34 upholds Christ as the standard and leader for the Christian to follow. Paradigmatically, the biblical allusion refers to the experiences of Moses and the children of Israel in the wilderness. As to their interpersonal relationships, the believers' walk should be characterized by simple wisdom and guilelessness as depicted in the res significans of the serpent and the dove in Emblem 35. As to manner of life, Cramer points out in Emblem 36, that the believer's life should be without dissimulation. In interpreting the pictura of the emblem, the subscriptio states, "Let one spirit move both mind and chin, let both the mouth and the heart speak: Faith does not carry an untuned lyre."⁶⁶

Cramer refers to hypocrisy as "gar gemein und ist doch eine der schwersten Sünden." He also warns that "Im Heiligen Gottesdienst kan man sich auff viellerley Weise gröblich versündigen. Wann Mund und Hertz nicht in einander stimmen/ und das heist Heucheley."⁶⁷ Positively, Cramer recommends "Einhelligkeit" as seen in this remark, "Also gebühret uns auch mit einhelligen Herzen und Munde Gott zu loben."⁶⁸

In several of the emblems of Book IV, Cramer depicts some of the trying aspects of discipleship. As regards the present world, the dichotomy of the soul is featured in Emblem 37 in

⁶⁵Peter M. Daly. "Emblematische Strukturen in der Dichtung der Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg", Europäische Tradition und Deutscher Literaturbarock. ed. G. Hoffmeister, Francke Verlag, Bern und München, 1973, p. 209.

⁶⁶Ludwig Volkmann. Bilderschriften der Renaissance. Niewkoop, B. De Graaf MCMLXIX, p. 53. ". . .die Lyra als Sinnbild der Weisheit" designates the lyre.

⁶⁷Cramer, p. 1042.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 1254.

terms of alienation and yearning.⁶⁹ As such the alienation seems to be spiritual rather than physical and its yearning is for an eternal abode. The epigram expresses this succinctly in these words,

My home is without a home, this land is not my land, I must move on: I disdain this [place] I hope for another: it is not a trifling Good I wish for.

The Scripture verse, "Wir haben hier keine bleibende statt/ sondern die zukünftige suchen wir", alludes to the physical and spiritual alienation and suffering of the early New Testament Christians who identified with the cause of Christ and were thereby debarred from their friends and the temple worship. As Cramer states, "Wir sind Gottes Pilgrim and suchen ein anders Vaterland".⁷⁰

Another trying aspect of discipleship, which Cramer portrays is that of cross-bearing. As the inscriptio, Suspiro, in Emblem 38 implies, it is the relief from the weariness and the burden of the cross for which the soul longs. Pictorially, the representation of the pilgrim and the cross alludes to the incident where Simon of Cyrene bore the Cross of Christ, when He succumbed under its burden due to weariness. In this connection, Cramer makes a practical application:

Christus will Simones/ und seine Christen zu Creutz-
träger haben/ darumb wer ihm folgen will/ der nehme
sein Creutz auff sich/ und folge ihm nach. Solch
Creutztragen aber kompt das Fleisch Ubel an. . .⁷¹

With reference to discipleship, Cramer in his emblem seems to allude to the burden of the proclamation of the gospel. For, in commenting on the Scripture verse, which is found above the motto,

⁶⁹ John Hall. Emblems with Elegant Figures 1658. Scolar Press, Yorkshire, England, 1972. p. 49. Emb. 13 quotes Augustine: "Lord thou hast made me for thee, and my heart is unquiet till it Rest in thee."

⁷⁰ Cramer, p. 1375.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 1073.

Cramer in his work asserts, "Geben will er ihnen und aufflegen/
das Joch seines heiligen Evangelii/ welches mit dem lieben
Creutz behaftet ist."⁷² The antithesis of the subscriptio re-
flects this sentiment:

I grow weak beneath the cross, this same cross restores
me; the hand which makes me infirm also heals me: and
so why do I tarry?

The importance of an adequate philosophy of life in disci-
pleshyp is emphasized by Cramer in Emblem 39. In this emblem,
Cramer deals with two divergent philosophies of life and death.
In essence, the one is seemingly purely secular, non-committed
and nihilistic, while the other is revelatory, committed and
singularly optimistic because of its affirmation of life and its
belief in immortality. From the secular standpoint, life, as
the subscriptio intimates, is "a prison" and "the punishment is
the death sentence." Figuratively, this view is portrayed in the
pictura by the heart chained to a coffin. Again, from the reve-
latory perspective, life is "a sanctuary", "death is gain" and
"an honor not a horror." This view is not a negation of life,
but rather it expresses a Lebensbejahung which is buoyed up
by the belief that life is a sacred trust. As such, this philo-
sophy is Pauline in character and alludes to St. Paul's words which
he penned in prison, "For me to live is Christ and to die is gain."
The Pauline belief in immortality is also expressed in the verse
above the motto of the emblem. In part, the motifs of the pic-
tura portray a visual representation of these beliefs. According
to the epigram, Cramer commends the Pauline philosophy of life.
The hope of immortality and eventual union with Christ is allu-
ded to in the subscriptio of the last emblem in the words "The
aquiline heart and the eye senses your body, my Christ; wherever
you will have been I shall be." As such, this doctrine serves
as an inspiration and an incentive to be steadfast in discip-
ship.

In the Emblematvm Sacrorvm, certain virtues and vices receive

⁷² Ibid, p. 1033.

particular emphasis. At times, they are mentioned in order to reflect a doctrinal position, while in other instances, they are linked to a flagrant contemporary abuse of practice.

The trilogy of Christian virtues of faith, love and hope are contained in the Emblems 4, 28 and 30 respectively. These virtues usually are closely associated with prayer or an attitude of prayer. In Emblem 22, purity is upheld as an exemplary virtue, while in Emblem 2 patience is seen as a most needful quality in fruit-bearing. As to personal integrity and manner of life transparency and guilelessness as well as simple wisdom are greatly commended in Emblem 35. Cramer assures us that "Wahre Klugheit ist ohne Arglist" and in contrast "Weltkinder welche meinen/ darin stehe ihre Klugheit dasz sie nicht einfeltiges Taubenherzen/ sondern in List und Falschheit den nächsten berücken".⁷³

As regards fellowmen and especially the faithful who suffer for the truth, Christian charity should be practised to alleviate their wants.

In particular, Cramer deals with ^{three} main vices in his emblems, namely, slander (27), covetousness (32) and hypocrisy (36). Of the three, Cramer condemns most severely hypocrisy. In his commentary elsewhere, he particularly censures "Maul Christen/ die den Gottesdienst nur auff der Zungen führen und sprechen Herr, Herr".⁷⁵ Such outward religious ceremony, Cramer maintains, is also the opus operatum of the papists of his day.⁷⁶

In this connection, Cramer's bias against certain Catholic practices is a result of his strong commitment to the tenets of

⁷³Cramer, p. 1029.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 1396.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 517.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 553.

Lutheranism. Protestant theology emphasized the supreme authority of the Scripture and justification by faith alone. It rejected the medieval system of the works of merit whereas the papal theory upheld opera operata. In opposition to the Protestant theory, the Catholic stance maintained the necessity of Scripture and the tradition of the church, as well as justification by faith and works, which consisted of ceremonies and indulgences, for attaining salvation.⁷⁷

Emblem 36 is a case in point which illustrates Cramer's criticism of dissimulation and hypocritical prayer. In elucidating the portion of Scripture in Matth. 15:6-8, which relates to the emblem, Cramer makes a severe attack on papal traditions when he states:

Dieser Sentenz Christo ist ein schrecklicher Donnerschlag wider alle Papistische Traditionen, derer unzehlich viel sind/ un nirgend in der heiligen Schrifft Grund haben/ als da sind: Anruffung der Heiligen, Anbetung der Bilder/ Wallfahrten zu den Verstorbenen/ Kirchenweihen/ Bruderschafften/ Messen/ Reliquien/ fünff falsche genandte Sacramenten zu den beyden Glocken Tauffen/ Unterschied der Speise/ Rosenkrentzen/ Processionen/ Verdienst der Wercke Ablasszkram/ Beichten und Bussen/ Weyhungen/ Fegfewr und Seelbäder/ und was des Ungezieffers mehr ist.⁷⁸

The pictura features a priest with a rosary in an attitude of prayer. Cramer elsewhere also makes a comment on this aspect. Long prayer, he maintains, are "Plapperwerck. . .wann man sich auf die Menge der Gebet und vieler Wort verläst/ und zehet unserm Herrn Gott das Gebet entweder 30 oder 40 Stunden oder an Corallenschnur zu/ wie im Papstum geschieht."⁷⁹ Further to this statement Cramer maintains that such effort is based on the delusion of operis operati.⁸⁰ As far as he is concerned, faith and not works seem to be the only criterion in matters pertaining to salvation.

⁷⁷Newman, pp. 308-309.

⁷⁸Cramer, p. 1042.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 1017.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 1017. Cramer states, "Wann man in unverstündlicher Sprachen betet/ wie die Nonnen den Psalter/ und bawet auf den Wahn des operis operati".

Besides illustrating the vice of hypocrisy, the emblem appears to be critical of the Catholic doctrine on mortal sins. This doctrine deals with the transgression of the Ten Commandments and it also lists seven deadly sins.⁸¹ As the gloss in the picture intimates, the priest is indicted, not only of transgressing the first law of the Decalogue, but also he is guilty of inwardly committing several of the seven deadly sins.

For Cramer, Lutheran theology is decisive in matters of justification, sola fides and freedom from the observances of the ceremonial law as exemplified in Emblems 18, 19 and 21. In the area of the free will, Cramer seems to hold the Reformed Lutheran position as delineated by Melanchthon. As regards the metaphysical elements in Book I, the influences of the current Volksfrömmigkeitsbewegung and the writings of Johann Arndt seem to have permeated Cramer's doctrinal teaching.

Concerning contemporary interest in philosophy, Cramer, unlike Luther, who "abhorred Aristotle and the schoolmen"⁸² endeavoured to utilize Aristotle "as a tool for supporting the Bible."⁸³ He, however, believed that the light of reason, even that of philosophers, was totally deficient in bringing a knowledge of salvation.⁸⁴

Cramer's Emblematum Sacrorum exudes a spirit of strong religious conviction and vibrant vitality as well as a sense of a serene and profound faith. This little volume of emblems was published on the eve of the Thirty Years War in 1617. It appeared

⁸¹Lorraine Boettner. Roman Catholicism. The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1962, p.200. He states: "Among mortal sins, however, are those committed by breaking the ten commandments together with the so-called "seven deadly sins": Pride, covetousness, lechery (lust, lewdness) anger, gluttony, envy and sloth."

⁸²Newman, p. 311.

⁸³Robert P. Scharlemann. Thomas Aquinas and John Gerhard. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1964, p. 19.

⁸⁴Cramer, p. 1253. He states, "Wer nicht mehr Weisheit hat/ als Plato/ Aristotles and andere Heyden aus dem Liecht der Natur haben/ die können nicht selig werden"

at a time when the Halcyonia,⁸⁵ which certain Protestant churches had been enjoying for some time, was fast drawing to a close. In the light of such current happenings, the strange prayer of the epigram receives an even deeper significance when it states:

Now evening comes may the leaf-bearing bird also come,
and may it make an end to the flooding of the world.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 253. "Ob wohl die Kirch auff Erden unter dem Creutz ist/ so gibt ihr der liebe Gott dennoch zuweilen Halcyonia Fried und Ruh bisz endlich der grosse Ruhetag anbreche."

Chapter VIII

Cramer's Place in the Growing Tradition of Religious Emblem Books

In order to appreciate more fully Daniel Cramer's place in the growing tradition of the religious emblem book, it seems necessary to investigate briefly the development of the application of the emblem for religious purposes. Generally, literary critics acknowledge that Georgette de Montenay's Les Emblèmes ou Devises Chrestiennes 1571 was the first emblem book wholly devoted to a religious purpose.¹ Praz points out that the figure of divine Love, which became a very popular motif in the seventeenth century², appears here for the first time. Another aspect is that the motif of the world, which is later found in the Jesuit books, stands as a hieroglyph for material wealth or for earthly temptation.³ Of interest, too, is the fact that the Horatian formula of utile and dulce⁴ is applied in a practical way in this volume of Christian humanism.⁵

As regards the claim of priority in this field, Georgette de Montenay personally saw herself as an innovator. In her dedicatory epistle she writes:

Alciat feit des Emblemes exquis,
Lesquels voyant de plusieurs requis,
Desir me prit de commencer les miens
Lesquels je croy estre premier[s] chrestiens.⁶

As far as the claim of priority is concerned, Smith points out that Claude Paradin in his Devises heroiques 1557 uses the emblem to put forth his Catholic views. Smith also believes

¹Mario Praz. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1964, p. 44.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁴Ibid., p. 169.

⁵Ibid., p. 45.

⁶Quoted from Georgette de Montenay. Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes 1571. Selected and Edited by John Horden. Introductory Note by C. N. Smith. The Scolar Press, 1973, n/p.

that Georgette de Montenay's claim is based on the adjective chrestienne which "must be interpreted to mean Calvinist". Smith, however, contends that after the publication of Georgette's emblem book, "no writer Catholic or Protestant, could ignore the value of emblem books as vehicles for the presentation of sectarian teaching and for devotional purposes".⁷

There are, however, some literary critics who question Montenay's claim of priority. While recognizing that she is the first emblemist to devote a complete book exclusively to Christian emblems, Robert J. Clement is non-committal in the matter as to whether her claim may be justified or not. For him, the important aspect is that her work is an indicator that "religion did not inform emblem books totally at the outset, despite the emblem's reputed source in the sacred carvings (hieroglyphs) of Horapollo".⁸

In his work, Devotional Poetry in France 1570-1613, Terence C. Cave questions the validity of Georgette de Montenay's claim to primacy. He states: "Georgette's claim to primacy in this field is perhaps a little sweeping, since Biblical emblem books had been published much earlier".⁹ As examples of earlier biblical emblem books, Cave refers to Jean Mauguin's Figures del' Apocalypse (Paris, 1547) and Gilles Corrozet's Icones historiarum veteris testamenti (Lyons, 1547). Cave, however, recognizes the significance of the historical moment and lauds the quality of Montenay's work:

Nevertheless, her work appears at a moment of great significance, when religious literature is about to enjoy an unprecedented wave of popularity. Furthermore, the emblems themselves are far from being purely functional and schematic: indeed they are visually most attractive

⁷ Ibid., n/p.

⁸ Robert J. Clements. Picta Poesis. Roma, 1960, p. 100.

⁹ Terence C. Cave. Devotional Poetry in France 1570-1613. Cambridge at the University Press, London, 1969, p. 246.

in every way to the mediocre didactic verses which accompany them.¹⁰

He links the popularity of the religious emblem book to the "aesthetic impact of the Counter-Reformation". In describing the times, Cave points out two fundamental factors which should be kept in mind.

In the first place, the popularity of the emblem book, which continues the iconographical approach of the Middle Ages in a new context of increasing literacy, inevitably attracted the attention of the religious educators of the sixteenth century. The use of an engraving to impress the reader more strongly with a given text and its meaning was another way of combining the utile with the dulce: As Praz points out, the Horatian topos was a commonplace of emblem-book prefaces. Hence the tone in which Georgette de Montenay introduces her *Emblems ou Devises chrestiennes* published at Lyons in 1571, there is more a hint of scorn in her reference to "ces gens degoustes" which may reflect her Calvinist affiliation, but, like other contemporary propagandists of both confessions, she is willing to make use of all available resources to draw the masses into the fold.

Il est besoin chercher de tous costes
De l'appetit pour ces gens degoustes
L'un attire sera par la peinture,
L'autre y joindra poesie e escriture.¹¹

Barbara Tiemann points out in her discussion of Corrozet's Tapisserie de l'Eglise Chrestienne that he paved the way for the application of the religious emblem and that in this sphere he must be looked upon as a forerunner. She comments:

Es ist eine Bilderbibel der Zeit in Emblemform. Die religiöse Emblematisierung wird sich fortsetzen und in den christlichen Emblemen der Georgette de Montenay gipfeln. Auch hier ist Corrozet ein Wegbereiter.¹²

In order to place Cramer in the proper perspective of the growing tradition of religious emblem books, a survey of the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 247.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 246.

¹² Barbara Tiemann. Fabel und Emblem. Wilhelm Fink Verlag München 1974, p. 20.

historical development of the first emblem books of this kind, both Protestant and Catholic, is necessary. The first emblem-artist to imitate Georgette de Montenay was Theodore de Beze, a Calvinist, whose Icones . . . virorum . . . illustrum appeared in 1580.¹³ Then in England, the learned Puritan scholar Andrew Willet published the first English religious emblem book in 1592.¹⁴ Rosemary Freeman points out that Willet's Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria Una was written in Latin and English. She states that as such the book exhibited not only originality but it also purports to be the first emblem book that claimed independence of European models upon which many of the English emblem books were based.¹⁵ Willet was evidently influenced by Whitney's arrangement of emblems into three classes:

After a preliminary five of dedication and commemoration, appears thirty-one 'Emblemata Typica sive Allegorica' consisting mainly of religious symbols such as Noah's Ark. Next follows a group of 'Emblemata Historica' or incidents from the Bible, and the book ends with what is its liveliest section, 'Emblemata Physica a rerum natura sumpta'.¹⁶

Within the chronological development of the religious emblem, the Jesuit religious emblem book made its first appearance early in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the light of Jesuit philosophy, the reason for such a late start is difficult to explain. In his study of Jeremias Drexel, Breidenbach enumerates several factors which created a climate conducive to a much earlier development:

In einer geschichtlichen Darstellung brauchte man das 16. Jahrhundert nur als Quelle zu behandeln, weil es noch keine Jesuitenemblembücher aufzuweisen hat. Das ist sehr verwunderlich; denn die Tradition des Emblembuches war schon 70 Jahre alt, als 1601 in Holland das erste Jesuitenemblembuch erschien, wenn man mit Alciatis Emblematum

¹³de Montenay, Introductory Note by C.N. Smith.

¹⁴Praz. p. 157. He refers to "Andrew Willet's Sacrorum Emblem-atum Centuria Una Cambridge, c.1592, the first book of English sacred emblems,"

¹⁵Freeman. pp. 64-65.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 64.

Liber (Augsburg 1531) den Anfang setzen will. Auch war der Jesuitenorden schon über 60 Jahre alt, und dessen Gründer Ignatius von Loyola hatte grössten Wert auf die "Applicatio Sensus", die Anwendung der Sinneserfahrung, gelegt. Zudem war im Bilderdekret des Trienter Konzils unter dem Datum des 3.12.1563 die erzieherische Bedeutung der Bilder betont worden.¹⁷

Breidenbach attributes this delay to the preoccupation of the Jesuits with the writings of the humanists and mythology of the pre-classical as well as classical writers.¹⁸ As implied above, the first Jesuit religious emblem book, Veridicus Christianus was published by Jan David of Holland in 1601. The copperplates for this, as well as his other works, were all prepared by Plantin of Antwerp.¹⁹ As such, Jan David was heralded as "der Auslöser der Kettenreaktion der religiösen Jesuitenemblembücher nördlich der Alpen".²⁰ As an innovator, Jan David enlarged the content of the religious emblem book. As Breidenbach explains,

Zunächst hat Jan David angefangen, den Rahmen des Inhaltes zu erweitern, innerhalb dessen seit ihm im religiösen Emblembuch hauptsächlich aber im Jesuitenemblembuch, nicht nur humanistische Tugendlehre (Ethik), sondern das ganze christliche Leben mit seinen praktischen und alltäglichen Implikationen behandelt wird, mit starker Betonung von Zeit, Vergänglichkeit, Tod, Ewigkeit, Hölle und Teufel. Das beginnt mit den 100 Emblemen in David's Veridicus Christianus (Antwerpen 1601).²¹

David's work was well received and within two years a Flemish translation bearing the title Christeliicken Waerseggher (Antwerp 1603) appeared.²² His subsequent religious works made a great impact on other emblematisers. Breidenbach states that, whereas Italy and Spain were not affected at all by David's work,

¹⁷Heribert Breidenbach. Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S. J. (1581-1638) mit einer Einführung in die Jesuitenemblemik und einer Bibliographie der Jesuitenemblembücher. University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1970, p. 36.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 37.

²⁰Ibid., p. 37.

²¹Ibid., p. 94. Breidenbach points out two other effects of David's work: "Der Verfall der Emblematik setzt. . . mit Jan David ein, . . . Ebenfalls. . . bei den Jesuiten beliebten predigt Traktate im Anschluss an die Embleme ein." pp. 95-96.

²²Ibid., p. 37.

Holland, Belgium and Germany were greatly influenced by his work. For instance, Antoine Sucquet of Antwerp published his Via Vitae Aeternae in 1620, whereas Jeremias Drexel, who also was influenced by the Dutch emblematicist, produced the first Jesuit religious emblem book, Zodiacus Christianus (München, 1618) in Germany.²³ Besides being the first German emblem book, the Zodiacus is of singular interest in that the motif of the Zodiac was first solely utilized for a religious purpose.²⁴ Another popular work by Drexel which was translated in a variety of languages was De Aeternitate Considerationes which was also published in München in 1620.²⁵

After Drexel's Zodiacus, new Jesuit emblem books appeared annually. In Austria, a translation of Drexel's Aeternitatis Prodromus (München, 1628) by Johann Jakob Schülpl formed an important link between Vienna and München and as such it was instrumental in giving religious emblematic literature an impetus in Austria. In France, despite efforts by Luis Richeone (1611) and Nicolaus Caussin (1618), it was not until 1650 that Julien Hayneuve produced an authentic Jesuit emblem book. His work Salutis e Solidis Veritatibus was, however, printed in Cologne.²⁶ In England, Henry Hawkins produced the only Jesuit religious emblem book Parthenia Sacra on the theme of the garden in 1633.²⁷

²³Ibid., pp. 37-38 also pp. 112-113. As regards the title, Breidenbach states, "Jeremias Drexel nennt sein Buch, in dem er lediglich über 12 Formen des christlichen Lebens als Zeichen göttlicher Auserwählung spricht, Zodiacus Christianus (Christlicher Himmelszirkel). . . Obwohl der Zodiac schon seit alters her eine bedeutende Rolle in der Mythologie, Kunst und Literatur gespielt hat findet er sich in der Emblematik vor Drexel ausserst selten".

²⁴Ibid., p. 113. Breidenbach points out, "Erst Drexels Zodiacus Christianus verwendet den Zodiac als Hauptmotiv für ein ganzes Buch. . . Drexel ist der erste, der den Zodiac im Rahmen der christlichen Predigt verwendet".

²⁵Ibid., p. 38 also p. 105. Breidenbach states that the book was read extensively by many in England. The English version was entitled The Considerations of Drexelius upon Eternity, Made English from the Latin by S. Dunster, A. M. London, 1710. (p. 361) Rosemary Freeman does not mention this book in her work.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 39-40.

²⁷Freeman, p. 179. A description of Parthenia Sacra is given by her. See pages 179-198.

Other notable religious emblem books which were produced during the first half of the seventeenth century and whose authors were contemporaries of Daniel Cramer are Hermann Hugo's Pia Desideria Emblematis Elegiis et affectibus S. S. Patrum illustrata (Antwerp 1624) and Typus Mundi (Antwerp 1627) prepared by a Jesuit team must be mentioned. Both books deal thematically with Jesusminne and as Freeman points out, they also depict the search of the human soul for holiness.²⁸ Breidenbach points out that in Pia Desideria, the 46 plates portray the experiences of Anima and Jesus depicted as an infant. In the first part of the book, Anima has several traumatic experiences which serve as a purgation. In the second part, Anima's desire for love is awakened in her as well as a yearning to be united with Jesus. This is comparable to enlightenment in the stages of mysticism. In the last part, her yearning is fulfilled and she is united with her lover.²⁹

Freeman suggests that through such scenes as "the temptation of Eve" and "the triumph of the Devil enthroned at the top of the world", Typus Mundi offers a greater variety than Hugo's work.³⁰ On the other hand, Breidenbach emphasizes that this work also portrays the suffering and purgation of the soul in order that it realize the vanity of material things. These two literary works are also significant in that they portray the four most popular themes of Jesuit religious emblem books. Breidenbach states,

Vier Themen kommen im religiösen Emblembuch der Jesuiten immer wieder zur Sprache: Die Jesusminne, der Vanitasgedanke, der Tod, und die Ewigkeit mit Betrachtungen über Hölle und Himmel.³¹

As regards the Jesusminne, Breidenbach points out that the Jes-

²⁸Ibid., p. 117.

²⁹Breidenbach, p. 97.

³⁰Freeman, p. 117.

³¹Breidenbach, p. 96.

uits quickly appropriated the theme which was first introduced by the Dutch painter and emblemataist Otto Van Veen in his Amoris Divini Emblemata (Antwerp 1615). The metamorphosis of the mythological figure of Cupid to the Infant Jesus was applied by the Jesuits in other areas as well and it was instrumental in bringing about a complete transformation in their approach to religious teaching. He states:

Die Verwandlung des Cupidoknaben in den Jesusknaben geht Hand in Hand mit der Verwandlung der Ethik in christliche Moral, der heidnischen Mythologie in christliche Dogmatik und der mythologischen Figuren in biblischen Gestalten.³²

In this aspect, Hugo's Pia Desideria is a representative work.

The vanitas theme of the Jesuit religious emblem book is based on the view that a soul, penetrated by the arrow of divine Love, realizes the vanity and the ephemeral nature of the material things. It is imbued by an intense yearning for the eternal realities of the celestial realm.³³

The biblical emphasis on the evanescence and brevity of life also helped to promote the Vanitasgedanken. Emblemataists such as Sandaeus were inspired by the Book of Ecclesiastes wherein the preacher states, "Vanity of Vanities, all is vanity".³⁴ Drexel, on the other hand, was also influenced by the ravages of the Thirty Years War.

Chief representative works on the vanitas theme in Jesuit emblematic literature are Jeremias Drexel's Aeternitatis Prodomus, Mortis, Nuntius (1628) and Maximilian von der Sandt's Symbola vitae humanae (Mainz 1627).³⁵

³² Ibid., p. 96.

³³ Breidenbach, p. 100. "Alles andere auf der Welt empfindet die vom Liebespfeil getroffene Seele als vergänglich. So ist es angesichts des Gegensatzes zwischen der unvergänglichen göttlichen Sphäre und dem Zeitbedingten irdischen Leben naheliegend, dass das Thema der Vergänglichkeit und Eitelkeit alles Irdischen ebenfalls ein Hauptthema der Jesuitenemblemata bildet. Die Behandlung des Vanitasthemas bildet die Brücke zwischen der Jesuitenemblemata und der Barocklyrik, die voll davon ist." He illustrates this point elsewhere by comparing Drexel's Vanitas poem "Was ist das Leben" with George Philipp Harsdörffer's poem "Das Leben des Menschen ist". pp. 286-287.

³⁴ Ecclesiastes 1:2.

³⁵ Breidenbach, pp. 101-102.

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As Breidenbach observes, the vanitas theme is unthinkable without the motif of the figure of death. Usually death is featured in emblems appearing at the end of the Jesuit emblem book. A singular exception to this practice is Hermann Hugo's Emblem 38 in Pia Desideria where the soul is featured as imprisoned in a skeleton. Whether the figure of death appears as Memento mori or as personified as the autumn wind, Breidenbach states that the motif is used to indicate the imminence and suddenness of death and that the soul must keep in mind the considerations of eternity.³⁶ The preparation for eternity deals with themes such as lost opportunities and a description of the place of eternal punishment. Hell is portrayed as a place of eternal conscious suffering where the victim, for example, is bound to a continually revolving wheel. This is featured in Drexel's Infernus Damnatorium (Munich 1631) where Emblem IX bears the inscription Volvetur aeternum.³⁷ In contrast, heaven is featured as a mystical union of the soul with its Lover.³⁸

Along with the Jesuits, other religious orders, such as the Carthusians, Augustinians and Carmelites, also played a significant role in the growing tradition of the religious emblem book. Praz states that the Carthusians produced two of the most attractive emblem books, Lux Claustri, and Vita Beatae Mariae Virginis. . . . emblematicis delineata with engravings by Callot, Paris 1646 and I. Martin's Le Paradis terrestre, ou Emblemes sacrez de la Solitude, Paris, 1665. A notable emblem book of the Augustinians is Father Augustinus Chesneau's Orpheus Eucharisticus, Paris, 1657; whereas, the Carmelites produced Firmamentum symbolicum which was compiled by the Polish Father Sebastianus a Matre Dei, Lublin, 1652.³⁹ From this sampling of the numerous religious orders, it is seen that they too made a significant contribution to the tradition of the religious emblem book.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 103-104.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 106.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

³⁹ Praz, pp. 198-199.

In the light of the historical development of the religious emblematic literature and its major themes, Cramer's place may now be seen in a clearer perspective. Cramer's forerunner was Jan David (1545-1613) of Holland whose Verdicus Christianus (Antwerp 1601) along with his other religious works were published during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Then, two years prior to the publishing of Cramer's Emblematvm Sacrorvm (Frankfurt 1617), Otto Van Veen produced his Amoris Divini Emblemata (Antwerp 1615) which, like Cramer's work, had a tremendous influence on other emblematisers.⁴⁰ Its motif of divine Love was popularized by Hermann Hugo in Pia Desideria (Antwerp 1624) and later was extensively used in many of the Jesuit emblem books. It is noteworthy that Cramer's emblematic creativity falls into this germinal era of a renewed interest in the application of the emblem for a religious purpose.

Cramer's Emblematvm Sacrorvm marks an important milestone in the religious emblematic literature. As the work appeared a year prior to Drexel's Zodiacus Christianus (Antwerp 1618), it belongs to the very vanguard of religious emblem books in Germany. It was hailed as a singular innovative approach and was received with great enthusiasm by Cramer's contemporaries. In the preface, Jacob Muller, Cramer's engraver, refers to it as "a different matter and one hitherto untouched by others". The fact that Muller seems to be acquainted with the works of Alciati, Reusner and Paradis lends greater credence to his words when he states:

Treading in their footsteps, the most reverend and most distinguished Master Daniel Cramer, Doctor of Sacred Theology while he displayed (in matters hitherto untouched by others, namely sacred affairs) his talent and critical ability, entrusted me with the task of ari incidenda and committing to the light these emblems in accordance with his extraordinary zeal and fervour in promising study.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ernst Friedrich von Monroy. Embleme und Emblembücher in den Niederlanden 1560-1630. Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, Utrecht, 1964, p. 94. Veen's influence is pointed out in this comment: "Als Beispiele von Emblembüchern aus der Nachfolge der Amoris divini emblemata seien genannt: ANTOINE SUCQUET, Via vitae aeternae, Antwerpen 1620; HERMANN HUGO, Pia desideria, Antwerpen 1624(s. unten); GILLIS DE SMIDT, Sinne-beelden der deughden, Antwerpen 1663; De lydende siele, ebd. 1664; De minnende siele, ebd. 1665.

⁴¹ Translation of Latin Preface by Dr. E. G. Berry. Appendix 3.

As the current general notion prevailed that secular writings were looked upon as being the only source for emblems,⁴² Cramer's innovative approach repudiated this idea as his emblems were mainly secured from the Bible. As he himself says in the preface, "This fruit is also in our sacred books".⁴³

Cramer's Emblematvm Sacrorvm is a novum as it is the first collection of religious heart emblems in the emblematic tradition. The heart emblems appealed to the imagination of the reader and became one of the favorite emblems of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ In this regard, Cramer follows the example of his predecessor Georgette de Montenay whose work contained several heart emblems. Whether other emblematicists may have influenced Cramer, is difficult to ascertain.⁴⁵ That he was acquainted with Rollenhagen's work has already been referred to elsewhere in this work.

Of interest is the manner in which Cramer emblemizes Scriptural truths. In contrast to the Jesuit religious emblem book, the figures of the Infant Jesus and Anima are not found in Cramer's Emblematvm Sacrovum. Instead of divine Love with its arrow seeking to pierce the soul of men and creating in them a love of God, Cramer depicts the hammer of the Word of God as penetrating the impervious heart and mollifying it in order to make it receptive for His love. In effect, the result is similar to that expressed by the Jesuit vanitas theme. The revitalized heart is completely changed. It brings forth fruit in patience (Emblem 2), has Christ as its refuge (Emblem 3), negates the allurements of this world (Emblem 6) and is attached to Christ in love and devotion (Emblem 4).

⁴²Ibid., from "Greetings to the Reader".

⁴³Ibid.,

⁴⁴Praz, p. 151.

⁴⁵As Cramer was greatly impressed by the theologian Johann Gerhard it seems plausible that the Meditationes Sacrae which Gerhard wrote in 1607 "after passing through a severe illness" (cf. Lutheran Cyclopedia, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri, 1954)p.409. influenced Cramer. Praz refers to the 1678 and 1685 edition of the Meditationes Sacrae enriched by 50 copperplates of heart-shaped emblems. This suggests an influence of Cramer's emblems on the later editions of Gerhard's meditations. Pp. 152 & 348.

The theme of death in Cramer is infused with an element of faith and hope which mitigates its fear and dread. As compared with the Jesuit emblem book where the figure of death usually appears near the end, the theme of death in Cramer's work appears several times as in Emblems 10, 11 and 39. Cramer does not describe hell in terms of future punishment of a victim bound upon an eternally revolving wheel assailed by serpents, but rather, hell is featured as the incessant torture of an evil conscience which begins in the present life (Emblem 29). As in Hugo's Pia Desideria, eternal bliss is featured as an eventual union of the soul with Christ (Emblem 40).

Cramer's emblems also influenced the work of other emblematisers. Shortly after the publishing of Cramer's Emblematum sacra (Frankfurt 1624), Johann Mannich published his Sacra Emblemata (Nürnberg 1625), in whose collection several heart emblems are included. Upon closer examination his heart emblems bear a marked resemblance to Cramer's emblems and as such exhibit the impact of the latter's influence upon the author and his work. This influence is seen in heart emblems whose picturae feature such motifs as the heart between two impervious cliffs being softened by the Word of God (Emblem 19), the heart with the spikes of grain growing from it (Emblem 15) and the heart, cross and chalice being weighed on a balance scale which has in the other pan, the decalogue and a heart (Emblem 37). It is also noticeable in emblems that deal with themes such as God and Mammon in which the heart is featured on the coins of a bag filled with money (Emblem 43) as well as the motif of the cancellation of the handwriting nailed to the cross (Emblem 10). Benedictus van Haeften merely added in his Schola Cordis (Antwerp 1629) the figures of Love and Anima to Cramer's subjects of the experience of the heart.⁴⁶ The plan and the plates of van Haeften's work were later used by Christopher Harvey in his Schola Cordis (London 1647).⁴⁷ Just how far Cramer influenced other em-

⁴⁶Praz, p. 151.

⁴⁷Freeman, p. 134.

blematists is difficult to ascertain. Praz names a certain Hieronymus Ammonius of Nürnberg who entitled his work, Imitatio Crameriana (1647).⁴⁸

Cramer's work, in part, also contributed to the eventual development of the emblematic sermon. Cramer is linked to this development only indirectly by means of his influence as evidenced in Mannich's collection of the Sacra Emblemata LXXVI (1625). Jüns points out that basically Mannich had intended to use the emblems of his collection for preaching purposes as they are linked to the church calendar and festivities. Referring to the dedicatory preface, Jüns states that the collection of emblems is part of a "Garten Postill" which Mannich sought to complete within three years after he took the position at St. Walburg in Nürnberg. However, upon the request of his parishioners to furnish them with emblems so that they would be able to follow his sermons more readily, Mannich states that he granted them their request and provided them with "einen kurzen Extract" in order that "Gelehrten vnd Vngelehrten die Summa einer jeden Predigt kürztlichen für die Augen gemalt wird." In the light of this fact, Jüns concludes, "Demnach sind die Sacra Emblemata der vorläufige Ersatz für eine geplante, umfangreiche Postille und aus vorhandenen Predigtmaterial entstanden".⁴⁹ He points out, however, that Johannes Saubert, a contemporary of Mannich in Nürnberg was an emblematicist whose work entitled Schöner geistlichen (!) Lehr und trost figuren composed of four parts of twelve emblems each, appeared during the years 1625-1630. He was emboldened by this activity and ventured out to introduce the emblematische Predigt at St. Sebald in Nürnberg in 1638.⁵⁰ Jüns states, "Die Beschäftigung mit der Emblematic hat Saubert vom geistlichen Emblemabuch zur emblematischen Predigt geführt."⁵¹ Jüns in particular ^{deals} with two of Saubert's works, namely Spes Nova Pacis Nürnberg 1646 and Geistliche Gemaelde Nürnberg 1658.

⁴⁸ Praz, p. 152.

⁴⁹ Dietrich Walter Jüns. "Die Emblematische Predigtweise Johann Sauberts." Rezeption und Produktion zwischen 1570 und 1730. Herausgegeben von Wolfdietrich Rasch, Hans Geulen und Klaus Haberkamm. Francke Verlag Bern und München, MCMLXXII, pp. 139-140.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 139.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 140.

Jöns maintains that after gaining an initial foothold at St. Sebald, the emblematische Predigtweise was perpetuated by Saubert's follower, Johann Michael Dilherr, who, in Jöns estimation, belongs "zu den produktivsten emblematischen Erbauungsschriftstellern dieser Zeit". An edition of Dilherr's sermons containing emblems appeared in a work entitled Hertz= und Seelenspeise/ Oder Emblematische Haus= und Reise= Postill in 1663.⁵² By 1683, Jöns states the Emblematischer Katechismus was published in Nürnberg in whose preface the assertion is made that the "Emblematische Lehr= Art . . . heutiges Tages fast gebräuchlich sei".⁵³ Saubert's innovation had thus become a current practice. It is interesting to observe this development of the emblematische Predigtweise for its initial concept was formulated by Mannich. He, in turn, had been inspired by Cramer's didactic and scripturally-oriented emblem book, Emblemata sacra.

As the seventeenth century progressed, it was inevitable that religious emblematic literature would influence various religious groups. As mentioned earlier, Cramer's influence on van Haeften's work has been observed. The Jesuits likewise had a tremendous influence on others as well. Praz states that their emblematic literature influenced the Puritans. A case in point which he cites is that Wither derived the idea of the moral lottery in his Collection of Emblemes from David's Veridicus Christianus.⁵⁴ Quarles, in his Emblems, reproduced the plates of Typus Mundi for his first two books, whereas for the latter three books, he used the plates from Pia Desideria.⁵⁵

The production of Jesuit emblem books reached a zenith after the middle of the seventeenth century. The majority of the books were produced in Germany and Holland. But a great change, which was destined to affect emblematic literature as a whole, was a-

⁵²Ibid., p. 153.

⁵³Ibid., p. 154.

⁵⁴Praz, pp. 197-198.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 158.

broad in literary circles and began to exert itself. Holger Homann states, "um 1700 war die Jesuitenemblemantik in Frankreich und den Niederlanden passé, in Deutschland jedoch setzt sie sich noch weit in das 18. Jahrhundert hinein fort."⁵⁶ In England, as Rosemary Freeman points out, John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress marks the end of the tradition. She states, "The Pilgrim's Progress is the last link of the emblem convention with greatness. After Bunyan it virtually ceased to exist".⁵⁷ Homann explains why this disintegration occurred. He says:

Im 18. Jahrhundert machen sich Auflösungserscheinungen in diesem Emblemegriff bemerkbar, und zwar lässt sich eine doppelte Entwicklung beobachten: Einmal werden die Embleme immer spitzfindiger und verspielter, die Bedeutung ist oft an den Haaren herbeigezogen, zum anderen gewinnt die Allegorie mehr und mehr an Boden, besonders in Form der Personifikation abstrakter Begriffe.⁵⁸

As regards Cramer, it is apparent that he made a notable contribution in religious emblematic literature. His emblem book Emblematvm Sacrorvm contains emblems, which body forth scriptural truths, in accordance with his Lutheran tradition.⁵⁹ As a clerical emblematicist his Societas Iesu et Roseae crucis vera illustrates the principles of a religious order.⁶⁰ The method of promulgation of Cramer's Lutheran beliefs is in keeping with the current practice

⁵⁶Holger Homann. "Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der Emblemantik", Coll. G, III (1968), p. 257.

⁵⁷Freeman, p. 227.

⁵⁸Homann, p. 242.

⁵⁹von Monroy. p. 92. The remark is made: "Die christliche Thematik spielt in den Konfessionskämpfen dieses Jahrhunderts eine beherrschende Rolle, wie ein Blick auf die zahlreichen emblematischen Erbauungsbücher des Protestantismus und der Gegenreformation lehrt (ein Werk wie HUGOS Pia desideria erlebte 42 lateinische Ausgaben und zahlreiche Übersetzungen).

⁶⁰Robert J. Clements. Picta Poesis. p. 101.

für, "Die christliche Verkündigung suchte mancherlei Wege, ihren Auftrag zu erfüllen. Die Emblematic ist ein der Barockzeit durchaus gemässer Weg, das Wort Gottes auszulegen oder den Gläubigen die Dogmen nahezubringen".⁶¹ Cramer, in his Emblematvm Sacrorvm appears to have been successful in attaining this purpose.

As an emblematicist and innovator, Cramer, with his three emblem books, Emblematvm Sacrorvm, 1617, Emblemata sacra, 1624, and Emblemata Moralia nova, 1630, ranks with such contemporaries as Jan David, Otto Van Veen and Jeremias Drexel in the growing tradition of religious emblem books⁶² of the seventeenth century.

⁶¹Monroy, p. 93.

⁶²See Appendix 1, "Bibliography of Religious Emblem Books".

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

Bibliography of Religious Emblem Books 1571-1730

In the following pages, an attempt has been made to list chronologically Protestant and Catholic religious emblem books of various countries of Europe which were published in the main during the period 1571-1730. Due to the vastness of the field and the very limited means of research on hand, the list is but a token effort designed to indicate the growth and development of the religious emblem book in the Protestant and Catholic faiths. Bibliographies which have been most helpful in this compilation of books are: Mario Praz, A Bibliography of Emblem Books in Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (Roma, 1964), pp. 235-576; Heribert Breidenbach's Bibliographie der Jesuiten-emblembücher, pp. 130-179 in his work, Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S. J. 1581-1638, (Urbana, 1971); Rosemary Freeman's Appendix 1, Bibliography of English Emblem Books to 1700, pp. 229-234 in English Emblem Books (London, 1948) as well as Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne's Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1967). As regards the Protestant religious emblem books, Praz and Freeman are the main sources. Breidenbach's work has been most helpful in selecting the Jesuit religious emblem books. Following Breidenbach's approach, the Jesuit books are chronologically grouped according to their respective country of origin. Also, the other orders of Catholic religious emblem books are grouped in this way. Breidenbach's references to such bibliographies as Carlos Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus, 9 Bande, Bruxelles, Paris, 1890-1909 and John Landwehr, Dutch Emblem Books, Utrecht, 1962 have been retained. This procedure has also been observed in the Protestant religious emblem books in Praz where in many instances, he refers to these bibliographies. References to these bibliographies mentioned above are abbreviated in the following way:

So. = Sommervogel

La. = Landwehr

Pr. = Praz

Fr. = Freeman

* = no name given or identity is not established

A Bibliography of Protestant Religious Emblem Books

France

MONTENAY, Georgette de. Emblemes, ou Devises Chrestiennes. Lyon, by Jean Marcorelle, 1571. Portrait, and 100 copperplate engravings by Pierre Woeiriot.

Other editions:

- a) The sheets are those of the 1571 edition with a new title page La Rochelle, by Iean Dinet, 1620.
- b) Latin translation: Georgiae de Montaneae Nobilis Gallae Emblematum Christianorum Centuria. Cum eorundem Latina interpretatione - Cent Emblemes Chrestiens de Damoiselle Georgette de Montenay, Tiguri, by Christophorum Froschouerum, 1584. Portrait and 100 copper plates.
- c) Polyglot edition with French, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English and Dutch verses and the title-page in one or other of these languages. Frankfort, by Johan - Carl Unckel.
Pr. 431.
La. 164.

*No name. Emblemes ou Devises Chrêtiennes, Ouvrage mêlé de Prose et de Vers et enrichi de Figures en Taille-douce. Lyon, Chez la Veuve de Claude Chavance, & Mathieu Chavance fils. 1701. 100 round emblems on copper.
Pr. 325

Switzerland

BEZE, Théodore de. Icones, id es verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium. . . quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas Emblemata vocant. Geneva, by Ioannem Laonium, 1580. 44 woodcuts of emblems.
Pr. 270.

. Les Urae Pourtraits des hommes illustres en piete et doctrine . . . Plus, quarante - quatre Emblemes Chrestiens, Geneva, by Jean de Laon, 1581.
44 emblems. Translator Simon Goulart.
Pr. 270-271.

England

WILLET, Andrew. Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria Una . . . a purissimis Scripturae fontibus derivata, et Anglolatinis versibus reddita, Cambridge. John Legate n.d. 4to. No plates.
Published between February 1591 and August 1592. Verses in

Latin and English.
Pr. 536-7
Fr. 234. Appendix 1.

JENNER, Thomas. The Soules Solace or Thirtie andone Spirituall Emblems. Sold by Thomas Jenner (London) 1626. 30 plates, some of them influenced by Rollenhagen, G.
Pr. 383.

QUARLES, Francis. Emblemes. London, by G. M. Miller. 78 copperplates by W. Marshall, W. Simpson, Vaughan and John Payne (one), 1635. Plates derived from Typus Mundi.

FARLEY or FARLIE, Robert. Kalendarium Humanae Vitae, The Kalendar of Mans Life. London, printed for William Hope. Engraved title page by G. Glover and 16 emblematical woodcuts.
Pr. 332.

HARVEY, Christopher. Schola Cordis or The Heart of it Selfe, gone away from God; brought back again to him; and instructed by him in 47 Emblemes. London. For H. Blunden, 1647. Plates engraved by William Marshall and Michel van Lochem. 2nd edition, 1664. 3rd edition, 1674.
Fr. 232. Appendix 1.

HALL, John. Emblems (in Verse) With elegant Figures (Sparkles of Divine Love) Newly published by J. H. Esquire. London. R. Daniel, 1648. 28 emblems.
Pr. 362.
Fr. pp. 137-138 and 231 Appendix 1.

BUNYAN, John. A Book for Boys and Girls or Country Rhimes for Children. London Printed for N.P. 1686. No plates. 2nd Edition: A Book for Boys and Girls or Temporal Things Spiritualised 1701. In the 9th edition, 1724 and subsequently it was issued as Divine Emblems or Temporal Things Spiritualised with cuts. (The first edition contains 74 emblems; in the second and later editions these were reduced to 49 and many alterations made in the text).
Pr. 291.
Fr. 230 Appendix 1.

ARWAKER, Edmund, (The Younger). Pia Desideria: Or Divine Addresses in three books. Illustrated with 47 copperplates Written in Latine by Herm. Hugo. Englished by Edm. Arwaker. M.A. London Printed for Henry Bonwicke. 8 vo. 1686.

2nd edition, 1690. 3rd edition, 1702.

(Translated from Herman Hugo's Pia Desideria Emblematis, Elegiis et affectibus S. S. Patrum illustrata. Antwerp, 1624, from which the plates were copied).
Fr. 229 Appendix 1.

GENT, Thomas. Divine Entertainments: or Penitential Desires. Sighs and Groans of the wounded Soul. In two books. London. Printed for M. Hotham, at the Black-Boy on London Bridge, and I. Gent near the Two Fighting Cocks in Fleet Lane, 1724. Woodcut emblems by W. Bennock after Quarles's Emblems.
Pr. 345.

Germany

CRAMER, Daniel. Societae Iesu et Roseae crucis vera: Hoc est, Decades quatuor Emblematum Sacrorum ex sacra Scriptura, de dulcissimo nomine - cruce Iesu Christi, Warhaffte Bruderschafft Jesu und dess Rosen Creutztes, Das ist, Viertzig Geistliche Emblemata auss der heyligen Schrift von dem süssen Namen und Creutz Jesu Christi. Francofurti, by Nicolai Hoffmanni Lucae Iennis, 40 copperplate emblems by Jakob Müller.
Pr. 310.

. Emblematum Sacrorum Prima Pars. Das ist: Fünfftzig Geistlicher in Kupfer gestochener Emblematum auss der H. Schrift von dem süssen Namen und Creutz Jesu Christi. Franckfurt am Mayn, by Cunrado Bachmann, 1624. 50 copperplates of emblems in the first part, portrait preliminary emblem and 50 emblems in the second part.
Pr. 310

. Emblemata Moralia nova. Das ist: Achtzig Sinn-Nachdenkliche Figuren auss heyliger Schrift in Kupfferstücken furgestellt, worinnen schöne Anweisungen zu wahrer Gottesforcht begrieffen. Franckfurt am Mayn, 1630. 80 copperplates printed on one side of the paper only.
Pr. 310-11.

MANNICH, M. Johann. Sacra Emblemata LXXVI In Quibus summa unius cuiusque evangelii rotunde adumbratur, das ist Sechs und Sibentzig Geistliche Figurlein in welchen eines ieder Evangelij Summa kurtzlichen wird abgebildet. Nürnberg, 1624.
Pr. 411; 151.

SUDERMANN, Daniel. Schöne auserlesene Figuren und Hohe Lehren von der Begnadeten Liebhabenden Seele Nemlich der Christlichen Kirchen und ihren Gemahl Jesu Christo. Zum theil aus dem hohen Lied Salomonis wie auch aus der alten Christlichen Kirchenlehrer Schrifften gezogen und in teutsche Reymen verfasst alles mit H. Schrift Concordieret Nach dem Uralten S. Jeron. Text. Durch D. S. Folio. By Jacob von der Heyden, 50 leaves engraved throughout. . . 1-47 with emblem and German verses. The copy in BM, (11522 h. 12) contains also:

2. Hohe geistreiche Lehren, Und Erklärungen: Ober die furnembsten Sprüche desz Hohen Lieds Salomonis, von der Liebhabenden Seele, das ist, der Christlichen Kirchen,. . .durch Jacob von der Heyden. . . Anno 1622. 67 leaves and 65 emblems.
3. Fünffzig Schöner auserlesener sinnreicher Figuren auch Gleichnissen, Erklärungen, Gebettlein und hoher Lehren, zum Theil ausz heiliger Schrift, Ins Kuppfer gebracht, und gedruckt in Verlegung Jacobs von der Heyden . . .1628.
4. Ein schöne Lehr, von der sieben Graden . . . Anno 1489 beschriben und jetzt von Wort zu Wort in Druck gegeben, durch D. S. 1622, 15 leaves engraved on one side only, with emblems and text.
5. XXXXX Schöner auserlesener Sinnreicher Figuren auch Gleichnissen Erklärungen etc. . . Durch D. S. Ins Kupfer gebracht . . . durch J. von der Heyden 1628. 50 emblems with text engraved on one side only of the leaves.
6. Schöne auserlesene Sinnreiche Figuren auch Gleichnissen Erklärungen etc. . .Gedruckt, etc. (n.d.)49 figures beside the title page.
7. Schöne auserlesene Sinnreiche Figuren, etc. . . .Gedruckt bey Johan Erhard Wagner. 50 plates, 38-44 contain 4 figures each, 45-50 contain 2 each.

. Centuria Similitudinum omni Doctrinarum genere plenarum sub externarum imaginum aeri incisis umbris, Deo devotis mentibus, pulcherrimas res spirituales contemplandas proponendum, ex S. imprimis Scriptura, veterumque Authorum scriptis concinnata; versibus et rythmis tum Latinis cum Germanicis proposita, per D. S. - Hundert Gleichnissen in welchen durch Vorstellung Leiblicher Figuren, gar schöne geistreiche Lehren fürgebildet werden . . . durch Danielm Sudermann. Gedruckt in Verlegung Jacobs von der Heyden. . . (Argentorati, 1624), 4to.
engraved verses German and Latin.
Pr. 507-8.

SAUBERT, Johann, the Elder. Emblematum Sacrorum quorum consideratio accurata ad Fidei exercitium et excitandam Pietatem plurimum facere potest: Erster Theil schöner geistlichen Lehr undt Trost Figuren. . . Nürnberg 1625, bey Balthasaris Caymoxen. 53 plates by Peter Iselburg. Pr. 489.

. Spes nova Pacis. das ist, widerholte nützliche Gedancken vom Frieden des Teutschlandes, durch etliche geistliche Sinn und Spruch-Bilder, in einer neuen Jahrpredigt Anno 1646 der Christlichen Gemein kürztlich entdeckt und mitgetheilt durch Johannem Saubertum. Nürnberg, 1646. 5 emblematical vignettes. Pr. 489.

. Geistliche Gemaelde Vber die Sonn- vnd hohe Festtägliche Evangelia Sambt etlichen andern Predigten Aus den Sprüchwörtern Salomonis den Propheten vnd Episteln dess H. Apostels Pauli/ So zur Erklärung der Evangelien dienlich ERSTER THEIL durch Johann Saubert Weiland Predigern bey S. Sebald in Nürnberg. Sambt einem fünffachen Register. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg In Verlegung Wolffgang Endters dess Aeltern Buchhandlers. Im Jahr Christi 1658. 183 Predigten, 52 davon sind mit einem Kupferstich versehene emblematische Predigten. Jüns. Die emblematische Predigtweise Johann Sauberts in Rezeption und Produktion zwischen 1570-1730.p. 140.

PFANN, Johann. Biblische Emblemata und Figuren welche in den zweyen verneurnten Stuben desz Hospitals zum Heiligen Geist in Nürnberg allen Krancken su sonderm Trost anstatt der Schrift sind vorgemalet worden. Nürnberg, 1626 by Johann Pfann gestochen. 16 plates of emblems. Pr. 452 & 453.

H., G. P. Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten: Das ist, Bild-Lieder - und Bet-Büchlein, aus den Sprüchen der H. Schrift, nach den Evangeli und Festtesten verfasst. . . Nürnberg, by Wolffgang Endter, 1649. 76 woodcuts of emblems. Pr. 360.

DILHERR, Johann Michael. Christliche Gedächtnis - Münze, das ist: Etliche Lehren, Trost und Vermahnungen für Eltern und Kinder. . . Nürnberg bei Wolfgang dem Jüngern und Joh. Andrea Endtern. 1655. 18 copperplates with medallie emblems, by A Khol. Pr. 316.

. Augen - und Hertzans- Lust. Das ist, Emblematische Fürstellung der Sonn - und Festtäglichen Evangelien. Nürnberg, Johann Andreas Endtern und Wolfgang dess Jüngern Seel. Erben. 1661. 91 copperplates of emblems. Melchoir Küssel.
Pr. 316.

. Heilig-Epistolischer Bericht, Licht, Geleit Und Freud. Das ist: Emblematische Fürstellung Der Heiligen Sonn- und Festtäglichen Episteln. . . Nürnberg, Johann Andreas Endtern, 1663. 85 copperplates of emblems by Melchoir Küssel.
Pr. 316.

. Heilige Sonn- und Festtags -Arbeit, Das ist: Deutliche Erklärung Der jährlichen Sonn- und Festtäglichen Evangelien. Nürnberg, Johann Andrae und Wolfgang Endtern, 1674. 81 copperplates containing 3 emblems each, the first signed "G.S. Inv.; J.F.F. Scul."
Pr. 316.

. Drei-Stündige Sonn- und Festtag- Emblemata, oder Sinne - Bilder. 83 plates with triple emblems engraved by J.F. F. After designs by G. S. (Godefroy Stein) and (two) M. Küssel.
Pr. 316.

(SCHOTTELIUS, J. C.) Jesu Christi Nahmens-Ehr, worin alles auf den Namen Gottes und dessen Wort eingerichtet. . . und in gebundener und ungebundener Rede verfasst ist. Wolfenbüttel, Buno 1666, Engraved frontispiece and many emblematical engravings. The author was member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. (q.v.) under the name of "der Suchende".
Pr. 493.

SCRIVER, Christian. Gotthold's Emblems: or Invisible Things understood by Things that are Made. Magdeburg 1671. Translated from the twenty-eighth German edition by the Rev. Robert Menzies, Hoddam . . . Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. . . 1857. 182 emblems described, without illustrations.
Pr. 495.

"
MÜLLER, Heinrich. Thränen - und Trost-Quelle. Bey Erklärung der Geschichte der Grossen Sünderin . . . Allen armen Sündern geöffnet. Franckfurt am Mayn, B. C. Wusts, 1676. 20 emblems.
Pr. 432-3

. Another edition: D. Heinrich Müllers
Thränen und Trost-Quelle bey Erklärung der Geschichte von
der Grossen Sünderin. . . Hanover, Bey Nicolaus Foster und
 Sohn, 1724. 20 copperplate emblems.
 Pr. 432-33.

FRANCISCI, Erasmus. Glantz, Krafft und Würckung der Geistlichen
Wandel-Sterne, welche am Firmament himmlischer Seelen leuch-
ten; Das ist, der sieben Haupt-Tugenden eines wahren Chris-
thums. . . Übung wahrer Gottseligkeit gerichtet. Nürnberg by
 Christoph Riegels, 1678. 16 copperplates containing 4 emblems
 each.
 Pr. 338-9.

. Die brennende Lampen der Klugen, zu sorgül-
tiger Beleuchtung der Sterblichkeit, fürsichtiger Bewachung
der Seelen und vorbereitlichen Rüstung dess Gemüts gegen den
Tod. . . Nürnberg by Wolfgang Moritz Endters and Johann And-
 reas Endters Sel. Erben. 1679.
 Pr. 339.

. Another Edition B.M. Die brennende Lampen der
Klugen. . . Brechung des schädlichen Sünden-Schlaf. . . Nürn-
 berg by Wolfgang Moritz Endters. Printer Johann Ernst Adel-
 bulner, 1701. 44 copperplates of emblsm.
 Pr. 339.

GERHARD, Johann. Meditationes Sacrae, ad veram pietatem excitandam & interioris hominis profectum promovendum accomodatae.
 Item Exercitium Pietatis quotidianum quadri-partitum. Jena,
 Sumtu Jo. Theol. Fleischeri. Typis Io. Zach. & Vid. Io. Nisii,
 1685. 50 copperplates of heart shaped emblems.
 Pr. 347-48. (also 152 refers to a 1678 ed.)

THAULER, Johann. Helleleuchtender Herzens-Spiegel, samt einen
Andachts-Spiegel. Franckfurt, 1680. 16 engraved emblems.
 pr. 514.

SCHIEBEL, Johann George. Neu-ervauter Schausaal darinnen vermit-
telst dreyhundert wol-ausgesonnener und künstlich eingerich-
teter Sinn-Bilder. . . des menschlichen Hertzens. Nürnberg,
 Verlegts Johann Felssecker, 1684. 300 emblematical engravings.
 Pr. 492.

LASSENIIUS, Johann. Heiligen Perlen-Schatzes dritte und letzte
Vertheilung uber die Monath September, October, November

ARNDT, Johann. Vier Bücher Vom Wahren Christenthum. . . Stade, Gedruckt und verlegt durch Caspar Holwein. 1706. Engraved frontispiece and 56 copperplate devices.
Pr. 261.

. Vier Bücher Vom Wahren Christenthum. . . Paradies-Gärtlein. Schiffbeck bey Hamburg gedruckt. . . durch Herm. Heinr. Holle 1721. Copperplate portrait and frontispieces, copperplate titlepages to each book and woodcut devices in the first work. Fifth edition in this form by same publisher, 1727.
Pr. 261-2.

. Another edition: Des weyland Hoherleuchteten Theologi, Herrn Johann Arndten. . . Sammtliche Geistreich Bücher Vom Wahren Christenthum, gedruckt und zu finden bey Reinhard Eustachius Müller 1733, copperplate portrait and frontispiece, and 56 copperplate devices derived from those of the 1706 edition (N.P.).
Pr. 262

. Another edition: Des Hoherleuchteten Johann Arndts. . . Vom Wahren Christenthum, Leipzig, 1750. Verlegts Johann Samuel Heinsius, 56 copperplate devices.
Pr. 262.

KOLB, Johann Christoph. Cor laetificans Costrum Doloris Christo Redemptori S(acrum) Oder Trauerbühne dem Erlöser Menschlicher Geschlechts Christo Jesu zu ewigem Preis, Dank und Ehre in den Herzens Tempel andächtiger Christen in 26 erbaulichen Passions-Sinn-Bilder vorgestellt in Kupfer gestochen. . . Augsburg, 1708. Gedruckt daselbst durch Andreas Maschenbauer. Two engraved titles and 26 emblems by K. und Joh. Bücklin after Johann Andreas Thelot.
Pr. 388.

No name. (Gekreuzigte (Das mit Jesu) Hertz: Oder Andächtige Betrachtungen desz bitteren Leidens und Sterbens unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi. . . Mit vielen Sinn-Bildern. . . Verfasst und zusammen getragen von. . . 1714. Stuttgart in Verlegung Augustus Metzlers seel. Erben daselbst gedruckt durch Paul Treu. - Dritter Theil. Bey Joh. Bened. Metzlern und Christoph Erhardten. . . 1731. 8vo. Three parts. Frontispiece and 50 other plates by Leonhard Heckenauer und Joh. Ulrich Kraus after Johann David Daniel, described as "emblematic" in the Ho. cat. - now in the Frances L. Hofer collection.)

Netherlands

HEYNS, Zacharias. Emblemata, Emblemes Chrestiennes, et Morales.
Rotterdam, by Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, 25 emblems for the
first section, 25 emblems for the subsection Emblemata Moralia.
Pr. 368
La. n 87

. Weg-Wyser ter Salicheyt onder een Sinnebeeld van
des Werelts beschryvinge Den Christen wandelaer voorgesteld Zwol-
le by Frantz Jorrijaensen 1629. 27 small copperplates.
Pr. 369
La. n 87.

HULSIUS, Bartholomaeus. Emblemata Sacra. Dat is, Eenighe Geeste-
licke Sinnebeelden (no place) 1631. 40 emblems by M. Merian.
Pr. 379.
La. n 108.

SAVERY, Salomon. Goddelijcke aandachten ofte vlammeende begeerten
eens boetvaardige geheyligden liefriicke Ziele. Amsterdam,
S. Savrij. n. d. (ca. 1650). 45 emblematical engravings by
Salomon Savery.
Pr. 490.

SCHARZ, J. J. Schat Der Zielen, ofte Begeeder. Sijnde Een stich-
telijke en ziel-vermakelijke Samenspraak, handelnde van de
korte en gereede weg, om tot de Liefde en Gemeenschap Gods
te komen. Amsterdam, by Pieter Arentsz, 1678. 41 copperplates
Translation of Spill de la vida religiosa attributed to Miquel
Comalada (1515) a very popular Catalan devotional book.
Pr. 491-2.
La. n. 203a
Other edition: 1699, Amsterdam.
La. n 203c
Other edition. 1718 Leuwarden
La. n 203d

HOBURGH, Christ. Levendige Herts-Theologie, dat zijn aendächtige
Betrachtingen, hoe Jesus in der Gelooven herten wie woenen,
werken en leven, en haar wil zijn alles in allen.
Amsterdam, 1686. 18 plates of emblems engraved by C. Mallery.
Pr. 370.
La. n 89a
German translation: Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie. . . Franck-
furth and Leipzig. Bey Michael Brodhagen. 1691. Yale Univer-
sity Library.
Latin translation: Emblemata sacra . . . Franckfurth and Leip-
zig. Bey Michael Brodhagen. 1692.

LUYKEN, Jan. Jesus en de Ziel. Een geesteliucke Spiegel voor't
gemoed, Bestaende uyt veertig aangename en stichtelijcke
Sinne-Beelden. . .Den Tweden druk. Amsterdam, by Pieter Arentsz,
1685.
Pr. 406.

. Vonken der Liefde Jezus, Van het God-begeerende Zie-
len-Vuur. . .Amsterdam, By Kornelis van der Sys. . .1717.
Engraved frontispiece 50 copperplates.
Pr. 406.

. Het overvloetijend Herte of Nagelatene Verzen van de
Godvruchtigen Jan Luyken. . .Amsterdam gedrukt by d'Erve F.
de Kruyff en W. Brave. 1767. 8 vo. - 85 emblems vignettes.
Pr. 407

HESMAN, Gerrit. Christelyke Aandachten of Vlammente Ziel - Zuchten,
Eener Godvreesende Ziele met een Goddelijk Antwoord daar op
passende: Deventer, By H. W. van Welbergen. . . 1728. Title
vignette and 50 emblems of the heart.
Pr. 367.
La. n 84a

Denmark

LASSENIVS, Johann. Heiligen Perlen-Schatzes dritte und letzte Ver-
theilung über die Monath September, October, November and Dec-
ember. Copenhagen, bey Melchoir Liebe, der Universität Buch-
handlern, Drucks Johan Jacob Bornheinrich. 1693. 33 copper-
plates of emblems, one engraved by H. Schaten. (This is a
second revised edition of part of a work which is unknown to
catalogues of emblem books)
Pr. 396-7.

. De hemelsche Morgendauw der soete Genade Gods.
. . .door Dr Johan:Lassenius, Leeraar der Luthesche Gemeente
in de St. Pieters Kerk, te Koppenhagen. Amsterdam, J. Romberg,
1737. Engraved frontispiece, title-vignette by J. C. Philips
and 25 full page copperplates by S. Fokke.
Pr. 397.
La. n 130b

A Bibliography of
Roman Catholic Religious Emblem Books

Jesuit Emblem Books

Netherlands

DAVID, Jan. Veridicus Christianus. Antwerp, 1601 by Plantin.
100 copperplates of emblems by Th. Galle.

So. II Col. 1845, n. 4.

Pr. 313

La. 50a

Br. 147.

Flemish Translation: Christeliicken Waerseggheer, 1603.

. Occasio Arrepta, Neglecta, Huius Commoda: illius Incommoda. Antwerp, 1605. 12 plates by Th. Galle.

So. Col. 1847 n. 7

Pr. 313

La n. 54

Br. 147.

. Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae and Poncarpium Marianum
in one volume, 1607, (Prachtausgabe) (50 magnificent copper
plates per volume. First volume features pictures of the pas-
sion; the second volume that of the Virgin. Only a few of
the plates are emblematic).

Br. 147.

SUCQUET, Antoine. Via Vitae Aeternae Iconibus illustrata per Boet-
ium a Bolswert. Antwerp, by Martin Nutius, 1620. 32 emblems

A very popular work.

So. VII Col. 1690 n. 1

Pr. 506

La. n. 221

Br. 153

German translation: Weg zum ewigen Leben. Augsburg by Math.
Langenwalder, 1626, Partial version. Complete translation
by Carl Stengel, Munich, by Nicolaus Heinrich, 1627.

HUGO, Hermann. Pia Desideria Emblematis Elegiis & affectibus S.S.
Patrum illustrata. Antwerp by Heinrich Aertssen, 1624, 46
emblematical copperplates by Boltius a Bolswert. Some later
editions contain woodcuts e.g. Antwerp, 1628. As regards a com-
plete biography see

So. IV Col. 513 n. 20

Pr. 367-8

La. n 104

Br. 97 & 149.

German translations supplied with Melodies are:

- I. Buch: Das Klagen der büßenden Seel/ oder die sogenannte Pia Desideria, Bamberg, 1672.
- II. Buch: Die weitberühmten Trutznachtigall Tüchterlein/ Oder das Verlangen der Heiligen Seel. Bamberg, 1676.
- III. Buch: Der lieblichen Trutznachtigall Enckel/ Oder das Seufftzen der verliebten Seel./ Bamberg, 1677. Translator and publisher is Andreas Presson. Titles are borrowed from Friedrich von Spee.
Br. 149.

Team of Jesuits. Typus Mundi in quo eius Calamitates et Pericula nec non Divini, humanique Amoria Antipathia, Emblematicè proponuntur. Antwerp by Joan Cnobbaert, 1627. 32 emblems copperplates by Philipp Mallery.

So. I, Col. 448, n. 5.

Pr. 519.

La. n. 235

Br. 153

HEES, Guillaume von (Hesius Guilielmus). Emblemata Sacra de Fide, Spe, Charitate. Antwerp, by Plantin (Balthasar Moreti), 1636. 116 emblematical woodcuts by J. C. Jegher.

So. IV Col. 336 n.3

Pr. 367

La. n. 83, contains 100 woodcuts only

Br. 149.

VINCART, Joannes. Sacrorum Heroicum Epistolar. Turnai by Adrian Ouinque, 1640. 24 copperplates by P. Rucholle.

So. VIII, Col. 820 n. 4

Pr. 530

La. n. 249

Br. 153

POIRTERS, Adrian. Ydelheyt des Werelts. Antwerp, by Widow Cnobbart, (from Typus Mundi) 1645. 16 emblematical copperplates by Philipp de Mallery.

So. 927-930, n. 3

Pr. 459

La. n. 183a

Br. 150

An enlarged edition of the same book entitled:

HetMasker vande Wereldt afgetrocken. Antwerp, by Widow Cnobbart, 1646. 21 emblematical copperplates by F. Bouttats.

. Den alderheijlichsten Naem voor een Nieu-Jaer-gift geschoncken . . . Antwerp, 1647. Widow J. Cnobbart, 8 full page copperplates by F. Bouttats and A. Van der Does after I. Thomas.

Pr. 459-460.

La. n. 185

Br. 151

. Het Duyfen in de Steen-rotse . . . Antwerp, by Cornelis Woons, 1657. Meditations on the Passion of Christ containing 12 Emblems. (The Bood resembles to a large extent Pia Desideria)

Pr. 460

Br. 151

. Het Heyligh Herte . . . Antwerp by Cornelis Woons, 1659. 13 copperplate emblems from A. Wierix, Cor Jesu amanti sacrum.

So. 931 n. 10

Pr. 535

La. n. 187a

Br. 151

. Het Kleyn Prieeltjen van de Heyligen. Antwerp, by M. Cnobbart, 1660. One copperplate to each day of the calendar.

Pr. 460

La. n. 188

Br. 151.

. Het daeghelycks nieuwe jaer spiegelken . . . Antwerp, by Cornelis Woons, 1673. 7 half-page copperplates by F. Bouttats

So. VI Col. 933 n. 19

Pr. 461

La. n. 190a

Br. 151

ENGELGRAVE, Heinrich. Lux Evangelica sub velum Sacrorum Emblem-atum recondita. Antwerp, Widow Cnobbart, 1648. 52 emblematical copperplates by J. van Meurs Houghton Library.

Pr. 327

La. 65a

Br. 148

. Lux Evangelica . . . Edit io tertia locupletior altera parte. Antwerp, Widow Cnobbart, 1652. 52 em-

blematical copperplates

La n. 65c

Pr. 327

Br. 148.

. Lucis Evangelicae, Sub velum Sacrorum Emblem-
atum recondita in Anni Dominicas Selecta Historia & Morali
Doctrina Varie Adumbrata. Cologne by Iacobum a Meurs, Am-
Amstelodami, 1655. 52 copperplates.

Pr. 327

La. n. 65c

Br. 148

. Lucis Evangelicae, Sub velum Sacrorum Emblem-
atum reconditae Pars Tertia. Cologne by Johannes Busaeum,
1659. Two parts of 23 & 33 emblems.

La. n. 65c

Pr. 327-328

Br. 148

. Caeleste Pantheon, sive caelum novum. . .
Cologne, by J. Buseaus 1658 consists of three parts of 57
emblems. This is the third edition of *Lux Evangelica* and
and of *Lucis Evangelicae* 1657.

Pr. 328

Br. 148

. Collum Empyreum. . ., Cologne 1666, 19 3mblems.

So. III Col. 396

Pr. 327 refer only to the second edition, Cologne, 1668

Br. 148.

Sambeeck, Johannes van. Het geestelijck Jubilee van her jaer O.H.
MDCL Ofte Vreugde van't Berouw. . . Antwerp by Philips van
Eyck, 1663, 30 emblems.

So. VII, 502 n. 1

Pr. 486

La n. 200

Br. 152

Smidt, Gillis de. Sinne - Beelden der Deughden, voor een Nieuw
Jaer gheschoneken aen alle Godt-vruchtighe Sielen. Antwerp
by Michel Cnobbaert, 1663, 11 emblems.

So. VII Col. 1319 n. 5

Pr. 498

La. n. 208a

Br. 152

. De Lydende Siele gheschoncken voor een Nieuw-jaer doro AE. D. S. Soc. Jesu. Antwerp, by Michel Cnobbaert, 1664, 10 emblems.

So. VII Col. 1319 n. 6

Pr. 498

La. n. 209a

Br. 152

The second part from the same year adds these words to the title. . . tot Troost van alle Bedruckte. Second and enlarged edition 1665.

12 emblems

Pr. 498

La. n. 209b

Br. 152

. De Minnende Siele gheschoncken aen liefhebbers Godts een nieuwwiaer. Antwerp by Michel Cnobbaert 1665. 14 emblems and 2 other plates.

So. VII Col. 1320 n. 7

Pr. 499

La. n. 210

Br. 152.

. Den Wegh der deughden, voor de beghinnende Voortgaende, ende Volmaeckte. Antwerp, by Michiel Cnobbaert, 1667. 47 copperplates.

So. Col. 1320 n. 8.

Pr. 499

La. n. 211

Br. 152

. Den gheestelycken Toe-sinder gheschoncken voor het nieuw jaer 1668. Antwerp, by Michiel Cnobbaert, 1668. 9 copperplates.

So. VII Col. 1320 n. 9

Pr. 499

La. n. 212

Br. 152

. De Reysende Siele tot d'eeuwigheydt voor een nieuw-jaer gheschoncken aen Alle Lief-hebbers van haere saligheydt, door eenenPriesterder Societ. Iesu. Antwerp, by Michiel Cnobbaert 1669. 5 copperplates

So. VII Col. 1320 n. 10

Pr. 499

La. n. 213

Br. 152

NERRINCQ, Franciscus. De Goddelycke Vooreienigheydt. . . Antwerp
by Ignatius Leyssens, 1710. 19 Emblems. Book deals about
Joseph of Egypt.
So. V Col. 1638 n. 2
Pr. 435
Br. 150

Germany

DREXEL, Jeremias. Zodiacus christianus, seu signa XII divinae
praedestinationis, una cum XII symbolis. Munich, by Raphael
Sadeler, 1618.
So. IX Col. 243
Pr. - does not mention this edition
Br. 136

. Zodiacus Christianus, das ist Christlicher
Himmelcirckel oder zwoelf zeichen bei welchen ein jeder
Christen Mensch erkennen und schliessen kann, ob er von Gott
zum ewigen Leben fürsehen und erwählet oder nicht. Sampt 2
schönen beigesetzten Figuren, durch welche bemelte Zeichen
zierlich entworfen und für Augen gestellt werden. München by
Raphael Sadeler, 1619. Copy at Newberry Library, Chicago
So. --
Pr. (Mentions the 1622 edition p. 319)
Br. 136

. De aeternitate Considerationes. . . München, by
Raphael Sadeler, 1620. 9 emblematical copperplates.
So. III Col. 182 n. 3
Pr. 318
Br. 136
First German translation: Betrachtungen von der Ewigkeit. Mün-
chen, bei Nicolaus Heinrich, 1621. Übers von Conr. Vetter S.J.
9 copperplates
So. --
Pr. --

SANDT, Maximilian (Sandaesus). Symbola vitae humanae Notulis Theoli-
gicis Illustrata. Mainz by Johann Theobald Schönwetter, 1628.
Ungebilderte Embleme, zu Teil aus der Bible, erklärt.
So. VIII, Col. 559 n. 21
Pr. 487
Br. 132

- _____. Maria Flos Mysticus. . . Mainz, by Gottfried Schönwetter, 1629. 5 emblematical copper plates, florals of rose, lily, pansy, heliotrope, hyacinth to which the Virgin is compared. These copper plates are also found in Maria Patrona 1630.
So. VII Col. 560 n. 26
Pr. 488
Br. 140
- STENGEL Georg. Ova Paschalia sacro emblemata. . .Munich by Nicolaus Heinrich, 1635. 100 egg-shaped copperplates of emblems.
So. VII Col. 1554 n. 62
Pr. 504
Br. 141
- BISSEL, Johannes (Ionnis Bessellii e Societate Iesu) Aestas. Munich by Nicolaus Hainrich, 1644. 3 full-page plates of months, a figure of Ruth by Wolfgang Kilian and 21 small oval copperplates of emblems.
So. I Col. 1514 n. 7
Pr. 275
Br. 136
- CUVELIER, Michel. Annona Spiritualis sive Meditationes Quibus per annum anima quotidie perficiatur Iuxta viam purgativam, Illuminativam, Unitivam. Cologne by Ioannem Kinchium 1646. Three plates emblematical of the stages of the mystical life.
Pr. 312
- BALDE, Jakob. Urania Victrix. Animae Christianae Certamina. München, bei Johanna Wilhelm Schell und Johannes Wagner, 1663. 5 copperplates (emblematical) by Melchoir Kusell.
So. I Col. 823 n. 24
Pr. 264
Br. 135
- NIDERNDORFF, Heinrich. Doctrina ethicae christianae. . . Würzburg by Lochner & Mayer: Johann Jakob Christoph Kleyer, 1742. 117 copper plates.
So. V Col. 1715 n. 2
Pr. 436
Br. 139

Czecheslovakia

SPANNMÜLLER, Jakob (Pontanus). Floridor libri octo. Augsburg 1595.
(Emblembuch?) Eine spätere Ausgabe, Ingolstadt, 1611 enthält
5 Kupfer und Gedichte über Christus, Maria und das Braut=
Christi = Thema.
So. VI Col. 1012 n. 7
Pr. --
Br. 176

SENFTLEBEN, Johannes. Philosophia Moralis ad Politico-Christiane
conversandum. . . Prag. Jesuit Coll. St. Clemens, 1683. 36
emblems.
So. VII Col. 1123 n. 2
Pr. 496
Br. 176

CHRISTEL, Bartholomäus, Zodiacus Laetofatalis. Lustiges Sterb-Jahr.
Prag, 1690. 4 emblematical copperplates with meditations con-
cerning death linked to the four seasons.
So. II Col. 1161 n. 13
Pr. - -
Br. 174

England

A., H. (Henry? Hawkins). Partheneia Sacra. Or the mysterious and
delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes. . . Rouen, by John
Cousturier, 1633. 48 emblems.
So. IV Col. 160 n. 3
Pr. 241
Br. 179
Fr. 243-48 (Appendix 3)

. The Devout Hart or Royal Throne of the
Pacificall Salomon. Composed by F. St. Luzvic S. J. Translated
out of Latin into English. Rouen, John Cousturier, 1634. No
plates. Translation from Etienne's Luzvic's Le Coeur Devot. . .
Douai 1627.
Fr. 178 and 229 Appendix 1

E. M. (Edward Mico alias Harvey or Baines English Jesuit). 1630,
1678 died in prison as a result of Oates plot (J. Gillow,
Vol. p. 7). Ashrae - The Grove of the Beatitudes, Represented
in Emblems: And, by the Art of Memory, to be read on our Bles-
sed Saviour Crucified. London for W. P. 1665, 12 mo. With 8
plates.
Fr. p. 232 Appendix 1 and 249-250 Appendix 4

Spain

BIVERO, Pedro de. Sacrum Oratorium piorum imaginum immaculatae Mariae et animae creatae ac baptismo, poenitentia et eucharistia innovatae. . . . Antwerp, by Plantin (Balthasar Moreti) 1634. 42 scriptural emblems, 15 heart-shaped emblems and two vignettes.
So. I Col. 1525 n. 7
Pr. 275
Br. 171

NIEREMBERG, Juan Eusebio. - Stromata S. Scriptura. . . . His accessere ejusdem Auctoris Gnomoglyphica: Item Sigalion, sive Sapientia Lyon by the followers of Gabr. Boissat & Laurentiu Anisson 1642. "Gnomoglyphica" is another designation for the word "emblems". Compare Jakob Masens new designation "Iconomystica" in Speculum Imaginum veritatis occultae. Cologne 1650. (Br.) 117 Gnome or emblems whose figures are only described.
So. Col. 1745 n. 24
Pr. 436-7
Br. 172

IZQUIERDO, Sebastiano. Pratica de los Exercitos Espirituales. Rome, 1665. An emblematical version of Ignatius Loyola's Exercitia Spiritualia.
Translation: Praxis Exercitiorum Spiritualium P.N.S. Ignatii. Rom by Varesiu, 1678.
So. IV Col. 710 n. 4
Pr. 382
Br. 172
Translation: Pratica Di alcuni Esercizj Spirituali di S. Ignazio. . . . Florenz, by Gaetano Tartini and Santi Franchi, 1718. 16 copperplates of emblematical character, one of them has been taken from Hermann Hugo's Pia Desideria.

NUNES DE CUPEDA, Francisco. Idea de el Buen Pastor copiada por los S. S. Doctores representada en Empresas sacras, con avisos espirituales, morales, politicos y economicos para el Gobierno de un Principe Ecclesiastico. Lyon, by Anisson and Posuel, 1682. Emblems and rules for clergy in particular for bishops.
So. V Col. 1843 n. 2
Pr. 437-8
Br. 173

SANTIAGO, Juan de. Doce Symbolos de la eternidad, que la declaran algun tanto. . . . Cordoba, Julian Diaz and Francisco Villalon, 1764. 13 copperplates, of eternity symbols.
So. VII Col. 595 n. 1
Pr. 488-9
Br. 173.

Praedicatoribus conceptus subministrans varios. Amsterdam by Janssonio - Waesbergios, 1699. Engraved frontispiece and 43 copperplates of emblems in the first volume, 16 in the second.
Pr. 386 (also cf 199)

The Fathers of the Scuole Pie

Austria

MARTINUS, A. S. Brunone. Vertumnus vanitatis. Vienna by Joan. Andrae Pfeffel 1725. 31 copperplates of emblems by Ant. Hommer.
Pr. 414 (also cf p. 199)

Other Catholic Religious Emblem Books

Italy

PONA, Francesco. Francisci Ponae cardiomorphoseos sive ex corde desumpta Emblemata sacra. Veronae. 1645. 4to. Title page engraved by G. G. and 101 crude etchings of emblems on the heart.
Pr. 461.

France

MELLO, Gabriel de. Les Divines Operations de Jesus dans le coeur d'une ame fidelle. Paris 1673. Frontispiece and 19 copperplates. These plates are taken from Wierix's Cor. Iesu amanti sacrum.

Benedictine Order

Netherlands

HAERTEN, Benedictus van. Schola Cordis sive aversi a Deo Cordis ad eundem reductio, et instructio. Antwerp, Typis Hieronymi Verdussij, 1629. Engraved title and 55 copperplates of emblems by Boëtius a Bolswert.

Pr. 361 (cf. 151)

La. n. 77a

German translation: Herten Schuel. Oder des von Gott abgeführten Hertzens widerbringung zu Gott, und underweisung durch D. Benedictum Haertenum . . . lateinisch beschriben, nun aber verteutscht durch D. Carolum Stengelium Abten zu Anhausen, beeden S. Benedicts Orden. Ausburg, by Johann Weh. . . 1664.

Pr. 362.

Regia Via Crucis. Antwerp, by Balthazaris Moreti. 1635.

Engraved title and 38 plates executed by Corn. Galle.

Pr. 361.

La. n. 75

Another edition: Regia Via Crucis. Antwerp by Viduae Henrici Verdussen, 1728. Engraved title and 38 plates.

Dutch translation: De Heyr- Baene des Cruys. . . Bruges by Lucas von den Kerchove, 1667. 14 emblems only.

Pr. 361.

French Translation: Le Chemin royal de la Croix, Paris, Chez Charles Osmont, 1711.

Pr. 362.

Spanish translation: Camino real de la Cruz. Valladolid, by J. Godinex, 1721.

Pr. 362.

LABIA, Carlo. Simboli predicabili estratti da Sacri Evangeli Che corrono nella Quadregesima, delineata con Morali, et eruditi Discorsi da Monsignor Carlo Labia. Ferrara, 1692 by Bernardin Barbieri. 42 plates of devices.

Pr. 391.

Simboli festivi per le Solennita principali di Christo Nostro Signore, della Beata Vergine Maria, degl'Apostoli, e d'altri Santi . . . Venice by Nicolo Pezzana, 1698. 40 plates of devices.

Carthusian Order

France

- CALLOT, Jacques. Lux Cloustri. La Lumiere du Cloistre . . .
 Paris, Chez Francois Langlois, dict chartres, 1646.
 Pr. 294 (also cf. 198).
 German edition: Lux Claustri. La Lumiere du Cloistre. Das Kloster Liecht. Vorstellung eines Religiosen wie Er sich gegen Gott, sich selbst, und den Nechsten verhalten solle . . . Augsburg, by Joh. Chr. Kolb . . . n. d. (ca. 1720).
 27 copperplates.
 Pr. 294 (also cf. 198)
 Vita Beatae Mariae Virginis Matris Dei Emblematis delineata.
 Paris, Chez Francois Langlois dict Chartres, 1646. Engraved title and 26 copperplates which are actual emblems.
 Pr. 294 (also cf. 198).
- MARTIN, I. Le Paradis Terrestre, ou Emblemes Sacrez de la Solitude. Paris, Chez Iean Henault, 1655. Engraved frontispiece and 20 emblems.
 Pr. 413 (also cf. 198)

Carmelite Order

Poland

- SEBASTIANUS a Matre Dei. Firmamentum Symbolicum in quo Deiparae Elogia, Quibus, velut firmamentum stellis, est exornata symbolice depinguntur. Lublin by Georgii Foresteri, 1652,
 50 copperplates of emblems engraved by A. Loemans after Joan Thomas.
 Pr. 495.

Augustinian Order

France

- CHESNEAU, Augustin. Orpheus Eucharisticus sive Deus absconditus humanitatis illecebris illustriores Mundi partes ad se pertrahens, ultroneas arcanae maiestatis adoratrices. Paris, by Florentinum Lambert . . . 1657. 100 emblems engraved on copper by A. Flamen.
 Pr. 304.
 French translation: Emblems Sacrez sur le Tres-Saint et Tres-Adorable Sacrement de l'Eucharistie. Paris, Lambert 1667.

Germany

ABRAHAM A SANCTA CLARA (Ulrich Megerle) Stelle ex Jacob orta
 Maria, cuius sacrae litaniae laurentanae tot symbolis, quot
 tituli, tot elogijs, quot literae in quovis titulo numerantur,
 acutae, & illustratae sunt a Theophilo Mariophilo (pseud.)
 Vienna, by Francisci Andreae Groneri, 1680.
 120 unnumbered pages, added engraved title-page and 53 emblems.
 Pr. 241.

Netherlands

LEENHEER, Jan de. Virgo Maria Mystica sub solis imagine emblematica expressa. 1681 (no printer's name). 26 full-page engravings of emblems by Gasp. Bouttats.
 Pr. 399.

Recolet Order

Netherlands

BOTTENS, Fulgentius. Het Goddelick Herte ofte De Woonste Godts in het Herte. Tot welcke den Heere Jesus de Ziele leert het selve te bereyden . . . Brugges by Pieter van Pee. 1685.
Het Goddelick Herte, Den I Boeck van het tweede deel. 1688.
 Two frontispieces, blason and 11 emblems from A. Wierix's plates of the series Cor. Iesu amanti sacrum.
 Pr. 284.

La VIGNE, David de. Spiegel om wel te sterven, aanwyzende met Beeltenissen van het Lyden onzer Zaligimaakers Jesu Christi alles wat een Zieke moet doen om gelukkig te sterven. Amsterdam by Ioannes Stichter, 1694. 42 plates by Romeyn de Hooghe which are too loosely described as emblem in the Ho. and in the NP. catalogues.
 Pr. 398.

The Order of the Most Holy Saviour.

Netherlands

KETTEN, Joannes Michael von der. Apelles Symbolicus exhibens seriem amplissimam Symbolorum, Poetisque, Oratoribus ac Verbi Dei

APPENDIX 2

References to Daniel Cramer By Various Authors

- Arndt, Johann. Sechs Bücher vom Wahren Christentum nebst dessen Paradies= Gärtlein. J. F. Steinkopf, Stuttgart, 1919. Preface XLII-XLIV: In "Das fünfte Sendschreiben" and "Das sechste Sendschreiben" addressed to Herzog August den Jüngern. Arndt defends himself in regard to Cramer's allegation that Arndt, in overemphasizing discipleship, had made Christ but a mere example.
- Scharlemann, Robert P. Thomas Aquinas and Johann Gerhard, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1964. Mentions Daniel Cramer's Isagoge in Metaphysicam Aristotles first edition 1594, second edition 1601. pp. 19-21.
- Clements, Robert J. Picta Poesis. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura Via Lancellotti 18, Roma 1960. The names of Jesuitic emblematisers throughout Western Europe are legion: Acquino, De Barry, Bidermann, Bischoff Bivero, Bonomi, Bovio, Caussin, Cramer, Haynovius, Kreilling, Labbe La Rue, Le Moine, Menestrier, Merrincq, Oritz, Pineada, Reiffenburg, Reinzer, Senftleben, Sucquet, van der Sandt, Vincaritus, Veken and Zetel. p. 100. The tasks to which the clerical emblematisers assigned their books were many and varied, but always didactic. . . They could illustrate the principles of a religious order like Cramer's Societas Iesu et Roseae crucis vera. . ."p. 101.
- Gnädiger, Louise. "Rosenwunden. Des Angelus Silesius << Die Psyche begehrt ein Bienlein auff den Wunden Jesu zu seyn >> Martin Bircher Und Alois M. Haas. Deutsche Barocklyrik, Francke Verlag, Bern und München. In connection with her statement, ". . . wobei im Falle der Rosenwunden auch die Begegnung mit einer spätmittelalterlichen oder barocken Pieta - Darstellung oder mit einem erbauchlichen Emblembuch inspiriert wirken konnte ;" refers to Cramer in her footnote 97. "Eine Kontamination der in der weltlichen Emblematik gängigen Rosen - und Bienenverwendung (vgl. dazu u.a. die Zusammenstellungen in Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, hrsg. von Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne, Stuttgart 1967, Sp. 289-304: Rose; Sp. 919-923: Biene) mit der mystischen Rosen/Bienenthematik findet sich bei Daniel Cramer/Conrad Bachmann, Emblemata Sacra. Hoc est decades quinque Emblematum ex sacra scriptura, de dulcissimo Nomine & Cruce Jesu Christi, figuris aeneis incisorum, Frankfurt 1624, S. 16-17: Emblematum Sacrorum Part. II, Decas I, Emblema I, and S. 80-81: Emblematum Sacrorum Decas II, Emblema XVII; unter dem Titel Societas Jesu et roseae crucis vera: h.e. decades quatuor emblematum sacrorum ex s. scriptura de dulcissimo nomine et cruce Jesu Christi erschienen sie bereits 1617 in Frankfurt unter den vier Dekaden Cramers." On p. 117 she displays Cramer's Emblem 17.

Jöns, Dietrich Walter. Das Sinnbild Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit. p. 22. "In der Vorrede des Verlegers zu den 1630 in Frankfurt gedruckten >> Octoginta Emblemata moralia nova >> Daniel Cramer's lesen wir, dass die Embleme zu den "Materien" gehören, "so ohne sonderbares Ingenium vund Nachdencken nicht ergründt werden mogen,"und dass an ihnen der "Verstand zu exerciren" sei. "So kommentiert Cramer Matth. 13,31f.: "Das Wort Gottes ist dem Senffkorn gleich. Dann (1) wie dem Auserlichen ansehen nach/ kein geringer vnd verächtlicher ding ist/ als solch klein korn:Also ist es auch gethan mit dem Wort Gottes. (2) Wie gleichwol das Senffkörnlein/ wanns gerieben wird auff der Zungen scharpff beisset/ also ist auch Gottes Wort kräftig. (3) Wie der Senff heylet/ vnnd insonderheit für Fäulnuss dienet: Also ist auch das Wort Gottes/ das alles heylet/ Sap. 16.12. Insonderheit erhebt diese gleichnuss den nutz dess Gütlichen Worts/ vnder welches Schatten die Gläubigen Schirm/ Schutz/ vnd viel frommen haben". Greift Cramer auch in zwei Punkten auf andere Eigenschaften zurück als Gryphius in seinem Sonett,

Footnote References to Cramer's Biblische Auslegung by Jöns

1. p. 81 #2 Rom. 1, 19f.
2. p. 87 #1 Matth. 6.6
3. p.104 #2 Mark 4,34
4. p.141 #2 Luke 5.5
5. p.141 #1 Luke 5.5
6. p.153 #1 Genesis 1,14
7. p.170 #3 Ecclesiasticus 23,27 ff
8. p.170 #2 Ps. 139, 11; Eccles. 12,14 and Luke 8,17.
9. p.202 #1 Genesis 7,1 ff
10. p.209 #1 Luke 13,6 and Matth. 21,19
11. p.211 #4 Ps. 92, 13.
12. p.217 #2 Matth 11,7
13. p.229 #1 Mark 16,4
14. p.230 #6 Wisdom 3,6
15. p.232 #2 2 Thess. 2, 1ff and Genesis 2,15
16. p.252 #2 Is. 1,31
17. p.266 #1 Luke 10,30 ff
18. p.267 #1 Mentions the work by name only.

Praz, Mario. Studies In Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 1964.

Refers to Cramer: "In his Schola Cordis Haeften did nothing but add the figures of Anima and Love to the subjects which the German Divine Daniel Cramer following Montenay had treated in the first part of his Emblemata sacra (Frankfort, 1629) wherein the heart underwent various trials Mollesco, Crexco, Alta peto, Amo, Lateo etc. (fifty emblems).p. 151.

A Bibliography of Emblem Books; Praz lists the three emblem books of Daniel Cramer on page 310 in the following manner:

177
Societas Iesu et Roseae crucis vera. 1617, 40 emblems.

Emblematum Sacrorum Prima Pars. 1624, 50 emblems.

Emblemata Moralia nova. 1630, 80 emblems.

APPENDIX 3

Translations from Latin to English by Dr. E. G. Berry,
Classics Department, University of Manitoba.

1. Translation of the Latin Preface of Cramer's Emblem-
atvm Sacrorvm. The Preface consists of : Title Page,
Dedication, Greetings to the Reader, Lines devised
and engraved on bronze by the right learned skilled
Master Jacob Müller on the emblems which precede the
frontispiece of this book consisting of Redemption,
Renewal, Sanctification, Triumph and Hope of Glory,
To the most distinguished and most learned Master Jac-
ob Müller, most studious companion of letters (L.L.)
and (oculeissimo) friend.

2. Translation of the inscription of the portrait of the
author, Daniel Cramer and the epigram below the same.
It reads as follows, respectively:

The Learning of the Lord gives the Crown.

and I know nothing, I can do nothing;
nevertheless, the fact that I am seen
by my countenance and mind (talent) to ex-
ist, all that is (the work) of God.

3. Translation of the Latin motto of the impresa which pre-
cedes each book:

I burn more brightly in adversity.

[Title page]

The FELLOWSHIP of Jesus and the rosy true cross, that is, Four Decades of sacred emblems from Sacred Scripture, about the sweetest name and cross of Jesus Christ . . . Author: Daniel Cramer [Dr.] theologian of Stettin . . . Frankfurt, at the press of Nicholas Hoffman, 1617.

Dedication

The most illustrious and most high Prince and Lord, Master Philip II, Duke of Stettin, Prince of the Pomeranians, the Cassubori and the Vandals, Prince of Rugia, Count of Gursowia, Dynast of the Provinces of Leoburg and Butovia and his own most merciful lord.

Nobody except him who is a stranger to the study of history cannot know in how great value, most illustrious and highest prince, the wise ruler considered the pictorial art of the past. One this was sought out by kings [witness Pliny Book 35, cap. 1] and peoples for the sake of those men whose memory they judged worthy of being transmitted to posterity. This practice was so honorable (the words are those of the same man) that free men might toil at them, and next so that honest men might not by perpetual decree be taught slavery. On account of this art Apelles still "flies o'er the lips of men" [Ennius] and "Lasting fame drives him on on a wing that fears to be loosened" [Horace Odes II 2.8]. Who does not know how in our time these things have pleased and still please princes, how pleasant and sweet an exercise and delight of the mind it is? Let one consider the medley of epigrams represented by this skill and dedicated to posterity, a pleasant (by Jupiter!) and clever one, and how many very distinguished men have employed their talents in this matter. To say nothing of those hieroglyphic signs of the Egyptians by which they have indicated their spirit, mind and will, who in this present does not admire and respect the work of Al-

ciatus, Reisner and Claudius Paradinus? Who does not obtain an extraordinary delight from them when he considers the abstruse, recondite learning that is hidden in them, as he in the Comicus considers that learning which lies in the wax [of a writing tablet or painting].

Treading in their footsteps, the most reverend and most distinguished Master Daniel Cramer, Doctor of Sacred Theology, while he displayed (in a different matter and one hitherto untouched by others, namely sacred affairs) his talent and critical ability, entrusted me with the task of ari incidenda and committing to the light these emblems, in accordance with his extraordinary zeal and fervour in promoting study. I gladly took on myself this task both because I was convinced that in this matter by a new example he had borne off all praise, not so much because it mixes the useful with the pleasant as because it flows from the purest springs of Israel. Rightly, therefore, Most High Prince, I wished and ought to dedicate this work for what it is worth to Your Highness, both because I feel that this bud [fruit] of the talent of Master Cramer was fed and protected by no other sun and splendor than that of Your Highness and that not without reason did it wish to return to the place where it was born; and also because I knew that this exercise of skill was not unpleasing to Your Highness, but that Your Highness never ceases to advance the arts and those who cultivate them (something which is special [peculiar] and as it were specially appropriate to the Dukes of Pomerania). May Your Highness then accept this little work with kindness, especially for the sake of the Reverend Cramer and do you permit me to make my prayers with "salted meal" since I do not have incense and may you deign to breathe on me and my studies with the breath of favour. With these words I commend Your Highness along with your most illustrious family to God Thrice Best and Greatest. May Your Highness flourish with great happiness, live a very long time and be green forever.

Written at the "Museum" at Giessen, March 11, 1617. Jacob Müller TORGENSIS.

Greetings to the Reader

This fruit is also in our sacred books. Profane men used to think that only in their own profane writings were Emblems. At long last correct this idea. Do not declare, please, that our field is barren of anything chastise rather the neglect of the world, you who are less concerned with the reading of the Books [Bible] than with the writings of the Gentiles. If this SOCIETAS of mine can avail at all [although] to beat down this error, I shall rejoice in you; farewell, Christian reader, and if you are a Christian pay careful attention to the reading of the Books [Bible]. The "Museum" at Stettin, August 1616. D.C.D. [Daniel Cramer Doctor].

Lines devised and engraved on bronze by the right learned and skilled Master Jacob Müller on the emblems which precede the frontispiece of this book.

Those who produce weighty things under the image of a picture, these the creative spirit of the poet guides within. For what else is a picture but silent poetry? Either one has this and that name. And what is by ancient right granted to poets, who will there be who will refuse this to the artist? Here at the front of this book you see emblems. The engraved delightful gift (agalma) teaches what things are good and pious.

Redemption

The fount of life displays itself in the first dim outline (umbra) of a picture, from whose gushing spring full rivers flow; the bond or pledge (syngrapha) which this flood extinguishes by the blood of Christ is destroyed, sinner, by your Cross. Hence you will be redeemed, since the cross and the rich wave of salvation removes the debt of your sins.

Renewal

Later, when you shall be joyful, redeemed by the blood of Christ and shall be concerned duly to know the word of God, this Spirit shall be your light, by whose gleam you shall learn what are the heavenly orders of God. You will not fear law nor the wrath and thunderbolt of the law, for the favor itself of the Gospel blesses [gladdens] you.

Sanctification

Now you know Christ, as the lantern of Heaven brings light; hence has arisen for you the heavenly thirst for the Good. There the heavenly cup refreshes you so that all burning flows away from your heart and is destroyed. Therefore, Man a Sinner, do you fear the thorns of the world? You can go safely among angry brains.

Triumph

Bounteous grace received you into the number of the saints. How suddenly does Death (plan its plots) for you? Nay, it openly attacks and pierces you with its sharp spear. There gleaming death stretches forth its ravishing right hand but the Heart triumphs and conquers in the name of Jesus.

Hope of Glory

At length when death has covered over your body and head, laid in the tomb's grave, and nothing of whatever you and yours had been remains further in [on] the earth today, the hope of life wins, when the dead flesh shall rise again, as grain a second time brought to life grows green.

And so Reader, you have a work of life and death, sacred engraving, a document with slight titles. They will be able to instruct and warn your mind as to what your state will be now and hereafter. You had been subject to sin. Christ purifies all sins by the fountain of his own side. By this the Spirit illumines all the secret places of the heart and the grave of the Gospel renews you.

Then the heavenly drink (potio) calms the stormy waves [aestus for astus] of your heart. Henceforth you go more bravely above deadly weapons. Death (collocat) lays by its plots against the heart that is inscribed with the name of Jesus; by this the innocent seeks the heavenly realms. Then there remains the sure hope of heavenly salvation when new warmth has loosened the bones restored to life. All these things are proved (in case you have doubts) twice by two witnesses, and, look you, the whole corner has these witnesses. The cunning talent of Muller has fashioned all these things and has given them to you, friend reader, to see. Why now do you admire the work of the heaven of Phidias? Muller's heaven is better than that of Phidias.

Giessen, April 1, 1617. Conrad Bachmann.

To the most distinguished and most learned Master Jacob Muller,
most studious companion of letters (L.L.) and (oculeissimo)
friend.

You who admire the skill of Phidias and the style (graphium) of Apelles of Cos and the talent and genius of Zeuxis, and others separated off from the crowd, whose great names kindly time has inscribed in books, cease admiring them. It was a wicked toil which raised them and caused them to fly over the learned lips of men. Let those who are carried over the heights place them beneath their feet and tread on them whose study and toil yields, brought to no fulfilment. Behold, they display a new model which none may imitate though desired by many - Emblems engraved for you, which Muller engraved only in time snatched from Themis [Law] while he follows the lead of his talent. He spends only a few hours on something to which others have assigned a lifetime, and still his skill is no less than that of former men. What they created by study, play and work, he creates this delightful thing almost by his innate character.

Giessen, Christopher Witke (Soltquellensis)

INSCRIPTIO

1. No. of words (impresa?) _____
- 2a. Function: interpretational _____
- 2b. Function: representational, pictura-related, not-pictura-object-related _____
- 2c. Both representational and interpretational _____
- 3a. Sense, complete _____
- 3b. If sense complete, is relationship to picture clear? _____
- 3c. If relationship is obscure, does subscriptio resolve enigma? _____
- 3d. Sense incomplete _____
- 3e. Is incomplete sense clarified by pictura? _____
- 3f. If sense not clarified by pictura, does subscriptio resolve enigma? _____
4. Tradition _____
5. Source (where stated) _____
6. Keyword and implied concept _____
7. Already used by? _____

PICTURA

1. Number of motifs (impresa?) _____
- 1a. Do the several motifs interpret main motif? _____
- 1b. Do they expand its significance? _____
- 1c. Do they restate the significance of the main motif? _____
- 2a. Is complete human body there (=not impresa)? _____
- 2b. Is incomplete human body, or parts of body there (impresa)? _____
3. Main motif classification (e.g. nature): _____
4. Source _____
5. Tradition _____
6. Is relation to inscriptio clear? _____
7. Already used by? _____

SUBSCRIPTIO

1. Length _____
- 2a. Representational: naming content of pictura _____
- 2b. Expansion of representation, naming aspects not depicted _____
- 3a. Interpretational: applying notions from pictura _____
- 3b. Interpretation based on aspect not depicted (cf. 2b subsc.) _____
4. Tradition _____
5. Source where stated _____
6. Keyword and implied concept _____
7. Written in 1st, 2nd, 3rd person _____
8. Already used by? _____

MODE OF THOUGHT IN EMBLEM: typological, allegorical, hieroglyphical _____

PURPOSE OF WHOLE EMBLEM

didactic: (imparting special information) _____
 moral: general, social, class virtues _____
 political: statecraft, justice, war _____
 religious: cath. prot. Old Testament, New Testament _____

APPENDIX 5

An Analysis and Compilation of the Inscriptiones

Emblem	No. of Words	Function: Interpretational	Function: A. Representational	B. Picture-related	C. Not picture-related	Both: A. Representational B. Interpretational	Sense Complete	Relationship to Pictura Clear	Sense Incomplete Clarified by Pictura	Key word
1	1	X	0	0	0	0 0	X	X	0 0	made soft
2	1	X	0	X	0	X X	X	X	0 0	increase
3	2	X	0	X	0	X X	X	X	0 0	heights
4	1	X	0	0	0	0 0	X	X	0 0	love
5	1	X	0	0	0	0 0	X	X	0 0	hidden
6	1	X	0	X	0	X X	X	X	0 0	illumination
7	2	X	0	0	0	0 0	X	X	0 0	immovable
8	1	X	0	0	0	0 X	X	X	0 0	sigh
9	1	X	0	X	0	X X	X	X	0 0	free
10	1	X	0	0	0	0 X	X	X	0 0	life
11	1	X	0	0	0	X X	X	X	0 0	live
12	1	X	0	0	0	0 0	X	X	0 0	healed
13	1	X	0	0	0	X X	X	X	0 0	danger
14	1	X	0	0	0	X X	X	X	0 0	crucified
15	1	X	0	X	0	0 X	X	X	0 0	meditate

Emblem	No. of Words	Function: Interpretational	Function: A. Representational	B. Picture related	C. Not picture related	Both: A. Representational	B. Interpretational	Sense Complete	Relationship to Pictura Clear	Sense Incomplete	Clarified by Pictura	Key Word
16	1	X	0	X	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	redeemed
17	1	0	X	0	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	honey
18	2	X	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	nothing
19	1	0	X	X	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	tip
20	1	X	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	raised aloft
21	1	X	0	X	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	freed
22	2	X	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	harm
23	1	X	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	predestined
24	1	X	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	good
25	1	0	X	0	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	cooled
26	1	X	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	protected
27	2	X	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	mocking faces
28	2	X	0	0	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	faithful
29	2	X	0	0	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	fear hell
30	2	X	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	restoration
31	3	0	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	thirsty

Emblem	No. of Words	Function: Interpretational	Function: A. Representational	B. Picture-related	C. Not picture-related	Both: A. Representational B. Interpretational	Sense Complete	Relationship to Pictura Clear	Sense Incomplete Clarified by Pictura	Key word
32	2	X	X	O	X	X X	X	X	O O	filth
33	2(Gr)	X	O	O	O	X X	O	O	X X	suffering and knowledge
34	4	X	O	O	O	O X	O	O	X X	neither, nor
35	2	X	O	O	O	O X	X	X	O O	wisdom
36	2	X	O	X	O	O X	X	X	O O	vanity
37	1	X	O	X	O	X X	X	X	O O	move on
38	1	X	O	O	O	X X	X	X	O O	sigh
39	2	X	O	X	O	O X	X	X	O O	death
40	2	X	O	O	O	X X	X	X	O O	nourish

A SCHEME FOR THE CATEGORIZATION OF MOTIFS IN EMBLEMATIC PICTURAE

((based on the Emblemata))

	I Macrocosm	II Four Elements	III Plantworld	IV Animals	V World of Man	VI Personification	VII Mythology	VIII Bible
1.	moon	air	bushes and herbs	air-birds	art and instruments of art	art and instruments of art	amphibians	Old Testament
2.	planets	earth	climbing plants	fire	bodies	classes and activities	beasts	New Testament
3.	stars	fire	flowering plants	insects	clothing	food	cupid	
4.	sun	water	fruit of the field	land	historical persons	household goods (toys)	eros	
5.	universe		water plants	reptiles	insignias	jewels, precious metals	gods	
6.				water	ships and equipment	tools	heroes	
7.					tools of war	towns and buildings	men	
8.							reptiles	
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								
13.								
14.								

APPENDIX 6

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Emblem No.	I Macrocosm	II Four Elements	III Plantworld	IV Animals	V World of Man	VI Personifications	VII Mythology	VIII Bible
1		II			V	VI		
2	I	II	III		V	VI		
3					V	VI	VII	
4		II	III		V	VI		
5					V	VI	VII	
6					V	VI		
7		II			V	VI		
8		II	III		V	VI		
9					V	VI		
10		II			V			
11				IV	V	VI		
12			III		V	VI		
13		II		IV	V	VI		
14					V	VI		VIII
15	I	II			V	VI		
16					V	VI		
17			III	IV	V			VIII
18					V	VI		VIII
19					V	VI		VIII
20		II	III		V	VI		
21					V			
22			III		V	VI		
23					V	VI		
24		II			V	VI		
25		II	III		V	VI		
26	I				V	VI		
27			III		V	VI	VII	
28					V	VI		
29				IV	V	VI		
30			III	IV	V	VI		
31		II	III		V	VI		
32					V	VI		
33		II			V	VI		
34					V	VI		
35				IV	V	VI		
36					V	VI		
37					V	VI		
38					V			
39			III		V	VI		
40			III	IV	V	VI		

Motifs of Emblems in Cramer's EMBLAMAT. SACR.

- Emblem No. 1. heart, hammer, hand rock
 2. heart, spikes, highway, stones, thorns
 3. heart, IHS, bat-winged demon
 4. heart, hand, fire, incense, wood, breath
 5. heart, hand, shield, lightning bolts
 6. Heart-eye, hand, lantern, Bible
 7. heart, altar, breath, fire
 8. heart, grate, incense, fire, receptacle
 9. heart, hand, knife, rope, globe, plowman,
 crown, money, mosque, coronet
 10. skull & crossbones, grave markers, jaw bone,
 hand, torch, candle
 11. heart, IHS, skull serpent
 12. heart, sword, IHS, hand, horn with oil
 or balm
 13. heart, shell, waters, rain cloud, rock.
 14. heart, cross, letters JESUS, spikes, hands
 15. heart, hour glass, record book, table, sun,
 cloud, stars, moon
 16. heart, chain, key, lock, chest, money
 17. cross, INRI, spider & net, bees, flowers
 18. heart, scales, laws, hand
 19. heart, chalice, cross, laws, scales, hand
 20. heart, cross, rock, garlands, water, pillar
 21. cross, handwriting, IHS, scroll, pen,
 hand
 22. heart, lilies, thorns
 23. heart, handwriting-Jesu, record book,
 24. heart, furnace, fire, smoke, ladle, hands
 25. heart, wood fire, breath, jug, water, hand
 26. heart, sun, shade, wing
 27. heart, circle, cross, palm, arrows, bat-
 like wings, evil creature, serpents, cave

- Emblem No. 28. heart, spade, scythe, crown, hands
clasped
29. heart, vulture, serpent
30. heart, tree, dove, leaf, ark
31. heart, chalice, hand, rose, water, man
32. heart, treasure & chest, praying man
33. heart, furnace, bellows, fire
34. heart, pyramid, IHS, cross bar, weights
35. heart, dove, eye, cross, serpent
36. heart, altar, praying man, sceptre, money
sword, staff, crown, hand and spectacles
37. heart, road, bridge, man, pilgrim, house
on wheels
38. man, cross, hand
39. IHS, skeleton or death, prisoner, stocks,
chain, heart, coffin, stump of tree
40. vulture, heart, feet, hands,

APPENDIX 7

An analysis of the subscriptiones reveals the following distribution:

1. Explanation or Elucidation: 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 31, 33, 37, 39, 40.
2. Explanation plus Wisdom 29
3. Explanation plus rule of conduct 24, 32, 18
4. Wisdom plus rule of conduct 34, 36
5. Explanation plus a rhetorical question 9, 27, 1, 26, 38
6. Wisdom only 28, 35
7. Prayer 3, 4, 28, 30
8. Subscriptiones - which contain words of inscriptio 34, 38, 39
9. Subscriptiones - which contain complete or slightly modified Scripture verse 6, 11

APPENDIX 8

Themes of the Emblematvm Sacrorvm

1. The heart and the Word:
 - a. the hammer - 1 b. the fruit - 2 c. the light - 6.
2. The heart seeking refuge:
 - a. from the enemy - 3 b. from the wrath of God - 5
 - c. from evil conscience 29.
3. The heart and its relation to Christ:
 - a. in affection - 4 b. in steadfastness - 7
 - c. in prayer - 8.
4. The heart and bondage:
 - a. set free from the things of the world - 9 b. set free from the fear of death - 10 c. set free from the demands of the law - 21.
5. The heart and the testings of life:
 - a. chastisement - 12 b. the furnace of affliction - 24
 - c. the fiery trials of adversity - 33 d. the burden of the cross - 38.
6. The heart and dangerous vices:
 - a. love of money - 32 b. hypocrisy - 36
7. The heart and its security in God:
 - a. from danger - 13 b. protected by His wings - 26
 - c. protected against slander - 27 d. refreshed in toil - 25 e. reward of faithfulness - 28.
8. The heart and its new life in Christ:
 - a. alive in Christ - 11 b. crucified with Christ - 14.
 - c. redeeming the time - 15 d. redeemed from bondage of things - 16 e. a fragrance of life and death - 17.
 - f. Christ, the rock - 20 g. Growth despite thorns - 22
 - h. Hope of restoration - 30. i. Wisdom and Guilelessness - 35.
9. The heart and various doctrines:
 - a. the demands of the Law and depraved man - 18 b. law and grace - 19 c. predestination - 23 d. Judgment - 29 e. Sacraments - 31 f. the standard - 34
 - g. Death and life beyond - 39 h. Transitory nature of things - 37 i. eternal hope - 40.

APPENDIX 9.

The Origin of the Name "Jehovah"

As regards the origin of the name "Jehovah", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible makes the following comments:

An artificial form often attributed to Petrus Galatinus in ca. A.D. 1520, which results from the combination of the consonants of the Tetragrammaton, "YHWH," with the substitute vowel reading which was introduced when the MT was fixed during the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. The pre-Masoretic text was consonantal, vowels being supplied by the reader from a knowledge of the language. In the postexilic period (after 538 B.C.) the sacred name "Yahweh" was withdrawn from popular usage for fear that it would be profaned. Of the various substitutes that were employed, the chief was "Adonai" ("Lord"), the vowels of which the Masoretes as a rule added to the consonants "YHWH" to indicate that "Adonai" should be read. The combination of the two - the Tetragrammaton and the vowels of "Adonai" - yields the artificial name which appeared in a few passages of the KJV and was regularly used in the ASV. The RSV, following ancient synagogue practice, renders "the Lord."¹

¹The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Volume II, Abingdon Press, New York, 1962, p. 817.