

SEIJO ENGLISH MONOGRAPHS

———— NO. 38 ————

***OCCASIO* IN RENAISSANCE EMBLEM BOOKS**

BY
MISAKO MATSUDA
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Misako Matsuda

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Introduction

When we consider the nature of the pagan goddess *Occasio* in Renaissance thought, which can be best illustrated by contemporary emblem books, it is necessary to examine her relationship to *Fortuna*. Both goddesses are classical and pagan, and the long history of the *Fortuna* has been studied by many scholars.¹ Still, the importance of the concept which *Occasio* exerts on the Renaissance thought is not fully investigated. Because both goddesses are essentially goddesses of chance, it could be argued that they are two sides of the same coin. For if life is considered as a series of chances, as it was in both Classical and Christian times, life is completely under the control of *Fortuna*. What we subjectively consider as an 'opportunity' becomes but one segment of a series of fortuitous happenings dominating our life. The difference is essentially that of perspective. But this change in perspective was crucial for the Renaissance mentality.

The various representations of *Fortuna* in Renaissance art and literature reflect the contemporary concern with the conflict between man's personal ability and the blind power of Fortune. It can generally be said that the Renaissance tried to assert human strength and virtue against the frustrating caprice of Fortune according to the optimistic humanist view toward man's power to control one's fortune. In classical Antiquity, the conflict was commonly expressed as the struggle between Hercules and *Fortuna*. In the Middle Ages, both *Fortuna* and *Virtus* became feminine figures, implying that both are equally daughters of God. Medieval *Fortuna* is an agent of God and controls the man's life by fate.

Throughout the Middle Ages, she usually stands beside the wheel and turns it, sometimes with a handle attached to it, rather than standing on the wheel in triumph [Fig. 1]. There seems to be little room for individual free will. But in the Renaissance, the idea of conflict was revived when *Virtus* came to be represented as a male figure. There is a gradual change in perspective: Renaissance Fortune emphasizes a human skill in directing the course of life. In other words, there is a possibility of human invention in the mechanical turn of Fortune's wheel. Plato suggested that there were three forces which govern human destiny: 'pure chance, chance and occasion cooperating with God in the control of human affairs, and man's skill in conjunction with these other forces'.² Plato explains this third element with the image of a pilot directing his vessel during a storm. Ficino in his commentary on the above passage emphasized the cooperation of human skill and chance in the achievement of a fortunate life.³ We can see that the fortune of each man can be controlled to a certain extent by human skill, provided that he is prudent and fortunate enough, and that the divine will consents. Such a view sets human ability and will against blind Fortune so that in order to lead a good life in accordance with one's plan, one must be cunning and bold, exerting one's power over affairs; but it is also important to be able to know when chance is there and to seize the opportunity when it presented.

Thus the concept in the Renaissance view of life gives rise to the idea of the importance of opportunity. Before the sixteenth century, *Occasio* was a limited concept known to mythographers only through the epigram of Ausonius. But as this concept became

more important among the humanists, it developed into a popular idea and because its closeness to the concept of Fortune (Goddess of Chance), they were often discussed together. The aspect of Fortune as a dispenser of opportunity, which is its function as *Occasio*, was one of the prominent themes among the Italian humanists, and the idea received special attention in Machiavelli as the conflict between *Fortuna* and Man's *virtù*.⁴ In *the Prince*, Machiavelli cites an example of four heroes, Moses, Cyrus, Romulus and Theseus, who succeeded by the combination of opportunity and virtù:

...they had from Fortune nothing more than opportunity, which gave them matter into which they could introduce whatever form they chose; and without opportunity, their strength of will [virtù] would have been wasted, and without such strength the opportunity would have been useless.⁵

According to Machiavelli, a man of ability can lead a successful life if he knows the right time to act, or in other words, if he can seize the opportunity presented to him without hesitation. The idea became very popular during the Renaissance, and it is this view of opportunity which the concept of Fortune became conflated with the *Occasio* under considerable pressure for philosophical and religious reasons. These changes exert an influence on the iconography of this pagan Goddess as I will show in this essay.

I. *Occasio* in Earlier Humanist Emblem Books

The emblem books were one of the most popular forms of Renaissance art. The fashion of this genre started with Andrea Alciati whose *Emblematum Liber* became a model for other emblem books for more than one hundred and fifty years after its first illustrated publication in 1531 at Augsburg. Though Alciati did not intend to publish his book of witty epigrams with the illustration in 1522, Heinrich Steyner produced the first illustrated edition in February 1531. Alciati, a noted lawyer and professor of jurisprudence, had a deep professional interest in the interpretation of texts, and his book was written for learned academic circles.⁶ He taught at several universities in Italy and France, and became acquainted with the contemporary humanists including Erasmus, Calvin, Guillaume Budé and Conrad Gesner.⁷ One of the earliest English translations of Alciati was Thomas Palmer's manuscript of 1565. Alciati's emblems went through over one hundred and fifty editions, often vastly expanded by the addition of commentaries seeking to elucidate Alciati's deliberate ambiguities and his mythological and historical symbolism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸

As a learned humanist and jurist, it seems clear that Alciati has drawn on a number of analogous concepts including the classical and oriental tradition of hieroglyph and epigrammatic poetry as well as Roman maxims. Out of the 104 emblems in the first edition, Alciati took forty from *The Greek Anthology*. In his subsequent editions, however, although he added about a hundred more emblems, only ten or so were directly inspired by *The Greek*

Anthology and his interest in the Anthology seems to have declined rapidly after 1530.⁹ His early emblems were also much influenced by Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*,¹⁰ but it is difficult to say how many of the two hundred hieroglyphic signs and symbolic motifs were really familiar to Alciati. Many hieroglyphic signs are simply meant to give a literal explanation of a picture; this absence of moral significance distinguishes an emblem from rebus.¹¹ Alciati, apparently used a wide variety of sources, both Christian and Classical.

According to Praz, the emblem originated 'as a humanistic attempt to give a modern equivalent of the hieroglyphs which were wrongly interpreted as a purely ideographical form of writing'.¹² Its origin, as well as its precise definition, is a controversial issue,¹³ but for practical purposes, the emblem is usually interpreted as a combination of picture, motto and inscription, though in some cases all three are not always inevitably combined. For example, some editions of Alciati's or Francis Tynne's *Emblemes* are *emblemata nuda*, i.e. without pictures. Contemporary emblematises expressed various views and one of the representative works of the genre, Girolamo Ruscelli's *Imprese illustri*, tried to draw a practical distinction between 'emblem' and 'impresa' or 'devices', often used by notable personages and institutions as a personal token.¹⁴ The inscription of the emblem is purely for the clarification of the picture, and the theme of the emblem is to demonstrate universal matters, whereas that of *impresa* is much more personal and specialized. Thus the emblem is meant to carry a moral teaching in the picture, whereas the 'impresa', like the hieroglyph, is devoid of moral import and allegory. The contemporary interest in the

precise definition of the emblem implies that the autonomy of the genre was not self-evident; in fact, once the genre is established by Alciati, the clear distinction between the emblem and other symbolic genres was easily missed by non-Italian humanists.

The earlier emblem writers, many of whom were eminent humanists, wrote statements stressing the utility of their emblem books. Their emphasis on moral teaching is the inevitable result of their general interest in humanistic education, but at the same time they stressed the moral integrity of their volumes in their prefaces in order to disarm political or ecclesiastical censors.¹⁵ Their preference for the subjects of classical antiquity or, in other words, their tendency to avoid disputed political and religious issues, also reflects the influence of iconoclasm.¹⁶ The emblem books also contained much generalized advice for kings and princes, who were often patrons of the authors who published emblem books. The influence of Machiavelli is also prominent in such advices as in Boissard's *Icones Virorum Illustrium* (Frankfurt, 1597-9) where governors are taught prudence.¹⁷ Advice for kings and princes was certainly a major theme in the emblem books and Claude Paradin actually notes in the preface of his *Symbola Heroica* (Antwerp, 1567) that 'wise monarchs have become interested in the composition of emblem books and even contributed verses and ideas and symbols'.¹⁸ Emblem books were a stimulus to virtue and consolation and comfort in adversity, not only for princes but for ordinary people, as their circulation became wide-spread throughout Europe.

Even in England, we have considerable evidence that knowledge of emblem books was widespread among learned men.

One educational leader, Bishop Pilkington proposed to give boys a sufficient amount of moral matter by using the emblem:

Et tanquam testes oculati, viua colorum
Forma fidem citius faciat, quam carmina mille.
Nam vere scripsit Lyricus tuus ille Poeta:
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures.
Quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus. Isthæc
Cerue quid ergo tuis oculis Emblemata dicent.¹⁹

Francis Bacon also speaks of the power of the emblem to impress images on the mind:

Emblem reduces intellectual conceptions to symbols, sensible images, And that which is sensible more forcibly strikes the memory and is more easily imprinted on it than that which is intellectual.²⁰

Bacon's method of using emblematic images for teaching was actually practiced by Comenius who anticipated Locke's psychology.²¹ During the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, the emblem was an effective medium to communicate new concepts and morals to educated readers, including English poets and dramatists.

Not only was the new development in the idea of Fortune and *Occasio* disseminated among writers through this genre, but in the course of transmission, the emblem helped to define the idea more explicitly through the combined use of picture and expository

verse, and at times subtly modified it. The emblem books show the process in which *Fortuna* loses her traditional omnipotence and becomes conflated with the classical *Occasio* as she comes to express a Renaissance idea of opportunity. The process can be seen by tracing the treatment of *Occasio* from Altiati to such sixteenth-century English emblematisers as were the contemporaries of Elizabethan dramatists.

The Renaissance *Occasio* is primarily conceived after Lyssippus's personification. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593), the most famous encyclopedic volume of the symbols of the period, describes the concept of *Occasio* succinctly. Yet Ripa distinguishes *Occasio* from *Fortuna*, giving each a separate entry. Referring to the epigram of Ausonius, he describes the traditional attributes of *Occasio*. The figure is one of the most popular emblematic personifications and was first illustrated in Altiati's 1531 Augsburg edition. Because her lock is streaming forward and she is bald behind, those who want to catch her must literally take her by the forelock and not let her pass by. She is standing on an ever-turning wheel and moves very quickly with wings on her heels. The razor in her hand signifies that she quickly cuts off any impediments. The expression suggests the close relationship of *Occasio* to Atropos, one of the Three Fates, who cuts the thread of life. In the case of *Occasio*, what it represents both in the iconography of the picture and the lesson of the literary explanation 'have acquired either a passive stability by habituation or a rigid fixity by abstraction and stipulation'.²² The same can be said of the related personification of *Fortuna* and Nemesis with which *Occasio* is often found conflated. The personified figure of *Occasio*, however, does not usually appear alone. *Occasio* is only one

aspect of a more inclusive concept of Fortune, and it is difficult to conceive of *Occasio* without referring to *Fortuna*, and naturally the two became conflated not only in concept but in their iconography. Despite his very detailed descriptions, Ripa's 1593 edition is not illustrated, although subsequent editions were to acquire a wealth of illustrative materials. But the woodblock artist of Alciati's 1534 edition depicts her as a goddess, and although Alciati states in his epigram, following *the Greek Anthology*, that the statue stands in a civilized portico ('pergula aperta'), the artist puts *Occasio* on the sea, evidence that the conflation with Fortune was already taking place. [Fig. 2] There is a rich and various tradition of representations of the goddesses *Fortuna* and *Occasio* as we will observe, and this may be partly due to their development in popular forms of contemporary visual culture.

We still find the medieval Fortune in Renaissance iconography, but there are two types of the figure of Fortune which flourished in Italy from about 1460.²³ One is essentially derivative of antique Fortune, a Roman matron with a rudder and a cornucopia, usually preferred for medallions, sometimes with a Christian motto, 'deo duce, virtute comite, fortuna favente'. Sometimes God's head appears in a blazing sun, duly subordinating the 'favouring Fortune' to divine power. There is nothing specially Renaissance-like in the scheme except for an ostensible emphasis on individual ability or 'virtù. Then there is also a neo-mythical *Fortuna*, a young naked woman, initially distinguishable as Fortune solely by her attributes, but for all that, expressive of man's view of Fortune. This type of *Fortuna* is clearly intended to be an enigmatic figure; she appears standing on a shore, holding a sail or veil

swelling with the wind from the sea. One reason why she is accompanied by the nautical, seafaring images is that in contemporary Italian. 'Fortuna' meant not only 'chance' and 'wealth' but also 'storm'.²⁴ The image of the ancient *Venus marina* also influenced *Fortuna* so that she sometimes appears with a dolphin, standing on a horizontal wheel. Involved with all of this we should consider the increasing progress of Renaissance navigation and sea trade which brings man enormous wealth or loss as one of the reasons for the metaphorical connection of Fortune to ships, steering and storm. These two types of Fortune are conveniently given by Achille Bocchi in a single emblem [Fig. 3]

A further development of the medieval idea of Fortune can be seen in the image of Fortune as a divine agent whose task is to give punishment to the sinful. The emblem of Ixion's wheel is a good example of this type²⁵ [Fig. 4]. The traditional image of blind Fortune never ceased to be popular as well. One emblem shows a blind *Fortuna* leading a blind-folded man into a pit, reminding us of a popular proverb and the theme of a picture by Breughel²⁶ [Fig. 5]. Also based on a proverb is the picture of an expensive ring given to a hog, expressing the irresponsible and indiscriminate manner in which *Fortuna* bestows her gifts²⁷ [Fig. 6]. In this regard there is an interesting emblem which illustrates a crowned ape which has won the favour of *Fortuna*, showing how a man of ability does not always receive the favour of Fortune [Fig. 7]. The same idea is expressed in Guillaume de la Perrière's *Le Theatre des bons engines* (1539) where *Fortuna* rewards a sleeping man [Fig. 8]. The accompanying verse carries a sarcastic tone:

Plustost sera fortune fauorable
 A vng dormant: à vng roger bontemps.
 Qu'a vng esprit gentil & honorable,
 Qui trauaillé se sera cinquante ans.
 S'elle en a faict iadis de mal contens
 En cest estat, que fera desormes
 Quand elle estat, que fera desormes
 Quand elle met (plus que ne fait iamais)
 Biens & honneurs au filletz des doemart?
 Et si ne chasse (à present) pour tous mes,
 Que pour paillars, ydiotz ou gourmans.²⁸

The idea that Fortune's favour is given as a caprice was as popular in the Renaissance as in preceding ages.

As in the above examples, *Fortuna* in the emblem books appears more often with various related figures than as an independent figure, reflecting the strong interests and variety of Renaissance interpretations of Fortune. One of the well-known derivatives is the contrast of *Fortuna* and *Virtus*; blind Fortune as an enemy of Human Virtus is a traditional motif. The classical expression that *Fortuna* and *Virtus* seldom ('raro conveniunt') is explained, for example, in the *Mundus Symbolicus* (Cologne, 1694).²⁹ There are a number of emblems showing the defeated *Virtus* turning on the wheel of Fortune, just as Ixion is tortured on his wheel [Fig. 9]. On the other hand, there are some examples where *Virtus* overcomes *Fortuna*. Covarrubias Orozco describes *Virtus* controlling the wheel of Fortune³⁰ [Fig. 10]. Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612) tells the story of Lysimachus who

fought the lion in a den and was saved from a death sentence by Alexander [Fig. 11]. The verse comments on this episode as follows:

Which bold attempt, when ALEXANDER knew,
Thy life is thine, LYSIMACHVS quoth he,
Besides I giue, (as to thy valour due,)
My friendship here, my Scepter after me:
For thus the virtuous and the valiant spright,
Triumphes o're Fate, and Fortunes deadliest spite.³¹

Such examples of the rivalry between *Fortuna* and *Virtus* indicate that neither of them were thought to possess omnipotent power in the sublunary world.

The limitation of the power of Fortune, as expressed in the above emblems, leads to an iconography in which the two become partners in leading a man to success. This motif naturally emphasizes the ability of a man as well as the importance of being able to recognize the opportunity offered, in one's endeavour after success. La Perrière depicts the scene in which both blind-folded *Fortuna* and *Virtus* are crowning a man [Fig. 12] and in Ruscelli's *Imprese*, *Fortuna* so leads her sail while *Virtus* takes the rudder of a ship, to lead a man to success [Fig. 13]. The *Virtus* who collaborates with Fortune is also expressed in the figure of classical Mercury. The juxtaposition of the two figure is found in the Alciati emblem with the motto, 'Ars naturam adjuvans' (Art helping nature)³² [Fig. 14]. The effect produced by the collaboration of the two mythical figures is succinctly expressed in the symbols of the

cornucopia, the symbol of abundance for which the Roman *Fortuna* stood, and Mercury's caduceus, the symbol of prudence and eloquence.³³ Many examples of this emblem can be found³⁴ [Fig. 15]. The superiority of *Virtus* over *Fortuna* reaches the point where *Virtus* has the ability to alter bad fortune. In Bocchi's *Symbolicalum quaestionum... Libri Quinque* (Bologna, 1555), *Industria*, one important aspect of human *Virtus*, raises the drowning *Fortuna* from the sea [Fig. 16]. The emblem indeed implies that man himself is very much responsible for the fortune that befalls him. The idea of matching one's own ability and good fortune presupposes the ability to know the right time to act. The importance of catching opportunity became a subject as popular as that of Fortune's power over man, and in giving iconographical expression to this idea, the figures of Fortune and *Occasio* often became conflated. In fact in some cases, we can see by attributes that Fortune actually is identical to *Occasio*, even when the motto states specifically that the figure is Fortune³⁵ [Fig. 17]. The importance of catching opportunity is more often expressed in a dramatic emblem in which man tries to catch the fleeing *Occasio*, rather than by a static, statuesque personification. In Corrozet's emblem with the motto, 'L'ymage d'occasion', *Occasio* flees from her pursuer, accompanied by the following verse [Fig. 18]:

Haste toy bien tost d'attraper
L'occasion, quand el' s'avance:
Si tu la laisses eschapper
Tu en feras la penitence.³⁶

Van Veen, on the other hand, depicts a scene in which Opportunity is caught at the right moment. *Amor* holds *Occasio's* forelock, while *Occasio* submits and presents her cornucopia to *Amor*³⁷ [Fig. 19]. In Bocchi, one finds the most complex example of the emblem expressing the importance of seizing Opportunity and the doleful consequence of missing her [Fig. 20]. The inscription in the picture, motto and verse, clearly demonstrate the importance of not missing any given opportunity. The motto is 'Occasionem qui sapis ne amiseris' (you who are wise, do not miss your opportunity); and there is an inscription in the plate, 'ΓΝΩΘΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ' (know the time),³⁸ engraved on the pedestal of Ixion's wheel on which *Occasio* prostrates herself. This, along with the verse on the facing page, warns the reader against missing Opportunity, which quickly escapes and never returns. If a man misses the opportunity presented to him and falls into a miserable condition, it is his own fault, or his own inability to foresee the change of tide, and for this he must be blamed and punished. The emblem XVII of Jean Cousin depicts Father Time riding on a wheel, and the inscription and motto reads 'Fortunae sive Occasio Deus' (God of Fortune or Occasion) [Fig. 21]. This emblem is created out of the conflation of Fortune, *Occasio* and Time, and shows the flexibility of these figures in responding to various related ideas. The wheel in Bocchi's emblem, however, is closer to Ixion's wheel than to Fortune's, if we judge by the posture of the figure riding it. Ixion's wheel is customarily associated with the image of never-ending punishment caused by his own sin. In this, it is like the mythological emblems of Sisyphus, Tantalus or Tityus. George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (London, 1635) contains an

emblem, after Rollenhagen, of Ixion's wheel [Fig. 9]. A man is being tortured on the wheel while in the background various wicked acts done by the tortured man are depicted to demonstrate that he is responsible for his own punishment, because of the deeds he has committed. In Bocchi's emblem, the idea of just punishment implied by the wheel indicates that man is indeed responsible for the bad turn of his fortune caused by his missed Opportunity. The emblem draws our attention not only to the importance of catching opportunity but also to the lamentable results of missing it. This central concept of opportunity is retained when emblems by both Catholic and Protestant writers began to assert religious teachings. As we shall see in the next section, religious emblem books enjoyed the greater popularity in England from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Though Fortune is utterly discarded and devalued in many religious emblems, *Occasio* when used by a Jesuit writer, still shows her central classical moral, though it is transposed to a religious context: once past, she never comes again. In order to trace the adaptation of the *Occasio* figure in religious emblems, it is important to place it in the context of the meditative tradition. The Ignatian or Jesuit method of meditation exerted a strong influence on the development of Protestant meditation during the first half of the seventeenth century in England.

II. *Occasio* in Religious Emblem Books

By the middle of the sixteenth century, emblems began to address the various social and religious shifts which characterized the age. In fact, emblem writers such as Barthélemy Aneau, Théodore de Bèze, Guillaume Guérroult, Joachim Camerarius, and the Englishmen, Andrew Willet and Thomas Jenner, were not only humanists but active Protestant reformers. One might add, too, that the printer and bookseller, who did much to promote the publication of emblems in the Low Countries, Christopher Plantin, was, in all likelihood a Familist. Classical scholarship, which prioritized a return to the primary sources, continuously undermined papal authority. Translations of the Bible into vernacular languages was one result of this endeavour. The Navarre court was in the middle of the anti-Catholic movement, and there the (arguably) first religious emblem book, Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes, ou devices christiennes* (Lyons, 1571) appeared. Her work cannot be considered apart from the contemporary destabilizing and brutal religious civil war. Naturally her Calvinistic faith praises God's glory towards His chosen people, her fellow Huguenots.³⁹ Though her aim is doubtlessly to express religious conviction, when she expressed her debt to Alciati in her dedicatory epistle, she affirms the close bond between the verbal and the visual in Renaissance emblems:

Alciat feit des Emblemes exquis,
Lesquels voyant de plesieurs requis,
Desir me prit de commencer les miens

Lesquels je croy ester premier(s) chrestiens.⁴⁰

Her emblems can be related to the moralistic strain of the emblem tradition; however, she announces a motif which was to influence other religious emblem books. In her Emblem 45 a cherubic figure first represents Divine Love. Later, with the child-like figure of Anima, these 'dolls for the spirit', as Praz termed them, came to be used by both Jesuit and Protestant writers. The repeated suffering of the Protestants in the religious war led her to work with emblems to prove the spiritual corruption of the Catholic Church with the emphasis on the delusion of the eyes upon which papal authority depends. In her emblem 93, the engraving shows a putto urinating into a fountain, however, the motto, 'converte oculos' then warns us not to be deluded by sensuous images. Telling us not to see the sensible world as it is but to see the intelligible world of faith, sometimes destructive scenes are shown; for example, in her emblem 31, God's hand with a shuttlecock demolishes the wheel of Fortune at one blow [Fig. 22], and in her emblem 58, He blows down the proud oak. In the humanists' emblems of Fortune there is often an emphasis on man's ability to control his own fate. In Montenay Fortune is not represented as a capricious Goddess who accidentally bestows adversities on men, but teaches us that any adversities are directly given by God as trials to be endured. God operates directly on all sublunary affairs, and there is no agent who intervenes between men and God. Neither Fortune nor *Occasio* can work because 'all chances are governed by the secret control of God'.⁴¹ He is always watchful and controls this world; this explains why there are

comparatively few representations of Fortune and *Occasio* in religious emblems.

Such iconoclastic features in her emblems are often noted as a characteristic of Protestant emblems,⁴² but as Höltgen has pointed out, however zealously the Protestant writers warned against the dangers of idolatry and mystical ecstasy in Jesuit sacred emblems, their aim was to use emblems as aids to spiritual life in much the same way as the Jesuit writers they criticized.⁴³ All emblem writers are Christians, and we find that many humanistic emblems have a religious purposes, especially those designed to aid meditation. Discussing the religious adaptation of humanistic emblems, we must repeat the common understanding that both emblem and meditation are dependent on the three faculties of the rational soul: memory, understanding, and will. These are also used in Ignatian meditation, which especially in England, was adapted to Protestant meditation by Joseph Hall. His method of meditation had a great impact on religious emblems in England.

In England, it is not the Calvinistic Montenay but the Jesuit Herman Hugo whose works had the strongest influence upon the reception of religious emblem literature. Otto van Veen transformed the secular Cupid of his *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608) into Amor Divinus and Anima in his *Amoris Divini Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1615). Hugo developed this theme. The cherubic figures of Divine Love and Anima play out various scenes in his religious emblems of *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624). This is one of the two sources for Quarles's *Emblemes* (London, 1635), which went on to be republished many times through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and were revived in the Victorian era, to become the

most popular and most reprinted English emblem book. Hugo divided his book into three parts, which correspond to the three stages of spiritual progress—Purgation, Illumination and Union. Further, Hugo's organization of each emblem follows the Ignatian method of meditation. The picture provides material for a composition loci, which is supported by a Biblical text at the head of the verses, which direct the senses to the object or idea to be contemplated; this is followed by the analysis, where the theological meaning is explored; finally comes the colloquium, where the soul determines in its will to draw near to union with the Divine. Quotations from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church finally support the meditation.⁴⁴ Quarles follows not only the material, but the structure of Hugo's emblems. Both authors use emblems to support a religious exercise in which our physical eyes are taught to see through spiritual eyes. Furthermore, Quarles's works are deeply influenced by the 'art of meditation', which Joseph Hall established. The purpose of Quarles's verse is to give a reader the chance to practice meditative exercises.⁴⁵ Hall's method of meditation helps us to understand the development of the devotional emblems in seventeenth-century England.⁴⁶ To a great extent emblems influenced Hall. This view has been supported by many scholars since Richard McCabe pointed out the influence of emblematisers such as Father Cats on Hall.⁴⁷ Not only Cats, but Hall read the Flemish Jesuit, Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus* (1601) and *Occasio Arrepta Neglecta* (1605) in Moretus' bookshop in Antwerp when he visited it on his 1605 tour of the Low Countries.⁴⁸ Especially, David's large religious work featuring *Occasio* is significant, because his *Occasio* is the best example of how the

classical figure of Opportunity becomes religiously transformed as a guide to conversion as I will discuss later.

Hall identified two categories of meditation; occasional and deliberate. It is his *Occasional Meditation* (London, 1633) that is more closely related to emblems. Occasional meditation, popularized by Hall in England, actually means 'meditation on a naturally occurring, everyday occasion'. It was to be engaged in daily and was distinguished from regular meditation by its focus on a creature as a subject rather than on a biblical text or a spiritual idea. Starting from the natural realm, one looks for parallels in the spiritual domain, and that most of the Occasional Meditations begin by describing an emblematic image and end in a little homily. These one hundred and forty brief Occasional Meditations include not only creatures such as birds, animals, flowers, and the rain, but man-made objects, for example, a lute. Above all, there are various occasions taken from everyday life; a court trial, a wedding, or music at night becomes an occasion for meditating on God. No. XXXIV, 'Upon the sight of a Fly Burning Itself in the Candle', revives a common emblem topos, which often serves as a warning to a lustful man in danger of destroying himself because of his attraction to the beauty of a woman. But this secular moral in Hall's hands changes to a different warning, as he prays that he may enjoy 'Thy light that I may avoid Thy fire'. This is an admonishment that one should be humble so as not to incur God's anger. There is no illustration as such, but at the outset he describes the object to begin the meditation. Something must first be impressed upon the mind. He then explains what meanings the proffered object has, according to the sacred text. Finally, he sums

up his homily by giving a Christian a useful lesson on which to meditate. This process broadly corresponds to the Jesuit order of meditation, and shows how clearly the emblem and the meditative tradition interact. The emblematic image, which forms the basis of the following moralizing verse, is common to both traditions. Hugo's *Pia Desideria* was used as an aid to meditation not only in England, but in Germany and its pictures were placed in Lutheran churches as aids to meditation.⁴⁹ The visual element serves as an aid towards impressing the teaching of the verse on the memory, even though the image described sometimes turns away from its familiar meaning.

The three steps of the standard Catholic order of meditation can be responsible for Hall's method as well as Quarles's emblems. The Jesuit order of meditation first recommends the composition of place (composition loci), a visual scene drawn from memory or imagination. The icon of the devotional emblem acts as the equivalent of the composition loci of the meditation. The analysis, the second part of the meditation, corresponds to the explanatory poem, and the third part, the colloquium to the final epigram of his emblems. Emblem pictures work as 'mementos', which give readers a stimulus to recollect the spiritual and unseen, without giving them a stimulus to delight in the physical, offering a way of bringing home the truths of doctrine to the individual soul. But the pictures sometimes are not relevant to their motto and verse, which suggests to the reader the distinction between a sign and the things it represents in the emblems.⁵⁰ The readers must find the resemblance and analogous relationship in the disparate words and pictures of emblems, because as Calvin believes, God expresses his

covenant with men visually, in 'signs', 'as a reminder' of his promises, and he defines a sacrament as an 'outward sign' to exercise us in the resemblance of Christ. The idea that emblematic signs were used in the Bible and that the language of emblems is based on a divine prototype is established most forcibly in the preface of E. M.'s *Ashrea*: he suggests that God practiced the art of memory when he created the rainbow as a memory-place of the new Covenant.⁵¹ Man knows the spiritual through resemblance and analogy. Though Protestant devotion lays less emphasis on the materiality of the sign compared with the Jesuit exercises,⁵² the image should be a mental representation seen by 'the eye of the soul'. Through this process man can approach unseen truth by the aid of visual images.

In the light of the Protestant reforms in theology and the close relationship between meditative practice and devotional emblem, we can review their treatments of *Fortuna* and *Occasio*. As has been pointed out, Renaissance Protestants are different from many Christian thinkers in earlier centuries in their denial that God acts through intermediaries. Their idea was that God alone supervises all activity in the cosmos. Protestant thinkers deny that Fortune is the executrix of providence, and that Fortune is the embodiment of contingency. Nothing happens fortuitously.⁵³ Calvin's catalogue of misfortunes well explains the absoluteness of God's direction in this world:

If a man light among theves, or wylde beasts, if by wynde sodenly rysen he suffer shypwrack on the sea, if he be kylled wyth the fall of a house or of a tree: if an other

wandryng in deserte places finde remedy for hys povertie, if having been tossed with the waves, he attaine to the haven, if miraculously he escape but a fynger bredth from death: all these chaunces as well of prosperitie as of adversitie the reason of the fleshe doeth ascribe to fortune. But whosoever is taught by the mouth of Chryst, that all the heares of hys hed are numbred, will seke for a cause further of, and wyll fymelye beleve that all chaunces are governed by the secrete councill of God.⁵⁴

According to Calvin, even though human experiences teach us that divine justice and Fortune are incompatible, 'his providence so ordreth all thynges that nothing chaunceth but by advised purpose'.⁵⁵ Chance is only an illusion, and Fortune a personification born of man's ignorance as Augustine claims. Calvin develops Augustine's attitude to purge the operation of Fortune to whom man attributes his material gains or loss.

Fortune and *Occasio* are among the most frequent themes in the earlier humanist emblem books, but Renaissance Protestants especially Calvinists emphasize the gap between chance which Fortune provides, and divine design. The optimistic view toward human virtue implies man's ability to control his fortune by seizing it at the right moment. Here Fortune is almost conflated with *Occasio*. With the progress of the Reformation, emblems are adopted according to religious purposes both by Jesuits and Reformers. They well understood the effect of the combination of visual image and the explanatory verse of the emblem, and used it positively. Yet their aim is to assert their religious convictions, and

however much they use the earlier emblems, the visual will be less important than the word of God. Such being the case, the *Occasio* in Andrew Willet has little relationship to the classical *Occasio*. Willet's *Emblemata Sacrorum Centuria Una* (1592) is the first of the English sacred emblems though they have no pictures. Willet follows Whitney's classification of emblems (moral, historical, and natural), and his 'historical emblems' draw upon the historical books of the Old Testament. For him, we create God's meanings, and we can only recognize them. His way of making emblems is based on typological thinking. As Michael Bath pointed out, typology, which is strictly speaking the foreshadowing of the New Testament, was often not distinguished from allegory, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the two terms are commonly used as synonyms. So most of his emblems, consisting of a Latin motto or title, a scriptural reference, and verses in Latin with English translations are quite indistinguishable from biblical verse-paraphrase.⁵⁶ Willet actually knows the emblem as a literary genre, for he expresses his debt to Whitney, but interprets the text as a Protestant, for example, in no. 41 of his emblem, 'Post hac occasio calva' (After the event, luck is bald). The motto evokes the classical figure of the partially bald *Occasio*, who must be proverbially seized by the forelock. The text, however, is Exodus 16, where the Israelites neglect to collect all God's manna in the evening, only to find that it is decayed by morning. The 'luck' referred to is not secular but sacred: we must lay hold on salvation whilst it is on offer.⁵⁷ The 'calva', which means a bald in the Latin motto suggests some humanist emblems, in which Fortune's favourite is enjoined to be bold and decisive. To gain profit from the capricious

Goddess, one must act to seize the right moment, because *Occasio* is bald behind. Only those who are resolute and bold can succeed. This earlier humanistic view is superseded by the Protestant doctrine of salvation. Religious emblems often show Fortune in a negative light, but, as I shall explain, sometimes *Occasio* is utilized by religious emblem writers to teach how important it is to seize the moment of conversion before the Judgment Day.

Another example showing the process how humanistic emblems are converted to religious one is shown in Edmund Arwaker's English translation of *Pia Desideria*. He adopts Hugo's Jesuit meditative approach, and his translation is more faithful than Quarles'. As he generally simplifies the original verse, he usually omits Hugo's classical allusions. Book I, Chapter 4 of Hugo is a good example of the way Arwaker changes the classical stock of meaning for his religious purpose. The illustration depicts Anima drawing the wheel in endless motion [Fig. 23]. The wheel is Ixion's, who symbolizes eternal punishment for sin, as in Wither (*A Collection of Emblemes*, p. 69). Wither uses the picture of Ixion's wheel as a stimulus to introspection and amendment. In the accompanying verse, the wicked man must repent his sin so as not to be racked by the pain of conscience. The background in the picture shows a scene of manslaughter on the left, and a gallows on the hill on the right. His emblem is a moral and practical one, but at the same time, it is designed for individual self-analysis. He describes, for example, Fortune who is turning her wheel with the spike in no. 16. A man falling down on the wheel represents her fickle nature and the ignorance of man, while the eagle that carries the true Christian shows the path of virtue, which a man should

follow. He uses the general moral conflict between Fortune and Virtue, but it is significant to note that emblem is used not only for moral instruction, but applied as a stimulus to meditate on Christian virtue. Wither also describes the Wheel design, or a lottery-dial and movable pointers at the end path. As Bath points out, Wither must have known Jan David's similar lottery-dial.⁵⁸ It suggests an uneasiness over the unstable relationship between a picture and an emblem verse. That is, one symbol quite possibly carries several meanings, so emblem is a kind of lottery whose significance is determined by the reader. All of the emblem writers probably felt this doubtfulness over emblems, though the issue is not so complicated in religious emblems because whether the writer is Catholic or Protestant, his aim in composing an emblem is to give a devotional exercise to the reader. It is needless to say that a wheel is one of the most important attributes of both *Fortuna* and *Occasio*, which is shown in both humanistic and religious emblems. The primary meaning of their wheels in most humanistic emblems is inconsistency or instability, but the wheel of Ixion represents eternal punishment. Like the wheel which the medieval figure of *Fortuna* turns, the wheel on which Ixion is attached cannot be stopped or turned back. It suggests man's submission to God. Its mechanical and everlasting turning signals the eternity of hell. The torture must continue until the wicked man repents his sin.

If hell is eternal, whether the wicked man takes the opportunity of conversion becomes all the more crucial. In the medieval world, *Fortuna* is an agent of God and primarily his instrument of Divine Providence. Her power is thus limited and there is little room for man to utilize his free will to control his fortune. But the

Renaissance view of *Fortuna* becomes more optimistic mainly due to contemporary humanistic movements. It shares her essential capriciousness with the medieval *Fortuna*, but allows man to control his fate by using his ability to take an opportunity. A man who is conscious of the opportunity to come, and bold enough to catch it could keep his success without experiencing a corresponding fall. Such an idea attests to the great popularity of *Occasio* during the Renaissance, and *Occasio* is not discarded but adopted by a Jesuit emblem writer.

It was Father Jan David who radically adopted her arbitrariness in his *Occasio Arrepta Neglecta* (Antwerp, 1605). As Praz wrote in his monumental work, thanks to their didactic properties, emblems became one of the Society of Jesus' favourite weapons of propaganda.⁵⁹ Many Jesuit writers composed emblem books to extract a moral lesson from a picture which led the reader to meditate on God. The ultimate goal of David's book is also the conversion of the reader, and 'Occasio' in the title means not a chance for material or political success, but a chance for spiritual gain, purifying love for God. The beautiful engravings are Theodore Galle, and he describes twelve dramatic scenes showing the advantage of seizing *Occasio* and the disadvantage of failing to do so. Time and Faith also teach a lesson on how one should not miss the opportunity for penitence. The figure of *Occasio* is shown not as a classical goddess but as a bald old man-like figure with a beard who puts on a long robe like a priest. In Plate One, she is juxtaposed with Time, suggesting the two are of equal status. Although the figure looks like a man, it is referred to as 'she', and she holds in her right hand a crucifix, the dove of the Holy Spirit,

the martyr's palm, a rosary, holy oil (emblems of salvation), while in her left she holds a globe, a laurel branch, a book, and a crown (symbols of the secular world) [Fig. 24] *Occasio* is no longer a companion of *Fortuna*, but a proponent of the Christian life. She is represented according to the iconography of representations of *Fides* in many contemporary religious illustrations. Nothing suggests her affinity with Fortune: she is not shown with the sea, nor does she hold a sail, nor does she go naked. There is neither a wheel, a razor nor winged sandals to symbolize her swift movement. The figure of Time shown next to *Occasio* is similarly not the traditional Time which bears all sublunary things to decay. As Wittkower pointed out, Time in this book can be interpreted as Eternity, which leads men to heaven by aid of *Occasio*.⁶⁰ In humanist emblem books, *Occasio* is sometimes identified with Time, because both are never redeemable if once past. This kind of time, the linear series by the moment of Time, or *chronos* is contrasted with a circular, endless Time, or *kairos*. In David's work, the distinction between *Occasio* and Time becomes clear. Here, Time becomes eternal and blessed when one grasps Opportunity; once caught, it never can slip away so long as one keeps the faith.

Occasio Arrepta Neglecta is the second emblem book by Jan David, rector of the Ghent college, who is called the father of the Southern Netherlands Jesuit emblem literature, translated his *Christeliicken Waersegher* (1602) into *Latin as Veridicus Christianus* (1601) at the request of Moretus.⁶¹ This book is an emblematic handbook for the young to teach them the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith, and contains in several places plays and songs. In *Occasio Arrepta Neglecta*, there are twelve emblematic

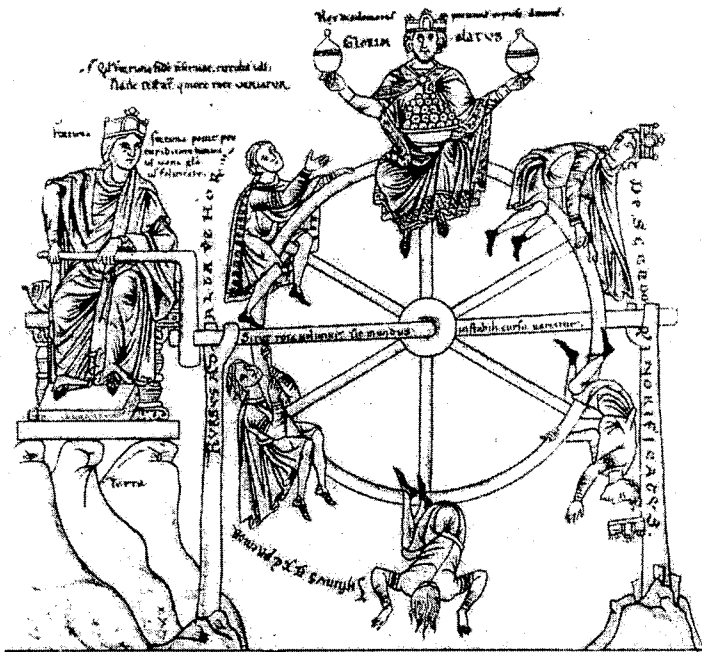
illustrations and attached to each are dramatic conversations, which elucidate them. These are designed to give instruction to the young. Twelve illustrations offer the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins, in this case admittedly transformed into intelligent and stupid boys. The stupid boys in Plates 4, 8, 9–12 are negligent in catching their opportunity for conversion, and they finally fall into hell as a consequence. On the other hand, the intelligent boys accept their opportunity in Plate 6 and catch her in Plate 7. They become good Christians [figs 25 and 26]. The book is a large one, full of quotations and commentaries from classical literature and the scriptures. *Occasio* is described as ‘virtuous’ many times in the text, and she represents a beneficial medium between this world and the afterlife. To use her in one’s meditative exercises is a primal duty of a good Christian, and she never rewards the unworthy. Missing the Opportunity deserves ‘poena’ (retribution, loss).⁶² The rich connotations of the humanistic *Occasio* are lost as a result of this religious adaptation. There is a play based on these plates, where the figures in the emblem illustrations turn up as characters in the play. Presenting a sequence of the emblems on stage would have attracted the young in the colleges and the catechism schools in the city. David’s book is one of the many educational emblem books for the young, and indicates how emblems contributed to religious teaching in Jesuit colleges. The combination of the visual and the verbal was well and widely utilized in the field of education.

Such affinity between the emblem and theatrical performance is naturally based on the admitted power of the visual combined with the verbal, and it is the power of the visual Joseph Hall uses for his

method of occasional meditation. Hall, reading David's book in 1605, must have been impressed by the figure of *Occasio*, and utilizes it to further his plan to revive the practice of meditation for English Protestants. There is no better representation of *Occasio* in religious emblem books than Jan David's, and in his hands the Renaissance *Occasio* is transformed into an opportunity for meditating on the unseen. *Occasio* is sanctified just as the Cupid of secular love emblem books became Divine Love in sacred emblem books.

Conclusion

The changing iconography of *Fortuna* and *Occasio* reflects a change of perspective concerning the relationship of the individual to external circumstances. There was a new emphasis on the practical and moral importance of the idea of golden opportunity. At the same time, the inexorable power of Fortune becomes limited to the extent that she in fact helps the individual to attain worldly success with boldness and industry. Along with the drastic change made by the religious emblem writers, the goddesses' controlling power in the secular world seems to have diminished. However, since *Occasio* is religiously transformed, the concept keeps its popularity in devotional emblems. She appears as an opportunity to become a good Christian through the practice of meditation. She loses her essential fickleness which gives rise to her conflation with *Fortuna*. While Fortune is allowed no room to govern world affairs because God alone administers, *Occasio* cunningly survives in the religious emblems by Jan David. Those who are diligent in seizing her forelock never fail to exercise love for God, while those who are negligent to seize her meet retribution. *Occasio* becomes one of the virtuous figures who has a retributive nature, and an intermediary who meditates between man and heaven. The pagan Goddess is not only a variant figure of the worldly *Fortuna*, but a religiously adopted figure of Chance for conversion.



1. Herrade de Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, f. 215

in occasionem.



2. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Paris, 1534), p. 20



3. Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum... Libri quinque* (Bologna: apud Societatem Typographiae Bononiensis, 1574), symb. XXIII.



4. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London, 1635), p. 69



5. Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engins* (Paris, 1539), no. XX



6. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London, 1635), p. 224



7. Otto van Veen, *Emblemata Horatiana* (Antwerp, 1607), p. 155



8. Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engins* (Paris, 1539), no. XXIX



9. Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum selectissimorum* (Cologne, 1611), I, 6



10. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas Morales* (Madrid, 1610)

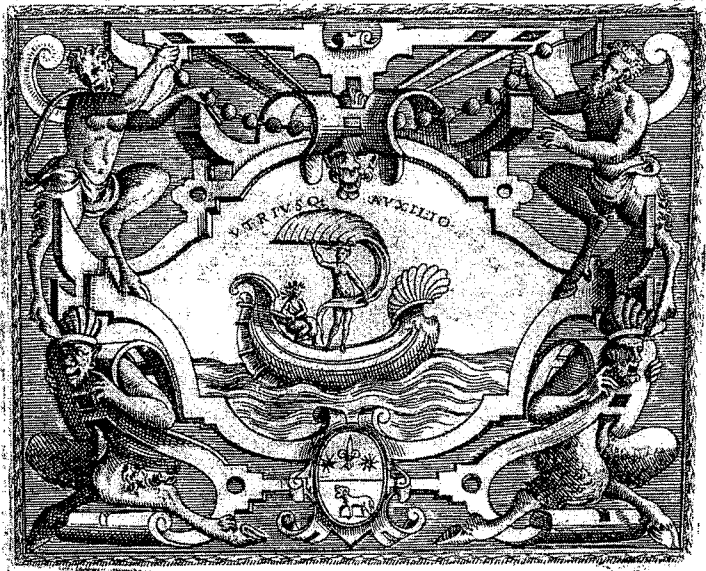
Sic audaces fortuna.



11. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia* (London, 1612), p. 143



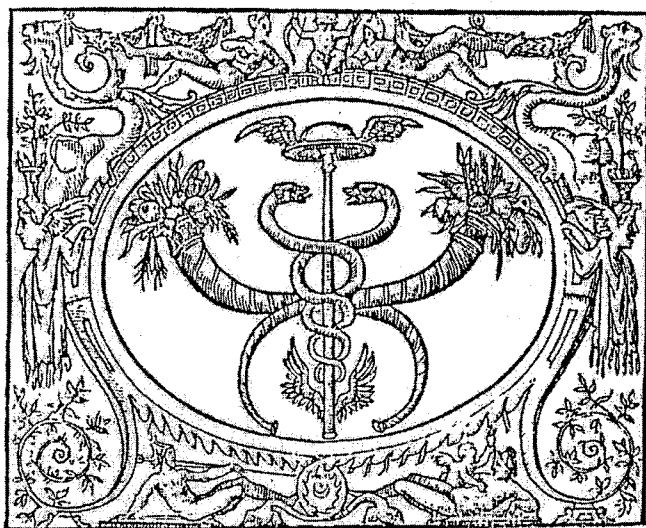
12. Guillaume de la Perrière, *La morosophie* (Lyons, 1553), pl. 68



13. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le Imprese illustri del S. or Ieronimo Ruscelli* (Venice, 1584), p. 449.



14. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (Venice, 1546), p. 42



15. Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'Imprese millitari et amorse* (Lyons, 1559), p. 136



16. Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum... Libri quinque* (Bologna: apud Societatem Typographiae Bononiensis, 1574), symb. LI.

*Ne refusons Fortune, quand à
nous se presente.*



17. Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engins* (Lyons, 1549), pl. LXIII



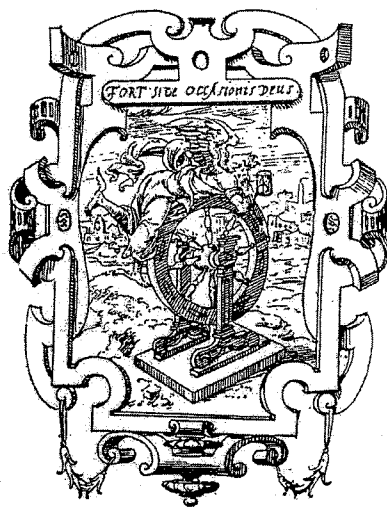
18. Gilles Corrozet, *L'Hecatographie* (1554) H. 83



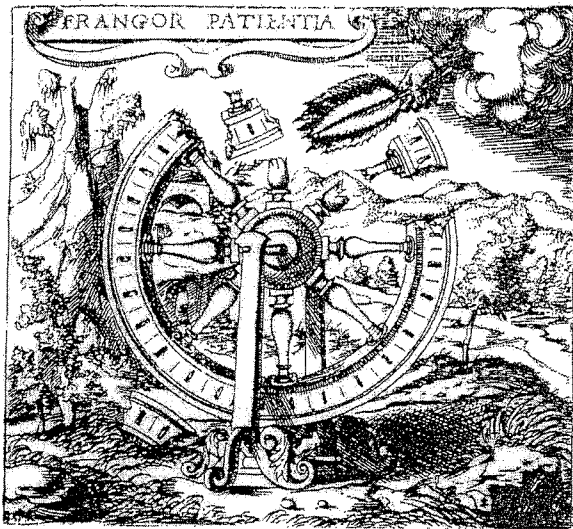
19. Otto van Veen, *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp: Venalia apud Auctorem, 1608), p. 175.



20. Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum... Libri Quinque* (Bologna: apud Societatem Typographiae, 1574), symb. LXXI.



21. Jean Cousin, *Liber Fortunae* (1568), no. XVII



22. Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyons, 1571), no. 31



Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte

23. Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), I, 4

TEMPVS ET OCCASIO SVA EXPLICANT MYNIA. 1.



- A. *TEMPVS* ego, sine quo nihil est quodcumq; creatum est.
 Me sine nec caelum, neq; caelo sidera, nec sol
 Aureus irradiant: sine me, nec terra, nec aquor,
 Et quidquid vasta Mundi compage tenetur,
 Existant: Sed enim, per me, velut omnia constant;
 Omnia sic rursum, per me, revoluta labascunt.
- B. *ILLA* ego, qua prisco *OCCASIO* cognita Seclis.
 Me quicumque catus non fas tidiuit, amico
 Sed vultu acceptam tenuit, mandata capessens;
 Ille sibi, compos voti, decora ample paravit.

24. Jan David, *Occasio arrepta, neglecta, huius commoda, illius incommoda*
 (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1605). pl. 1



- A. En tibi, care, mei magnum in te pignus amoris.
 Hoc si sollicitè serues, et noueris uti;
 Magnus eris quondam. B. Grates ago Nympha petremes.
 C. O præstans domum, dono præ tantius omni.
 D. In pretio sunt dona tibi: acm utere iuxta
 Numinis instructum, et Ductorum iussa tuarum.
 E. Scire volo ad quantas OCCASIO ducat honores.
 F. Quilibet ergo suo fruegatur munere. G. Faxio.
 H. Ne dubita; mens ista mea est, mens ista meorum.
 I. Angele, sic nos imis vique insidiabere lucris?

25. Jan David, *Occasio arrepta, neglecta, huius commoda, illius incommoda*
 (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1605) pl. 6

DE TEMPORE LABITUR, OCCASIONE FRONTE CAPILLATA REMORATA. 7.



- A. Nunc opus est alios Terrarum inuisere tractus,
Et Iuvenes alios Mœniti vos ergo valete.
- B. Quis subitæ calor iste fuga? C. Quis si fuga tandem
Certa tibi est; pennis saltem Dea calua fugaces
Syltat adhuc. D. Cur tot nequidquam verba per iuras
Perditis? hunc alio, mora nulla, recado; valete.
- E. Aufugiat? sparsos potius pro fronte capillos
Arripite. D. At sine, sponte sequar; vestrisq; morabor
Ectibus, ad us tam donec perduxero metam.
- F. Laudo animos, nam vi cogi Dea gaudet amica.

26. Jan David, *Occasio arrepta, neglecta, huius commoda, illius incommoda*
(Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1605) pl. 7

NOTES

1. H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927; repr. New York: Octagon, 1974); F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 168–222. For a fuller list of standard works on Medieval and Renaissance Fortune, see F. Kiefer, *Fortune and Elizabethan Tragedy* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1983), p. 24, n. 5.
2. *Laws*, trans. by R. G. Bury (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), I, 269–71, quoted in Kiefer, *Fortune and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 197.
3. E. Wind, 'Platonic Tyranny and the Renaissance Fortuna: On Ficino's Reading of *Laws* IV, 709A–712A', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, 2 vols., ed. by M. Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), I, 491–96 (p. 492).
4. The most detailed account is found in H. F. Pitkin, *Fortune Is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).
5. Ch. 6 in *Machiavelli: the Chief Works and Others*, trans. by A. H. Gilbert, 3 vols. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1965), I, 25. see also *History of Florence*, III. 13, in Gilbert, III, 1160.
6. For more details, see John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), p. 48.
7. Cf. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. J. Balteau et al, 18 vols. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1933), I, p. 1330–33.
8. Charles Moseley, *A Century of Emblems: An Introductory Anthology* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 40. A. O. Lewis, 'Emblem Books

- and English Drama: A Preliminary Survey 1581-1600' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Pennsylvania State College, 1951), p. 45.
9. R. D. Sterns, 'A Survey of French Emblem Literature (1536-1600)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1968), pp. 79-83.
 10. A. O. Lewis in his *Emblem Books and English Drama*, pp. 38-39 assumes Alciati's close link with Horapollo because Alciati studied in Bologna when Filippo Fasanini, the Latin translator of the *Hieroglyphica* (1571) was there.
 11. See Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem* (Tronto: University of Tronto Press, 1979), pp. 11-21.
 12. Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1964-74), I, p. 23.
 13. For the general survey of the scholarship, see Daly, *Emblem Theory: Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre* (Nendeln: Klaus, 1979).
 14. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le Imprese illustri...* (Venice, 1584), pp. 12-14.
 15. R. J. Clements, 'Literary Quarrels and Cavils: A Theme of Renaissance Emblem Books', *MLN*, 70 (1955), 549-58 (p. 556).
 16. Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560-1620* (Lemington Spa: James Hall, 1981), p. 35.
 17. R. J. Clements, *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960), pp. 71-72.
 18. Clements, *Picta Poesis*, p. 75.
 19. Bishop Pilkington, Thame School, *Preces* (1578), sheet two in the British Museum copy quoted in T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), I, 351-52. 'But Probably the painted figure moves you

more,/ and just as to clear-sighted witness, the vivid/ form of colour more quickly induces belief than many poems./ For indeed your well-known lyric poet wrote:/ more slowly they provoke dejected spirits through ears/ than those that are placed under faithful eyes. In such wise/ are precisely what Emblems say to your eyes.' (my translation).

20. *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, V. v. *The Advancement of Learning*, trans. by G. W. Kitchin (London: Dent, n.d.), p. 136.
21. J. A. Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, introd. by J. Brown (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967).
22. Philip Wheelwright, *Metaphor and Reality* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1962), p. 22, quoted in Sterns, 'A Survey of French Emblem Literature', p. 153.
23. Pickering, *Literature and Art*, pp. 219-30.
24. Pitkin, *Fortune Is a Woman*, p. 141.
25. The motif of man turning Ixion's wheel is found in George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635), with an Introduction by R. Freeman (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), p. 69. For other examples, see L. Galactros de Boissier, 'Images emblématique de la Fortune: éléments d'une typologie' in *L'Emblème à la Renaissance*, ed. by Y. Giraud (Paris: S.E.D.E.S., 1982), pp. 79-125, especially fig. 37. A similar idea is expressed with an analogy of tennis ball in Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612), *EE* 407 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1971), p. 113.
26. Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engines* (1539), introd. by Alison Saunders (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1964), no. XX. The parable of the blind (Tilley B453: Morris P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann

- Arbor, ML: Michigan University Press, 1950) is reminiscent of Pieter Breughel's picture on the same theme (1568) in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.
27. Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes*, p. 224. Cf. de Boissier, fig. 28.
 28. *Le Theatre des bons engines*, no. xxix: 'Fortune will be rather favourable/ to a sleeping man, to a care-free person/ than to a man with gentle and honorable spirit/ who toils for fifty years./ If she has once put a malcontent/ to such state, what will one do in the future/ when she puts (more often than ever) wealth and honour in the sleeping man's net?/ And chase away all now,/ for rioters, fools and gluttons.' (my translation). A similar idea is expressed, with the image of a net, in Claude Paradin, *Les Devises heroïques* (Antwerp, 1567), p. 161.
 29. Filippo Picinelli, *Mundus Symbolicus* (Cologne, 1964), ed. by August Erath, *The Renaissance and the Gods* 33, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1976), I, p. 155.
 30. Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), p. 1552; de Boissier, fig. 36; Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes*, p. 6. The same idea is expressed in the emblem with motto: 'fortuna virtutem superans' in *Andrea Alciati, Emblematum Fontes Quatuor*, ed. Henry Green (London: Holbein Society, 1870), 1531 ed. sig. C1; Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices* (Leyden, 1586) with an Introduction by John Manning (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 70.
 31. Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 143. A similar idea is expressed in de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engines*, no. xxviii.
 32. de Boissier, figs. 23, 43-44; Henkel and Schöne, p. 1802.

33. de Boissiers, p. 97.
34. Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus*, 1531 ed., sig. B1, 1534 ed., p. 22; *The Mirrovr of Maiestie*, ed. H. Green & J. Croston (London, 1870), pl. 30; Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes*, pp. 9, 88; Paolo Giovio, *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Jovius* (1585), introd. by N. K. Farmer (Delmar, NY: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1976), p. 136. The motif is as a printer's device; see R. B. Mckerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1913), nos. 273-74. It appears with the figure of *Occasio* and in Cartari's *Imagines deorum* (Lyons, 1581) as is pointed out in Noel Purdon, *The Words of Mercury: Shakespeare and English Mythology of the Renaissance* (Salzburg: Institut für englische Sprache und Literatur, 1974), pl. XVII.
35. De Boissiers, fig. 44; Frederick Kiefer, 'The Conflation of Fortuna and Occasio in Renaissance Thought and Iconography', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1979), 1-27, fig. 6; S. C. Chew, 'Time and Fortune', *Journal of English Literary History*, 6 (1939), 83-113 (p. 104) also refers to Theodore Galle's engraving of the triumph of Patience in which the captive *Fortuna* is depicted with a razor.
36. Kiefer, 'The conflation of Fortuna and Occasio', fig. 8: 'You better haste to catch/ Occasion when she passes:/ if you let her escape,/ you will do penance for it' (my translation).
37. Otto van Veen (Vaenius), *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608) with introd. by Karel Portman (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), p. 175.
38. Erasmus comments on 'Nosce tempus' in connection with the idea of opportunity as follows: 'Know tyme. Opportunitie is of such force that of honest it maketh vn honest, of damage auantage, of pleasure

greuance, of a good turne a shrewd turne, & contrarye wyse of vn honest honest, of auantage damage, and brefly to conclude it cleane chaungeth the nature of thynges. This opportunitie or occasion (for so also ye may cal it) in auenturyng and finishyng a busyness: doubtless beareth the chiefe stroke, so that not without good skylle the paynymys of olde tyme counted it a diuine thyng' (*Proverbes or Adagies* [London, 1539], EE 124 [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969], fol. Xxiiiij).

39. For the close relationship between Montaney and the contemporary religious war, see Chapter 2 of Régine Reynolds-Cornell, *Witnessing an Era: Georgette de Montenay and the Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Birmingham: Summa Publications, 1987).
40. Georgette de Montenay, *Les Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes 1571*, ed. by John Horden with introductory note by C. N. Smith, Continental Emblem Books 15 (Menston: Scolar Press, 1973).
41. Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, trans. by [Thomas Norton] (London, 1561), 1.16.2, quoted in R. M. Frye, *The Renaissance Hamlet: Issues and Responses in 1600* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 255.
42. See Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), chap. 4.
43. Karl Josef Höltgen, 'Emblem and Meditation: Some English Emblem Books and Their Jesuit Models', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 18 (1992), 55-91 (p. 65).
44. Charles Moseley, *A Century of Emblems: An Introductory Anthology*, p. 167.
45. For the relationship between Quarles and meditation, see Höltgen,

- Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1986), ch. 1.
46. For Hall's influence, see Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), pp. 160–66.
 47. R. A. McCabe, *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), pp. 150–52. More scholars are fully cited in D. C. Mantz, S. E. Garner and E. M. Ramsden, 'The Benefit of an Image, Without the Offence: Anglo-Dutch Emblematics and Hall's Liberation of the Lyric Soul' in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 254, n. 7.
 48. D. C. Mentz and others, p. 256.
 49. K. J. Höltgen, 'Emblem and Meditation', p. 81.
 50. Gilman, ch. 4. He argues in the chapter that the energy of Quarles' book flows less from the plates or the poems taken separately, or the harmony of their cooperation, than from the discord of the confrontation between them (p. 87).
 51. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 196.
 52. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 166.
 53. Frederick Kiefer, *Fortune and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 18.
 54. *The Institution of Christian Religion*, Book I, fol. 57, quoted in Kiefer, *Fortune and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 19.
 55. *The Institution of Christian Religion*, Book I, fol. 57v, quoted in Kiefer, *Fortune and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 18.
 56. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 171–72. My analysis of Willet is largely indebted to him.
 57. See Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 172–74.
 58. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 123.

59. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, I, p. 170.
60. Rudolf Wittkower, 'Time, Chance and Virtue', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I (1937-38), 313-21.
61. Karel Portman, *Emblematic Exhibitions at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630-1685): A Study of the Commemorative Manuscripts*. Royal Library, Brussels (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 16.
62. Jan David, *Occasio Arrepta, Neglecta, Huius Commoda, Illius Incommoda* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1605), p. 101.

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