

ILLUSTRATIONS AS COMMENTARY AND READERS' GUIDANCE.
THE TRANSFORMATION OF CICERO'S *DE OFFICIIS* INTO
A GERMAN EMBLEM BOOK BY JOHANN VON SCHWARZENBERG,
HEINRICH STEINER, AND CHRISTIAN EGENOLFF
(1517–1520; 1530/1531; 1550)

Karl A.E. Enenkel

SUMMARY

The contribution analyzes the ways in which woodcut illustrations – in combination with other paratexts – are used in Heinrich Steiner's edition of Johann Neuber's and Freiherr Johann von Schwarzenberg's (+1528) German translation of Cicero's *De officiis* (1530). The article demonstrates that Heinrich Steiner and Johann von Schwarzenberg have transformed Cicero's treatise into a (proto) emblem book, *On virtue and civil service*. This is especially interesting since – according to the *communis opinio* – the first emblem book appeared only a year later, in 1531: Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*, from the same Augsburg publisher (Steiner). In Alciato's *Emblematum libellus* – different from *On virtue and civil service* – the images were neither invented nor intended by its author. In *On virtue and civil service* as a standard, each “emblem” has (1) introductory German verses composed by Johann von Schwarzenberg, usually between two and six lines, (2) a woodcut *pictura* invented by either Johann von Schwarzenberg or Heinrich Steiner, and (3) a prose text consisting of a certain short, well-chosen passage of Cicero's translated *De officiis*, singled out by Johann von Schwarzenberg and consisting mostly of two or three paragraphs of the modern Cicero edition (i.e. approximately one or one and a half page of Steiner's folio edition). Johann von Schwarzenberg did his best to present the emblematic prose passages of Cicero's *De officiis* as textual units. In order to achieve this goal, he deleted certain sentences of Cicero's text, such as connective remarks, and also added explanatory sentences (“glosses”). In cases in which von Schwarzenberg was the inventor of the image, the image is always to be read in close combination with the German verses. The title, the verses, and the image all reflect on Cicero's prose text, and they present a certain interpretation of it. All three devices aim to adapt the translated text of *De officiis* to the interests of 16th-century German readers. It is interesting to see that their interests and intellectual horizon differ from those of scholarly humanism. It is remarkable that the images play an important role in this process of transformation. They guide the processes of textual meditation and the storage of the philosophical contents in memory. This means that the specific tendency or interpretation offered by the images heavily influences the understanding and application of Cicero's *De officiis* by German readers.

It is generally accepted that the first Emblem book – Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* – appeared in Augsburg on 28 February 1531.¹ If an emblem is defined as a certain combination of image and text (title/motto/*inscriptio* + image/*pictura* + text/*subscriptio*), its inventor was not really the Italian humanist and professor for jurisprudence, but rather the Augsburg publisher and printer Heinrich Steiner. It was Steiner who had the idea to furnish each epigram of Alciato's collection with a woodcut illustration. He ordered and financed the illustrations, and directed the process of production from the design/invention to the carving of the woodcuts. Steiner's idea was that the illustrations might contribute to the understanding and perception of the Latin poems, especially among less learned readers.² As the success of emblem books in the 16th and 17th centuries proves, Steiner's idea was not only good, but brilliant.

Twelve days before Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, 'am XVI. tag februarii', however, Steiner printed another work – a German translation of Cicero's philosophical treatise *De officiis* – that was structured in a very similar way [Fig. 1].³ Cicero's text was divided into a large number of small passages; each passage was equipped with a *poem* and a *woodcut illustration*. Cicero's text, in fact, was presented in a style and structure similar to that of Alciato's emblem book – which at that point must have been in its final stage of production. As a general rule, each "emblem" of *De officiis* started with an *inscriptio* in the form of a short German poem (mostly between two and six rhymed verses); then came a woodcut illustration, followed by a well-selected portion of *De officiis*. The almost simultaneous appearance of the German illustrated *De officiis* and Alciato's *Emblematum liber* is no coincidence; the two publications were inspired by and designed according to more or less the same idea, and they were part of a distinctive publishing program Steiner employed in those years. Both publications were very successful: Steiner iterated them in that same year and in those that followed. The *Emblematum liber* was printed once more in 1531,

¹ Cf. colophon: 'Excusum Augustae Vindelicorum, per Heynrichum Steynerum, die 28. Februarii, anno MDXXXI'; Green H., *Andrea Alciati and his Book of Emblems. A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (New York: 1872) 116–119.

² *Emblematum liber*, fol. <A1>v "Letter to the Reader".

³ *Officia M<arci>. T<ullii>. C<iceronis>. Ein Buoch so Marcus Tullius Cicero der Römer zuo seynem sunne Marco. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen eynes wol und rechtlebenden Menschen in Latein geschriben, welchs auff begere Herren Johansen von Schwartzbergs etc. verteütscht und volgens durch ine in zyerlicher Hochteütsch gebracht. Mit vil figuren unnd Teütschen Reymen gemeynem nutz zuo guot in Druck gegeben worden* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531). Cf. Worstbrock F.J., *Deutsche Antikenrezeption 1450–1550*, 2 vols. (Boppard am Rhein: 1976), vol. I, 50 (no. 139).

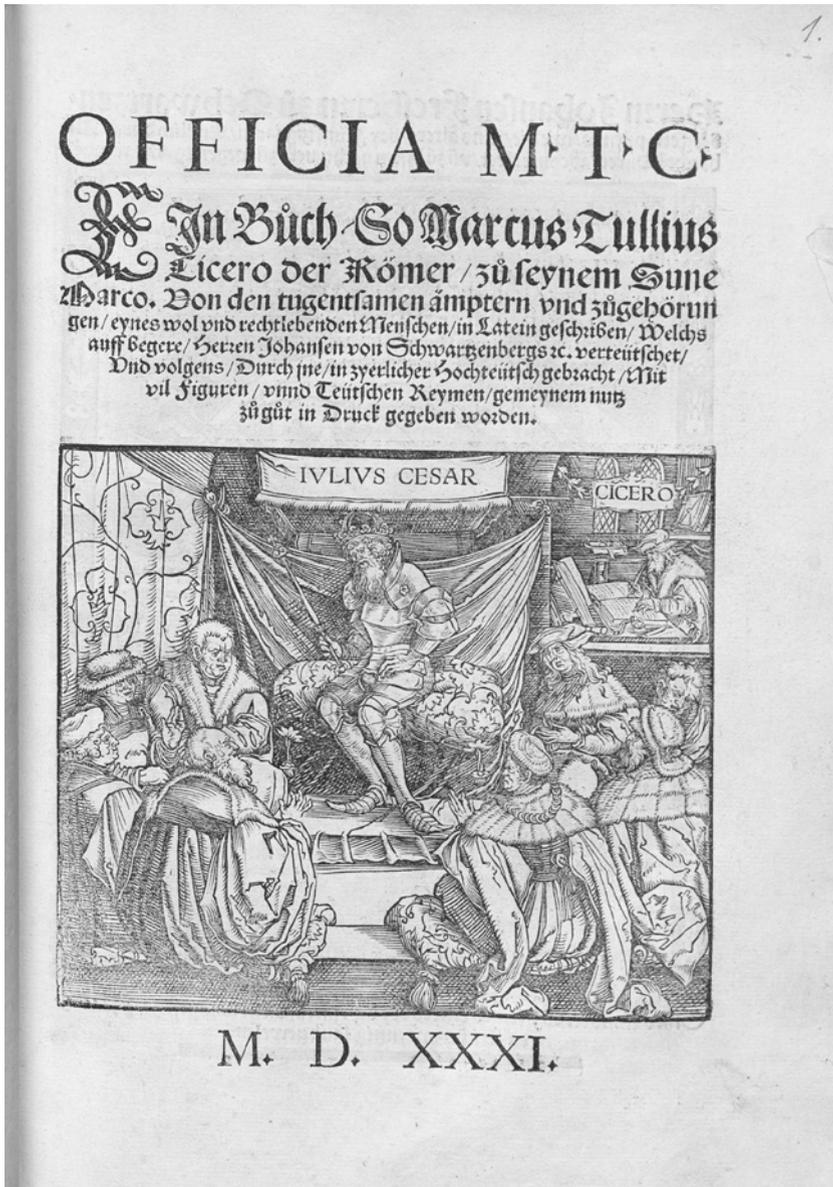


Fig. 1. Julius Caesar presiding over the Roman Senate. Title page of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531).

and further in 1532, 1533, and 1534;⁴ the German illustrated *De officiis* was printed three times in 1531,⁵ and further one time in 1532,⁶ 1533,⁷ 1535,⁸ and 1537,⁹ two times in 1540,¹⁰ and once more in 1545.¹¹ It appears that with 10 registered editions, the German *De officiis* was even more successful than the *Emblematum liber*. It was printed a bit earlier, and its main production process took place some months earlier than that of the *Emblematum liber*. As can be seen from the date of Steiner's first preface to the German *De officiis*, it was almost ready by 1 August 1530.¹²

That the *De officiis* came first was due to a number of reasons. An important one was that its production profited greatly from another publishing project Steiner embarked upon in those years, the edition of the German translation of Petrarch's treatise *De remediis utriusque fortune*, the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück, des guoten und widerwertigen* [Fig. 2].¹³ This work had been lavishly illustrated with 261 woodcuts by the so-called "Petrarch-Master",¹⁴ and although *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* appeared

⁴ Cf. Green, *Andrea Alciati* 119–122 (nos. 3–6).

⁵ 1st ed.: 16 February 1531 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 139); 2nd ed.: 29 April 1531 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 140); 3rd ed.: 7 December 1531 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 141). The colophons of the editions provide the exact dates. For the editions, cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* 50–52 (nos. 139–148); Degen J.F., *Versuch einer vollständigen Litteratur der deutschen Übersetzungen der Römer* (Altenburg: 1794) 71–82; Scheel W., *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* (Berlin: 1905) 371 (im Anhang, "Übersicht über die Drucke").

⁶ 4th ed.: 3 August 1532 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 142).

⁷ 5th ed.: 1 October 1533 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 143).

⁸ 6th ed.: 13 November 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 144).

⁹ 7th ed.: 22 November 1537 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 145).

¹⁰ 8th ed.: 2 January 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 146); 9th ed.: 13 December 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 147).

¹¹ 10th ed.: 3 November 1545 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 148).

¹² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii r (for the first preface, "Die erst vorred", as a whole, see ibidem fols. ii r–iii v): 'Den ersten tag Augusti nach der gepurt unseres sälligmachers Jesu Christi, Tausent Fünffhundert und im dreyssigsten Jar'.

¹³ *Unnd wess sich ain yeder inn Gelück und unglück halten sol. Auss dem Lateinischen in das Teütsch gezogen. Mit künstlichen figuren durchauss gantz lustig und schoen gezyeret* [...], 2 books (Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner: 1532). Facsimile edition by M. Lemmer (Leipzig: 1984).

¹⁴ For these illustrations and their relationship with Petrarch's text, see Scheidig W., *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* (Berlin: 1955); Raupp H.-J., "Die Illustrationen zu Francesco Petrarca 'Von der Artzney bayder Glueck des guten und des widerwertigen' (Augsburg 1532)", *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 45 (1984) 59–112; Enenkel K.A.E., "Der Petrarca des Petrarca-Meisters: Zum Text-Bild-Verhältnis in illustrierten *De-Remediis*-Ausgaben", in idem – Papy J. (eds.), *Petrarch and his Readers in the Renaissance*, Intersections 6 (Leiden – Boston: 2006) 91–169; idem, "Pain as Persuasion: The Petrarch Master Interpreting Petrarch's *De remediis*", in idem – van Dijkhuizen J.F. (eds.), *The Sense of Suffering. Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture*, Intersections 12 (Leiden – Boston: 2008)



Fig. 2. Title page of Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532; private collection).

only in February 1532,¹⁵ Steiner had the woodcuts at his disposal much earlier; they had been carved in 1519/1520. The last illustration of the set shows (on the sarcophagus) the date 1520.¹⁶ Steiner bought the Petrarch-Master's intriguing woodcuts from the Augsburg printer-publisher Sigmund Grimm (formerly Grimm and Wirsung), who had failed to print the book and finally went bankrupt in 1527.¹⁷ Whereas for the *Emblematum liber* some 100 new woodcuts were to be made,¹⁸ for the German *De officiis* Heinrich Steiner used a large number of illustrations from the set of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*. If one takes the first 20 emblematic images of the second book of *De officiis* as an example, about half of them belong to the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*.¹⁹ In total, Steiner transferred some 35 woodcuts from the German *De remediis* to the German *De officiis*. Moreover, he also took over some woodcuts from other already existing sets of illustrations he had in stock, such as that of the German translation of Petrarch's *De rebus memorandis* or *Rerum memorandarum libri*.²⁰

(2008) 91–164; idem, “Der Zusammenprall frühneuzeitlicher Weisheitssysteme in Wort und Bild: Die Augsburger Ausgabe von Petrarca's Glücksbuch (*De remediis utriusque fortune*)”, in *Coincidentia. Zeitschrift für Europäische Geistesgeschichte* 2/1 (2011) 91–125; Michel P., “Transformation und Augmentation bei Petrarca und seinem Meister”, in Schierbaum M. (ed.), *Enzyklopädistik 1550–1650. Typen und Transformation von Wissensspeichern und Medialisierungen des Wissens* (Berlin: 2009) 349–377; Fraenger W., *Altdeutsches Bilderbuch. Hans Weiditz und Sebastian Brant* (Leipzig: 1930); Lanckoronka M. Gräfin von., “Der Petrarcameister. Eine vorläufige Mitteilung”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 27 (1952) 111–120; eadem, “Der Petrarcameister und die Reformation”, *Imprimatur* 11 (1952–1953) 162–174; eadem, “Die Burgkmair-Werkstatt und der Petrarcameister”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 29 (1954) 171–180; Lemmer M., “Nachwort”, in Petrarca Francesco, *Von der Artzney* [...] 181–209.

¹⁵ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. CLXXVIII r: ‘Gedruckt und volendet in der Keyserlichen statt Augspurg, durch Heynrichen Steyner, Am IX. tag februarii im jar M.D.XXXII’.

¹⁶ Ibidem fol. CLXXVI r.

¹⁷ Reske Ch., *Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: 2007), art. “Heinrich Steiner” 34–35; “Marx Wirsung”, “Sigmund Grimm”, and “Simprecht Ruff”, all on 33–34; Schottenloher K., “Der Augsburger Verleger Sigmund Grimm und sein Geschäftszusammenbruch im Oktober 1927”, *Der Sammler* 11 (1921) 344–345; Künast H.J., “Sigmund Grimm und Marx Wirsung (Simprecht Ruff), 1517–1527”, in Gier H. – Janota J. (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Augsburg: 1997) 1218; Künast H.J., “Heinrich Steiner, 1522–1547”, ibidem 1220.

¹⁸ In the end, 97 woodcut illustrations were made. Cf. Green, *Andrea Alciati* 116.

¹⁹ *Von den tugtsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* 1. woodcut fol. XLI r = *Artzney* I, 45; 5. woodcut fol. XLIII v = *Artzney* I, 82; 7. woodcut fol. XLIV v = *Artzney* II, 102; 10. woodcut fol. XLVII r = *Artzney* I, 70; 11. woodcut fol. XLVIII r = *Artzney* I, 85; 15. woodcut fol. L v = *Artzney* I, 67; 16. woodcut fol. LI v = *Artzney* I, 21; 17. woodcut fol. LII r = *Artzney* I, 79; 18. woodcut fol. LIII r = *Artzney* II, 13.

²⁰ *De rebus memorandis. Gedenckbuoch Aller der Handlungen, die sich fürtreffentlich vonn anbegind der Welt wunderbarlich begeben und zuogetragen haben, wirtig und werdt, dass inn ewig zeyt nymmermer inn vergess gestellt [...] Gantz new, lustig, lieblich, allen Ständen und menschen hoch nutzlich unnd noth zuo wissenn An den tag gebracht unnd verteütschet*

The idea to have the German *De officiis* illustrated was not genuinely Steiner's, but goes back to Freiherr Johann von Schwarzenberg (1463–1528)²¹ and dates back to well before 1520. Johann von Schwarzenberg not only initiated the translation, reworked it, and had it edited by a humanist scholar, Lorenz Behaim,²² but he was also the person who selected (or designed) the “emblematic” passages and composed the poems that introduce each “emblem”. First, a new translation from the Latin was made by Schwarzenberg's chaplain, Johann Neuber; then, Schwarzenberg reworked the text freely: he changed the construction of sentences, and he deleted and added words, and sometimes even sentences or passages. In this way, Cicero's text was sometimes considerably altered.²³ Schwarzenberg also changed the language into Frankish ‘Hoffdeutsch’. He considered it of the utmost importance to avoid the impression of clumsy “verbatim” translations; the translation should always be ‘von synnen zu synnen, unnd nit von worten zuo worten’, as the second preface of *De officiis* states,²⁴ and as it is stressed in the paratexts to all translations made by Schwarzenberg. Of course, it was already Neuber's task to translate ‘von synnen zu synnen’, but even more so, this was always Schwarzenberg's principle when editing a text. The translation and Schwarzenberg's revision must have been finished before the beginning of September 1517, the time Lorenz Behaim complained about his task.²⁵ Behaim was not only little eager to execute that “hell of a job”, but he had a lot of difficulty with Schwarzenberg's

durch Magistrum Stephanum Vigilium (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1541). This set consists of 14 illustrations; among others, Steiner used the illustration of the title page of *De rebus memorandis* and the illustration of *Rerum memorandarum* III, 31–32 (1531, fol. XLI r) in the German *De officiis* as the first image for the third book (fol. LXIII r). Part of the illustrations of *De rebus memorandis*, however, belonged to the Petrarch-Master's *De remediis* set.

²¹ For Johann von Schwarzenberg cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg*, for the German translations of Cicero's works esp. 288–304; Radbruch G., “Verdeutscher Cicero. Zu Johann von Schwarzenbergs Officien-Übersetzung”, *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie* 35 (1942) 143–154; Herrmann E., *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Criminalrechts und der Gründung der protestantischen Kirche* (Leipzig: 1841); Glier I., “Johann von Schwarzenberg”, in *Verfasserlexikon* IV (1983) cols. 737–742; art. “Schwarzenberg und Hohenlandsberg, Johann Freiherr zu”, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 33 (1891) 305–306.

²² Behaim was not happy with the ‘inglorious’ job. Cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 291–292. The letter in which Behaim complains about it dates from 3 September 1517.

²³ For particularities of the translations cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 296 ff. Scheel considers it ‘höchstwahrscheinlich, dass Schwarzenberg selbst bei seiner Überarbeitung so gebessert hat, dass ein Zusammenhang mit dem lateinischen Texte ganz verloren ging’ (301).

²⁴ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v.

²⁵ Herrmann, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 50–51.

method of revision, and with both Schwarzenberg's and Neuber's lack of classical scholarship. He says that in their translation one mistake provokes the other. Schwarzenberg has translated a German translation into another translation, and it was his (Behaim's) hopeless task to translate the second German translation into yet a third German one.²⁶ But Behaim did what he was asked to do, and he certainly prevented both translators from making a couple of errors. Anyway, by 1520 everything was ready. As Steiner says (in the first preface to *De officiis*, dating from August 1530), Schwarzenberg had given 'the translation in print, together with his accompanying verses and the illustrations, 10 years ago'.²⁷ The second preface draws exactly the same picture of the work's genesis.²⁸ We must conclude that in 1520 Schwarzenberg gave the manuscript, furnished with illustrations, to a thus far unknown printer/publisher. It is clear that the images were manuscript illustrations (drawings, coloured drawings, or miniature paintings), and Schwarzenberg asked the publisher to have them turned into woodcuts. Very probably, the well-to-do nobleman S. was also willing to assume the costs for the woodcuts.

So far, we do not know why the publishing process took so long, and why the publisher did not succeed in carrying out what Schwarzenberg had requested. Johann von Schwarzenberg did not live to see his book appear; he died on 11 October 1528. For a number of reasons I believe that the publisher that failed to print the German *De officiis* was the Augsburg company Sigmund Grimm and Marx Wirsung. First, there is a striking parallelism between the printing history of the German *De remediis* and that of the German *De officiis*, in which the same dates are involved. In both cases, the manuscripts were ready in 1520; and in both cases, the works appeared only after 1530 and at the *Officina* of Heinrich Steiner – who had bought woodcuts and other printing material from Grimm. And it is the

²⁶ Behaim: 'Cepi quendam duram provinciam revidendi translationem Ciceronis *Officiorum* de todesco in todescum, i.e. de malo in peius, quia video errorem parere errorem. Nam utrobique aliquando non sequuntur non modo textum, sed ne sensum quidem textus. Et sic quasi tertiam facio todescam'.

²⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. ii v: 'Dergestalt das Buoch mit *sampt den figuren* und teütschen reymen (welche er selbst angeben und gedicht) vor zehen jaren zuo trucken geben' (emphasis mine).

²⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v: 'das obgemelt lateinisch Ciceronisch buoch [...] verteüschet hat [Johann von Schwarzenberg], dem auch von merer und besserer merckung und beheltigkeyt wegen *etlich figuren* unt teütsche versleyn, wie darynn funden wirt, zuogesetzt seind. *Das alles vollendet warde im jar als man nach der geburt Christi unsers säligmachers zelet fünfzehnen hundert und im Zweyntzigsten*' (emphasis mine).

history of the publishing company Grimm and Wirsung²⁹ that explains why the process took so long, and why it failed in the end. The company was active between 1517 and 1521 (21 December); shortly after 21 December Marx Wirsung, who had mainly financed the *Officina*, died. Wirsung's widow, Agathe, and his son were not interested in continuing the enterprise, and they withdrew their capital. This brought Grimm into heavy financial difficulties; he partly changed the publishing program and partly was forced to reduce it. It seems that in the years to come Grimm was less and less able to execute expensive and demanding projects, such as the printing of lavishly illustrated books. The last book published by Grimm appeared in January 1525. Already by 1525 he was unable to pay his debts; finally – as late as October 1527 – he officially was declared bankrupt, and had to sell his houses and his *Officina*.

I think that Schwarzenberg gave the *De officiis* manuscript to Grimm because he was in close contact with him and had already offered him another manuscript to be published – his translation of Cicero's *De senectute*. This translation was finished in manuscript form in the same year as *De officiis* (1517).³⁰ As with *De officiis*, a first translation had been made by Johann Neuber, which was reworked by Schwarzenberg. Finally, Schwarzenberg had it corrected by Ulrich von Hutten, and added five illustrations.³¹ Probably because this book project was less demanding (the text was much shorter – only 22 folia, and there were only 5 woodcuts required), Grimm succeeded with this project: he had it printed in 1522.³² According to Röttinger, the illustrations were made by Hans Weiditz.³³ In this case the drawings must have been finished by 1521, the date Weiditz left Augsburg for Strassburg. Schwarzenberg's translation of

²⁹ Cf. Reske, *Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* 33–34; Schottenloher, "Grimm und sein Geschäftszusammenbruch"; Künast, "Sigmund Grimm und Marx Wirsung (Simprecht Ruff), 1517–1527".

³⁰ Scheel, however, thinks that the *De senectute* translation was made later than 1517 (*Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 293).

³¹ For the history of the genesis of the work cf. the preface in the first edition (as following footnote) fol. III r, and Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Teütsch Cicero* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XXII v.

³² Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Des hochberuempten Marci Tullii Ciceronis buechlein von dem Alter, durch herr Johan Neüber, Caplan zuo Schwartzenberg usz dem latein inn Teütsch gebracht*. [...] *Getruckt in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg in kosten unnd verlegung Sigismundi Grymm* [...] 1522 (Augsburg, Sigmund Grimm: 1522). Cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 154.

³³ Röttinger H., *Hans Weiditz, der Petrarca-Meister* (Straßburg: 1904) 87, no. 44.

yet another work of Cicero, *De amicitia*, appeared in 1522.³⁴ The preface of the original edition and its date are preserved,³⁵ although no copy seems to survive.³⁶ Probably, this work was also published by Sigmund Grimm. Like the *De senectute* translation, it was a only small work,³⁷ and it seems that it was not accompanied by illustrations.³⁸ Scheel thinks that the first Cicero translation made by Neuber and Schwarzenberg was *De officiis*,³⁹ but it seems more plausible that the *De senectute* and the *De amicitia* came first. In the *De officiis* translation, both the technique and the paratextual equipment are much more sophisticated.⁴⁰

But what happened with the *De officiis* translation? When Grimm understood that he was no longer able to publish books (sometime between his financial collapse in spring 1525 and his bankruptcy in 1527), he must have returned the manuscript to Schwarzenberg, who did not succeed in finding another publisher until his death on 21 October 1528. It is likely that in 1529 or early 1530, a relative of Schwarzenberg brought the manuscript to Heinrich Steiner to have it printed in the nobleman's memory.⁴¹ This manuscript must have been Schwarzenberg's original, furnished with manuscript illustrations (or drawings or miniatures). Since the manuscript disappeared, one cannot say with certainty how many illustrations it contained. But, as one can see from the German verses, all of the emblematic chapters in Steiner's edition had already been designed by Schwarzenberg. Thus, it seems likely that Schwarzenberg already

³⁴ Cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 294; Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 162 (163 ff.); 'Scheel S. 294 nimmt einen Einzeldruck von 1522 an; dieser lässt sich indes nicht nachweisen'.

³⁵ von Schwarzenberg, *Teütsch Cicero* fol. <LXV>r. For the date ibidem: '[...] Amen. Und ist dise verteütschng also got zuo lob und umm besserung willen der menschen volent worden. Im jar als man nach unsers säligmachers gepurt fünffzehnhundert und zwey und zweintzig jar zelet'.

³⁶ Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 294.

³⁷ In the *Teütsch Cicero* fols. <LXV>r–LXXIX v.

³⁸ In the *Teütsch Cicero*, anyway, there are no traces of illustrations.

³⁹ Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 293–294.

⁴⁰ The paratextual equipment stayed the same in Steiner's editions in *Der Teütsch Cicero*, [...] *Gedruckt und volendet in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534; 1535 [three times]; 1540 [two times]; 1545). 1st ed.: 20 January 1534 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 163); 2nd ed.: 2 January 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 164); 3rd ed.: 4 March 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 165); 4th ed. 2 June 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 166); 5th ed. 2 January 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 167); 6th ed.: 13 December 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 168); 7th ed.: 3 November 1545 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 169).

⁴¹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii r.

had in his manuscript each “emblem” accompanied by an illustration. Of course, the Augsburg publisher could have given the manuscript to a woodcutter or “Holzschnyder” to manufacture new blocks for all of the illustrations. This, however, would have been very expensive and would have taken quite some time, since some 100 new woodcuts were required. The efficient Steiner had a better idea. He decided to use a considerable number of illustrations from the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* set (some 35), as well as others from the stock of woodcuts he possessed. Only for the remaining chapters did he order new woodcuts. From a close analysis it appears that a number of illustrations were certainly made especially for the German *De officiis*.⁴² Concerning the new woodcut illustrations, it seems likely that the majority of them were carved after the example of the ones in Schwarzenberg’s manuscript.

Thus, we get a mixed picture with regard to the question of who was responsible for the illustrations in the German *De officiis*. For the recycled images, Heinrich Steiner was the only person responsible; for the new ones, it was primarily Johann von Schwarzenberg (who had them designed), and secondarily Steiner (who ordered the woodcuts). In his monograph on the Petrarch-Master, Scheidig tended to overestimate the “originality” of the *De officiis* illustrations made by the Petrarch-Master: he thought that some of the woodcuts in *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* were originally made for the German *De officiis*.⁴³ Close analysis, however, proves that this is implausible.⁴⁴ In fact, it was always vice versa: the already existing *Artzney* illustrations were used in *De officiis*. Although the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* had not yet appeared, we can speak of a secondary use of its images in *De officiis*.

Steiner did not mind that Schwarzenberg figured as the main author of the emblem book. The Augsburg publisher gave him all of the credit for being the author – on the title page and in the two prefaces. Moreover, he had Schwarzenberg’s portrait printed on the verso of the title page [Fig. 3].⁴⁵ Thus, from the beginning of the book the reader was invited to accept Schwarzenberg as the main author of the emblematic *De officiis*. Between 1510 and 1520, Schwarzenberg had worked on another

⁴² Cf. *infra*.

⁴³ Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters*, for example, 305, for the illustration belonging to *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* II, 102.

⁴⁴ See below.

⁴⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. <i>v.



Fig. 3. Portrait of Johann von Schwarzenberg, ascribed to Albrecht Dürer. In the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), verso of the title page.

emblematic project, his *Memorial der Tugent* [Fig. 4].⁴⁶ He composed emblematic poems for 100 ethical devices (*sententiae*) and – as with the German *De officiis* – had them illustrated with hand painted images or drawings. This work had the same fate as the German *De officiis*: the publisher, in all probability Sigmund Grimm, did not succeed in printing it, and in the end, after Schwarzenberg's death, in the late 1520s the whole thing came to Heinrich Steiner, who finally published the *Memorial der Tugent* in the so-called *Teütsch Cicero*.⁴⁷

*Emblematic Transformations of Cicero's De officiis: Readers' Guidance,
Strategies, Devices*

The central goal of this contribution, however, is not to describe in detail the complex production history of the German *De officiis*, but to analyze the ways in which the work of the Roman philosopher-rhetorician was transformed by its new organization as an “emblem book”; what the functions of the poems and the images were; the ways in which the illustrations guided the reader through the work; and what impact these illustrations had on the reception by the 16th-century German audience. In my opinion, the impact of both the poems and images was considerable: to a large extent, they determined the way in which the work was used and understood. Already the subdivision of the book into about 100 separate “emblems” altered the manner of reading: instead of by “linear reading”, the emblematic Cicero could be consulted in a fragmentary, random, and *ad hoc* manner, i.e. per “emblem”. The reader could open the work somewhere at random, meditate on certain emblematic units, and put it aside.

Also, it is important to notice that the poems and the images always come first. So it seems plausible that these parts of the “emblem” somehow prepared and influenced the reading of Cicero's prose text. In Schwarzenberg's

⁴⁶ Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Das Büchle Memorial – das ist ein angedänckung der Tugent, von herren Johannsen vonn Schwartzenberg yetz sältiger gedächtnus, etwo mit figuren und reümen gemacht* [...], in idem, *Der Teütsch Cicero*, [...] *Gedruckt und volendet in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534; 1535 [three times]; 1540 [two times]; 1545) fol. XCVI r ff.; for this early emblem book, see Knappe J., “Mnemonik, Bildbuch und Emblematik im Zeitalter Sebastian Brants (Brant, Schwarzenberg, Alciati)”, in Bies W. – Jung H. (eds.), *Mnemosyne. Festschrift für Manfred Lurker zum 60. Geburtstag* (Baden-Baden: 1988) 133–178, esp. 146–149.

⁴⁷ In Steiner's edition, each of the 100 emblems comprised exactly one page. The layout of the poems differed: sometimes they were located under the image, sometimes above, sometimes above and under, and sometimes interwoven with the image in various ways. As with the German *De officiis*, the single emblems did not have proper titles.

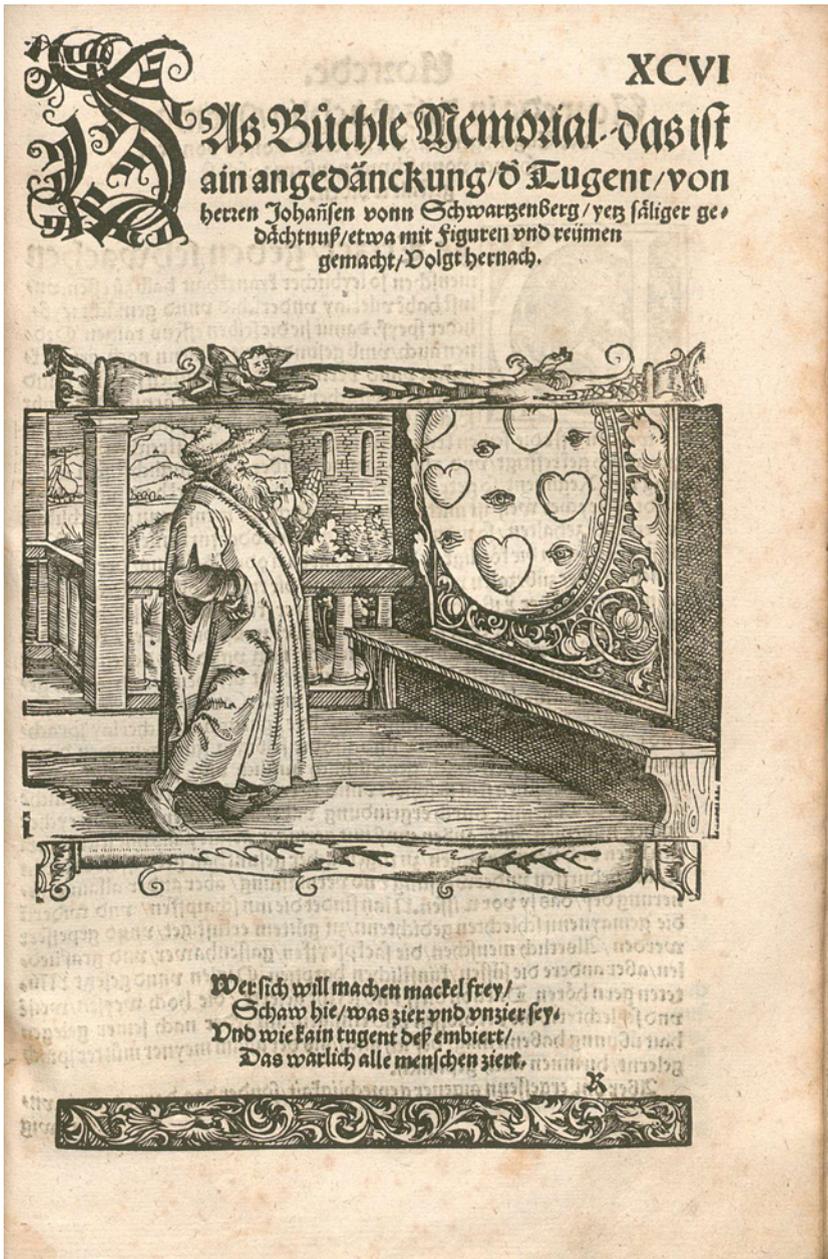


Fig. 4. Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Memorial der Tugent*, title page, in idem, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XCVI r.

and Steiner's opinion, *De officiis* had a high value for the moral education of German readers. They presented it as a "mirror of virtue" fabricated for 'the common good' ('gemeyns nutz') and 'the moral improvement of the [whole] German nation' ('und besserung willen Töutscher Nation').⁴⁸ The usage of the *De officiis* was envisioned as an exercise in virtue; the reader was supposed 'to exercise good behaviour and avoid all sins and moral shortcomings'.⁴⁹ This means that Schwarzenberg's interpretation also had a considerable religious aspect. In a sense, he turned Cicero's *De officiis* into a Christian manual of virtue. This appears from his emblematic poems, the glosses he inserted into Cicero's text,⁵⁰ and the images. The function of the images was complex and manifold. They prepared the reader's interpretation of Cicero's text and guided it in a certain direction; they helped him to understand the philosophical text – even though intellectually he was a layman – and to locate its meaning in the cultural and ideological context of the early 16th century; sometimes the images initiated a separate meditation—of course, in connection with the emblematic poems, a meditation that would influence the understanding and usage of Cicero's text; and of course, the images played an important role in the process of internalizing the moral, political, and religious messages of the singular emblems. For our analysis we take the first section of the second book of *De officiis* (emblems II, 1–14) as an example.

*Emblem II, 1 ("Arguing pro and contra"): Didactic Transformation,
Contextualization in 16th-Century Culture, and Topical Thinking*

Schwarzenberg constructed emblem II, 1⁵¹ from Cicero's preface to this book.⁵² In the second part of his preface, Cicero reflected on his philosophical method in *De officiis* and defended himself against the accusation that in

⁴⁸ As one can find in the second preface, see *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v. Steiner too demonstratively claimed that he printed the German *De officiis* for the 'common good'. See the title page of his editions: 'gemeynem nutz zuo quot in Druck gegeben worden'.

⁴⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v: 'zuo übung des guoten und vermeydung aller sunde und laster'.

⁵⁰ See below, the section "Schwarzenberg's Glosses as Emblematic Commentary and Guidance of Emblematic Meditation".

⁵¹ In Steiner's and Egenolff's publications, the singular emblems are not numbered. Numbering is in itself not a generic requirement or prerequisite of emblem books. One may compare Steiner's editions of Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, in which the singular emblems remain unnumbered. I introduced the numbering only for reasons of reference.

⁵² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLr–v.

the present work he would totally forget his philosophical identity as an adherent of the (Platonic) Academy, which aimed to argue in a sceptical way—i.e. to present arguments pro and contra while suspending (or withholding from) a definitive (personal) judgement. Instead, in *De officiis* Cicero comes with moral advice and clear rules, and he bluntly tells people what to do.⁵³ Cicero's counterargument is not particularly strong: he says that the one does not exclude the other, and that in *De officiis* he will act as a kind of *mitigated* sceptic. Schwarzenberg was apparently not convinced that this detailed discussion on philosophical dogmas would be interesting and educative for his German readership. Instead, he constructed an emblem *in praise* of arguing pro and contra as the best philosophical method of finding out 'the truth': 'Durch widerwertig argument/ Wirt wars und unwars recht erkent'.⁵⁴ In doing so, he upends not only Cicero's argument in the preface, but the philosophical approach of *De officiis* in general.

Schwarzenberg's main goal is not to explain Cicero's thoughts in detail and as faithfully as possible, but to teach his German readership – which, of course, did not primarily consist of scholars or very learned men – the basics of philosophical thinking. Sixteenth-century scholars would have been well acquainted with the method of arguing pro and contra; in fact, in the 16th century this was a school exercise in rhetoric, as it had been in Cicero's time. On the other hand, for laypeople to understand this method would mean important progress. That is why Schwarzenberg, maybe surprisingly, spelled it out in Cicero's prose text: 'the philosophers of the Academy [...] who argue about all things in both directions, that they are such and so, and also that they are not such and so, and that all things are doubtful, and who want that one should not know anything for sure [...]'.⁵⁵ Although it is not indicated in the text, these words were not Cicero's, but Schwarzenberg's alone. With his didactic goal in mind, Schwarzenberg changed Cicero's text and produced a mixture of translation and commentary.

The image [Fig. 5] was meant to underpin Schwarzenberg's didactic message, i.e. that to argue pro and contra is the best philosophical method for finding the truth. The illustration comments on the following prose text and on the poem as well, and in doing so it mainly uses two strategies.

⁵³ *De officiis* II, 7–8.

⁵⁴ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLr.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*: 'den Philosophis Academicis [...] die alle ding auff beide ort, das die also und nicht also sein, disputieren und zweiflich machen und wöllen, dass man nichts gewislich wissen mög [...]'.

Beyürlicher werck

XL

Durch widerwertig argument/ Wirt wars/vnd vnwars/recht erkent.



Das ander teil der vorred zeigt vrsach
 an/warüb Cicero in disem büch nichts widerwertig schreib/
 vnd wie auf widerwertigen disputationen/wars
 vñ vnwars erfunden werden.

D Jeweilich den Philosophis Aca-
 demicis/in disen meinen schrifften anhang/die alle ding auf
 gede ort/das die also vnd nit also sein/disputieren vñ zweif-
 felich machen/vnd wöllen das mā nichts gewislich wissen
 müge/vnd doch durch mich/in diser meiner lere/vñ andern
 meinen büchern vñ zweyffentlich regel zū tugentlichem lebe
 gegeben werden/möchten mir die künstlichen gütten redner zū messen / als
 ob solchs beyeinander nit besteen könte/Sonder das ich in solcher beschrey-
 bung der gebürlichen werck/gang vnfürsichtig/vnbestendig/vnd mir selbst
 widerwertig seinn solte :c. Darzū ist mein antwort/ich wolt das die sel-
 ben anfechter/mein meinung recht verständen/ich bin nit der/des gemüt vn-
 bestendig vnd in allen dingen so zweyffentlich sey/das mein vernunfft gar
 nichts für bewerlich aneime. Dann was were das für ein vernunfft/oder
 das noch mer ist/was wer das für ein leben/dadurch alle disputierüg/die zū
 vernunfftigen tugentsamen leben führen vnd leyten/abgestelt wüden?
 G iij Als

Fig. 5. Academic promotion after the *disputatio*. Emblem II, 1 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...]. (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner, 1531) fol. XL r.

First, it “translates” Cicero’s text (and Schwarzenberg’s derivate) for the German audience by locating it in contemporary society and culture. Second, it evaluates it by connecting it with a traditional topical system that goes back to Graeco-Roman antiquity. The image displays a ceremony that was easy to recognize for 16th-century readers: the promotion of a university student as a doctor after a successful exam, the *disputatio*. In the *disputatio*, the candidate defended a certain thesis against a number of opponents, in front of a jury of *professores* and *doctores*. In the image, a university professor (in the center, standing next to his cathedra) decorates a successful candidate with the *insignia* of his new dignity – the doctor’s beret and the doctor’s ring. On the side walls of the room one can see the jury of university professors and *doctores*.

The identification of the philosophical method of arguing pro and contra in the image with the contemporary doctorate ceremony persuades the reader that this method is very rewarding: the person who exercises it not only gets to know the truth, but achieves a respectable status academically, socially, and ideologically. In this sense, the image fits extremely well with Schwarzenberg’s emblem ‘Durch widerwertig argument/ Wirt wars und unvars recht erkent’, and it enriches its meaning and impact.

This effect is strengthened by the second strategy. The fact that the academic jury consists of exactly seven members is no coincidence. Probably it is an application of the traditional topical concept of the seven wise men,⁵⁶ i.e. the wisest men of the Greek world, as mentioned, for example, in Plato’s *Protagoras*.⁵⁷ This topical concept – which does not appear in either Cicero’s text or Schwarzenberg’s poem – is introduced by the image as an authorization of the then-current academic system in general, and of the doctor’s promotion in particular. It suggests to the reader not only that academic positions are taken by wise men, but also that academic honours are conferred by capable people, to worthy candidates, and for good reasons.

Although the image fits so well, it was originally not made for the German *De officiis*. It was designed by the Petrarch-Master as an illustration to *De remediis* chapter I, 45, “De magisterio”, or, in the German translation, “Von Magisterlicher Wirdigkeit” (“On the master’s degree”)

⁵⁶ Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 94. Engels J., *Die Sieben Weisen* (Munich: 2010); Snell B., *Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weisen. Griechische und lateinische Quellen* (Munich: 1952); Barkowski O., art. “Sieben Weise”, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* II A/2 (Stuttgart: 1923) col. 2243.

⁵⁷ Protagoras 343A: Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Solon, Cleobulus, Myson, and Chilon.

[Fig. 6a and b].⁵⁸ In this chapter, Petrarch's *Ratio* presents Stoic and Christian arguments ('remedies') against being too proud of having achieved a master's degree:

JOY: The master's degree has been conferred upon me.

REASON: I admit I would prefer knowledge to have been conferred upon you, because nothing is more disgraceful than an uneducated and ignorant master. [...] To be worthy as a master, you must have [...] proven yourself dutiful, humble, and willing to learn [...]. A meaningless master's degree has kept many from being true masters [...].⁵⁹

It appears that in *De officiis* Heinrich Steiner used the illustration in a sense contrary to that of the *De remediis* chapter. At first glance, this may seem absurd. But one must not forget that there did not exist a stable relationship between Petrarch's text and the Petrarch-Master's illustrations. For the most part, the Petrarch-Master's inventions were highly original, partly even unconventional, and thus far they had never appeared in print, which means that – except for a few people, including Steiner – nobody had seen them in combination with the text.⁶⁰ In choosing this image, Steiner demonstrated his creativity. He detected some interesting connections between the topic of the image and Schwarzenberg's emblem. It is a telling detail that it did not bother Steiner that the image had little to do with Cicero's *De officiis* text: the importance of arguing pro and contra was not Cicero's message, and in Cicero's time there were, of course, no universities or doctor promotions. It would be interesting to know what image Schwarzenberg (whose manuscript unfortunately got lost) originally had in mind. It would not surprise me if it were one of the common medieval *disputatio* scenes: two philosophers or clerics engaging in dialogue with each other, with the accompanying characteristic hand gestures. With regard to its commentating effect, however, the Petrarch-Master's image is much more impressive. The solemn academic ritual, combined with the iconography of the seven wise men, constitutes highly positive associations that would stimulate the reader to absorb the message and store it in his memory.

⁵⁸ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book I, fol. LX r.

⁵⁹ Petrarch, *Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul. A Modern English Translation of De remediis utriusque fortunae*, with a Commentary by C.H. Rawski, 5 vols. (Bloomington – Indianapolis: 1991), vol. I, 146.

⁶⁰ Steiner has used the image of the doctorate ceremony in yet another context, as an illustration of the chapter "De intelligentia" in his edition of the German translation of Petrarch's *De rebus memorandis* (Augsburg: 1531), fol. XV v.

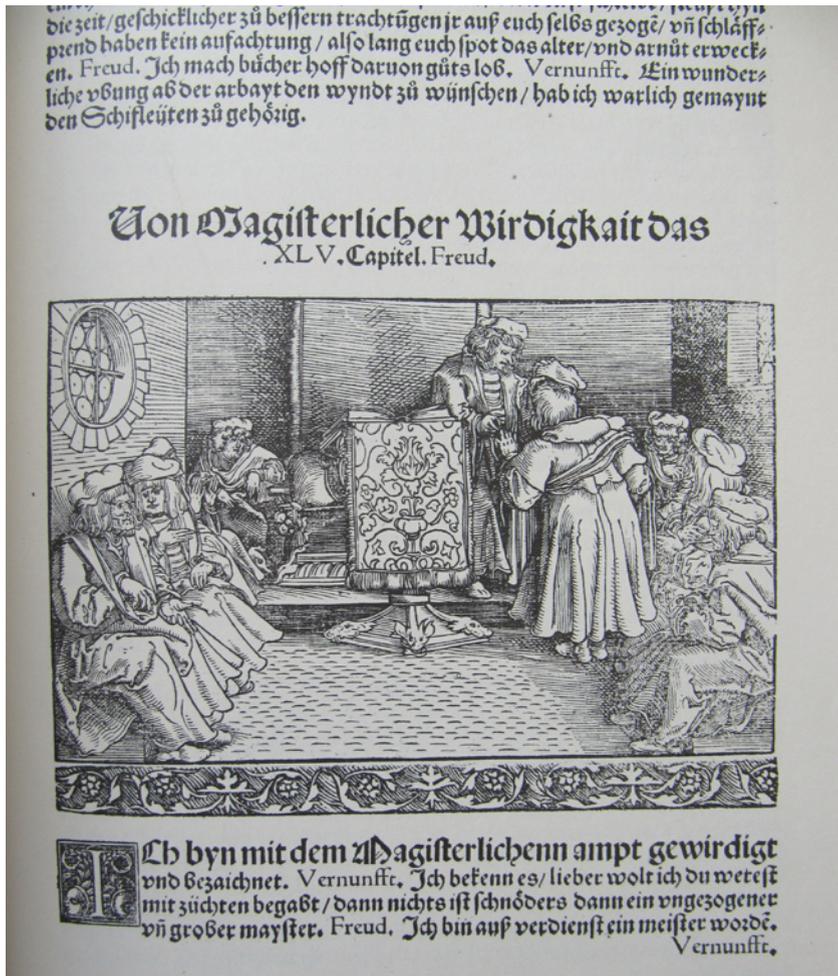


Fig. 6. "The master's degree". Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augs-
 burg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. LX r (private collection).

*Emblem II, 2 ("Fools"): Narrenschiff Guidance
for Vernacular Readers of Philosophy*

Interestingly, Schwarzenberg rebuilt not only Cicero's preface, but also his *partitio* (a kind of table of contents) into an emblem.⁶¹ Cicero says that in the present book (2), he will not deal with the *honestum* (he had done so in book 1), but with the so-called *utile* ('the useful'), i.e. the pleasant things in life ('*commoda vitae*'), such as wealth, possessions, food, entertainment, and so on.⁶² Using this "table of contents", Schwarzenberg constructs the second emblem of book 2: 'The honest and just (*honestum, iustum*; or honesty and justice) are indissolubly/ connected with the useful (*utile*)./ Whoever does not believe that this is true/ Totally lacks intelligence and religious piety', in the German original: 'Das Erbar hangt dem nutzen an,/ Dass solchs kein mensch gescheiden kann./ Und wer nit diser warheyt glaubt,/ Ist frumbkeyt oder witz beraubt'.⁶³

The image was especially designed for the *De officiis* emblem: it shows two chests indissolubly connected with each other by heavy iron chains [Fig. 7a and b].⁶⁴ The chest to the left symbolizes 'the honest' ('*Erbarkeit/ Gerechtigkeit*'), and the chest to the right 'the useful' ('*Nutz*'), as is unmistakably denoted by the German inscriptions. On each side, two persons draw on the chests with the intention of separating them. As the poem already indicates, these people are fools. In the image, their stupidity is demonstrated by two iconographic devices: they are blindfolded and wear donkey's ears. These devices stem from Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*.⁶⁵ For example, in *Narrenschiff* no. 6, "On the education of children",⁶⁶ the image shows a father who fails in educating his offspring: he is blindfolded and wears donkey's ears while his sons are fighting with knife and sword [Fig. 8]. The image of emblem II, 2 probably dates back to an invention by Schwarzenberg, who was well acquainted with Brant's *Narrenschiff*.⁶⁷ The image comments in a very distinct way on the content of book 2: it states

⁶¹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XL v–XLI r; Cicero, *De officiis* II, 9–10.

⁶² *Ibidem* II, 9.

⁶³ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XL v.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ *Narrenschiff*, ed. F. Zarncke (Darmstadt: 1964).

⁶⁶ "Von ler der kind", *ibidem*, 1st ed., 8 (no. 6): 'der ist in narheyt gantz erblindt/ Dermiet mag ach than, das syn kyndt [...]'.
⁶⁷ Cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 316; Knappe, "Mnemonik, Bildbuch und Emblemantik".

Das Ander thayl

Als aber eyn theyl Philosophi sagen / weye etliche ding on allen zweyffel gewyß / vnd etliche vngewyß seynd / von den selben bin ich der massen geschwyde das ich etliche ding für bewerlich / vnd etliche für vnberwerlich halte. Wann was kan mich verhindern / das ich bewerliche ding nit annemen / vnd dye vnberwerlichen verachten vnd straffen solt. Wo ich aber on vernünfftig güte vsfach / etwas für gewyß vnd vnzweyffelich hylte / möcht ich hochmütig vñ fräuelich das von eynem yeden weysen fer sein soll vermerckt werden. So disputieren genante vnser Philosophi / Academici / vorgeleiteter mas / von allen sachen / das die also vnd nit also sein künden / auch nit vnützlich wann on das die warheyt eynes yeden dings / nit verstanden werden möchte. Wye dann in vnsern Büchern Academicis (als ich meyne) genüchlich funden wirdt. Lieber sunne Cicero / wyewol du in der aller eltesten / kläresten / vnd edelsten Philosophi / damit sich deyn Meyster Cratippus vergleycht / vñ der ein merer ist lerneß / Noch wolt ich / das dir dise mein lere dye den ewern aller nechst ist / auch nit vnbekant weren / Damit will ich yez zu meynen fürgesagten leren tretten.

Cicero vnt
man si synen
sone zu dem
steiß dyser
lere

Das erbar hangt dem nutzen an / Vnd wer nit dyser warheyt glaubt /
Das solchs keyn mensch gescheide kan Ist frumkeit / oder wyß beraubt.



Sünfferey

Fig. 7a. The honest and the useful interconnected. Emblem II, 2 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XL v.



Fig. 7b. Detail (private collection).

that the central issue is the interconnectivity between the honest, the just, and the useful. Whoever does not understand this is a fool.

Schwarzenberg's emblematic readers' guidance is certainly not pointless. He rightly guessed that the philosophical equation *honestum = iustum = utile* would be difficult to understand for lay readers. That's why he used the strong iconographic device of the *Ship of Fools*. The image of donkey-eared and blindfolded persons puts before the eyes of the readers what is foolish behaviour or thinking. The underlying commenting strategy is "exclusive": the image excludes the way in which one should *not* understand Cicero's text. Readers who do not understand the equation are, in a sense, prohibited from proceeding with the philosophical meditation of the *De officiis* emblems. This method of educating the German lay readers was as drastic as it was probably effective: no reader wants to be called a fool. Thus, in all likelihood all readers agreed with the image's message and internalized the philosophical equation as a dogmatic truth. Even if they did not understand it theoretically, they would accept it.

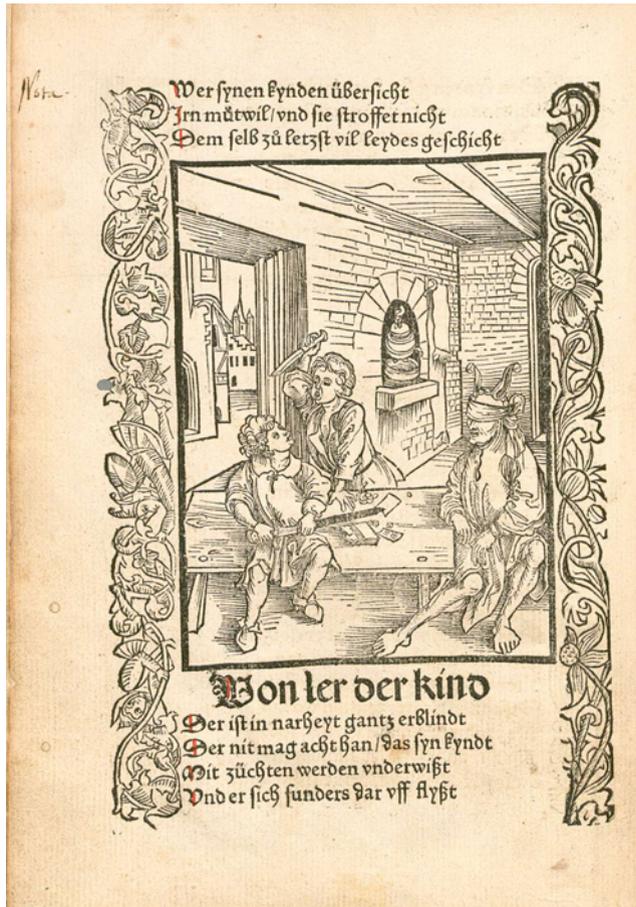


Fig. 8. "On the education of children" – "Von ler der kind".
 Illustration to Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff* (Basel, Johann
 Bergmann: 1494) no. 6.

Interestingly, Schwarzenberg and Steiner repeat the emblem in *De officiis*, book 3, with the same verses and the same image.⁶⁸ There again, Cicero talks about the relationship between the honest and the useful. Why this repetition? The most plausible explanation is a didactic one. Schwarzenberg (and Steiner) probably ascribed to the emblem such an important didactic function that they considered it sensible to repeat it. In the third

⁶⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXIII r.

book, the emblem is enriched by Cicero's description of the Stoic view on the same issue. It looks as if the image is repeated with the purpose of refreshing the required basic knowledge, while the following text of Cicero's *De officiis* is presented as an in-depth philosophical discussion.

Schwarzenberg had already applied the "strategy of the *Ship of Fools*" in his German translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, which appeared in Augsburg in 1522. The first illustration – which accompanies Cicero's preface – has a poem composed by Schwarzenberg: 'Vil nachteyls uns dis buechlein sagt./ Di mancher narr vom Alter klagt./ Doch weit von aller weysen muoth/ Den erbers alter kumpt zuo guot' – 'This booklet tells us of many disadvantages/ of old age many fools complain about./ But on the contrary: honest old age/ Contributes to the high spirit of all wise men'.⁶⁹ Different from *De officiis*, emblem II, 2, the image shows the wise men (Scipio, Laelius, and Cato), and only the poem mentions the fools. It is revealing for the underlying method that in this short poem, Schwarzenberg "translates" the content of Cicero's philosophical treatise for the 16th-century German audience in terms of *fools versus wise men*. In fact, Cicero's *De senectute* deals with four general prejudices about old age and – via the dialogue character of the wise man, Cato the Elder – proves them to be wrong: (1) old age withdraws men from activity; (2) old age weakens the body; (3) old age takes away all sensual pleasures; and (4) old age is not far from death.⁷⁰ According to Schwarzenberg's introductory poem, it is the fools who share these prejudices. Through this device, in the very first lines Schwarzenberg succeeds in guiding his readers in the direction he wanted.

*Emblems II, 3 and II, 4 ("Advantages and disadvantages of man's society"):
Emotionalization of the Reader, Maximization of Identification Potential,
and Encyclopedic Representation*

After the "table of contents", Cicero – as one may expect from a philosophical treatise – defines his topic (i.e. the 'useful things', 'utilia') and divides it into certain philosophical categories (animate vs. inanimate; rational vs. irrational).⁷¹ The emblem Johann von Schwarzenberg constructs from this passage (II, 3), however, largely ignores these categories, and draws

⁶⁹ von Schwarzenberg, *Des hochberuempten Marci Tullii Ciceronis* fol. II v; idem, *Teütsch Cicero* fol. XXII r.

⁷⁰ Cf. McKendrick, *The Philosophical Books of Cicero* (London: 1989) 206.

⁷¹ *De officiis* II, 11 ff.

on a passage wherein Cicero states that the majority of useful things are created by man in the framework of *civilized society*.⁷² Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem 'Allhie synd wyr gar klare sag/ Wye mensch dem menschen nutzen mag'⁷³ directly points to the image [Fig. 9a and b], which was invented especially for the German *De officiis*: it shows the various ways in which man profits from civilized society. The most important scene is shown in the foreground: a German patrician and his wife take care of an ill old man who could well be the father of one of them. The patrician gives him drink; his wife bears a jug. The ill old man is too weak to hold the glass himself. The ill man's bed is obviously situated in a palace; a large opening (as in a loggia) opens up the view onto a landscape background in which several activities of a civilized society are taking place: architecture (the building of a castle, or possibly of a town), mining, agriculture (a peasant with a pair of oxen, drawing a plough), and hunting (of a bear).

The image certainly illustrates Cicero's text. Nevertheless, it has different functions, and it partly guides the reader in a different direction. First of all, Cicero's philosophical categories are in the image almost irrelevant. Second, *health care* is clearly presented as the most important activity, whereas in Cicero's text it is mentioned only as one activity among many others.⁷⁴ For the *inventio* of the image, health care was obviously chosen for its *emotionalizing quality*. This effect is even strengthened by the fact that health care is blurred with caring for old people, and for parents. Third, because of its emotionalizing features, the image has a certain *meditative quality*: it stimulates meditation on the topic. It instructs the reader: Think about the ways in which man helps his fellow man. Furthermore, through its foreground scene it invites the reader to enrich his meditation with Christian thoughts on charity. Fourth, for the *inventio* of the image certain human activities were selected, whereas others were neglected. One can discern two strategies behind the selection. One was probably to maximize the identification potential for German readers. The inventor selected health care, architecture, agriculture, mining, and hunting, while he excluded navigation,⁷⁵ aqueducts, regulation of rivers, irrigation

⁷² Ibidem II, 12–13.

⁷³ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLI v.

⁷⁴ *De officiis* II, 12 'valetudinis curatio', II, 15 'aegris subvenire'.

⁷⁵ Ibidem II, 12 'navigatio'.



Fig. 9a. A German patrician and his wife take care of an ill old man. Emblem II, 3 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLI v.



Fig. 9b. Detail (private collection).

of fields, the building of harbours, and the construction of dikes.⁷⁶ If Schwarzenberg was the inventor of the image, he probably would think of the citizens of Southern German towns (such as Bamberg, Nuremberg, or Augsburg) as his ideal readers. For them, shipping, harbours, aqueducts, irrigation, and dikes would probably be less important than the other activities mentioned in Cicero's text. The same strategy – to increase identification potential – is the reason why the person taking care of an ill fellow man is rendered as a German patrician. The other strategy is to simplify the image. Cicero himself remarked that with his enumeration he has been too long.⁷⁷ The image's selection is, in fact, already a kind of reaction to Cicero's self-comment. Interestingly, in the German translation Schwarzenberg has deleted Cicero's self-comment and the adherent

⁷⁶ Ibidem II, 14 'ductus aquarum, derivationes fluminum, agrorum inrigationes, moles oppositas fluctibus, portus manu factos [...]'.
⁷⁷ Ibidem II, 16 'Longiores hoc loco sumus quam necesse est'.

passage, some eight lines in total.⁷⁸ He probably considered such reflections to be less adequate for his emblematic presentation.⁷⁹ The emblemization of a text, after all, aimed to provide a compendious presentation. The *inventio* of the image achieves the required impression.

Emblem II, 4 is constructed as the pendant of II, 3. It shows the negative effects of human society and demonstrates that man is the worst enemy of his fellow man. The image was especially designed for Schwarzenberg's emblematic chapter [Fig. 10a and b].⁸⁰ Its main strategy is (as in II, 3) the emotionalization of the reader. Cicero—just like his source, the peripatetic philosopher Dicaearchus—had war and rebellion in mind.⁸¹ Instead of a large battle scene, the image prefers to demonstrate the negative effects of fellow man on an *individual level*: it depicts the raid of a farm. As it seems, all people have been killed or will be killed, while the farmhouse is burning down. Interestingly, Cicero himself is very brief about the negative aspects of civilization, since they do not essentially contribute to his argument. The illustration, in fact, refers only to the second half of paragraph 16.

Schwarzenberg, however, turns it into an emblem and combines it with four paragraphs that develop a different argument: that cooperation between human beings is of the utmost importance, and if virtue is to be successful, it must be combined with cooperation (17–20). It is difficult to see what the image would contribute to this argument. The choice for depicting a raid does not seem to have been inspired by the wish to explain Cicero's treatise. On the contrary: one may say that Schwarzenberg simply used Cicero's text in order to construct an educative emblem. As an emblem, II, 4 is convincing, especially in combination with II, 3. The combination gives the impression that Schwarzenberg had an educative goal in mind that one could label as "*encyclopedic*". It seems that the image invites the reader to use this passage of *De officiis* as an encyclopedia of civilization.

⁷⁸ Schwarzenberg deleted the following passage (*De officiis* II, 16): 'Longiores hoc loco sumus quam necesse est. Quis est enim, cui non perspicua sint illa, quae pluribus verbis a Panaetio commemorantur, neminem neque ducem bello neque principem domi magnas res et salutare sine hominum studiis gerere potuisse. Commemoratur ab eo Themistocles, Pericles, Cyrus, Agesilaus, Alexander, quos negat sine adiumentis hominum tantas res efficere potuisse. Utitur in re non dubia testibus non necessariis'.

⁷⁹ It seems to be no coincidence that Schwarzenberg also deleted other, similar passages, e.g. in *De officiis* II, 20: 'Quae si longior fuerit oratio, cum magnitudine utilitatis comparetur; ita fortasse etiam brevior videbitur'.

⁸⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLII v.

⁸¹ *De officiis* II, 16 'bellis aut seditionibus'.

Das ander thayl

Dann wer ist der/dem dyse ding nit klar vnd offensbar sein? Als auch die selben von Pannecio mit vil woitten angezogen werden/sprechen/Keynem fürsten im streyt/vnd keynem regierer da haymen/mügen grosse heylsamen ding/on fleysch vnd hilff der menschen/widerfaren. Es werden auch von Pannecio die fürsten/als Themistocles/Pericles/Cyrus/Agelilaus/vnd Alexander/angezogen/den on hilff der menschen/solch groß sach zu volbringen/nit möglich gewest were/Vnnd geprauchet sych Pannecius deshalb vil zeugschafft vnnnd bewerung/die in eyner solchen offenbarn vnzweyffelichen sach nit not ist.

Manchding das menschlich leben nött/Noch mer ein mensch dz ander tödt.



Aber es ist zu mercken/gleicherweys/als wir mit gunst vnnnd eynhelligkeyt der menschen grossen nutz vberkommen/Also wirdt auch keyn geßtere dürstigkeit vnd zerstörung/dann die ein mensch dem andern züsügt/sunde. Es ist ein büch durch den Philosophum Dicaearchum / eynen grossen vnnnd kunstreichen Peripateticum/gemacht/darinnen vilerley weys/von verderblichkeit der menschen angezogen werden/als mit der flutt/Pestilenz/Verwüstung/durch sterben vñ hunger/auch tödtung/die von der manigschedlicher thyer geschyhet/die sich etwo also züsamen gehäufft/das sie eyn ganz volck vertriben oder abgethan haben. Vnnnd erzelt darnach/das danneß vil mehr leut/von ungestümigkeit wegen der menschen/inn streyten vnnnd auffläuffen/wann durch alle andere verderbligkeyt vertilgt seind.

Sonst

Fig. 10a. The raid of a farm. Emblem II, 4 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLII v.



Fig. 10b. Detail (private collection).

Emblem II, 5: Machiavellization of Cicero

The next emblems show even more fundamental reinterpretations of Cicero's text by Schwarzenberg's and Steiner's emblemizations. A very spectacular one is emblem II, 5 [Fig. 11a and b].⁸² It is drawn from *De officiis* II, 20–22. In this passage Cicero deals with the question how a politician can positively influence people so that they will act in a way favourable to him, i.e. that they will support him, especially with regard to political matters, such as elections and decisions in the Senate. Cicero lists seven means (or scenarios): (1) that people personally love a politician; (2) that people respect a politician because they consider him to be virtuous; (3) that people think that a politician somehow deserves good luck (fortune); (4) that people trust a politician and are convinced that he will represent their interests well; (5) that people are afraid of a statesman or ruler; (6) that people expect a certain (material, financial) advantage from him; and (7) that people are bribed by a politician, or paid for their

⁸² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XLIII v–XLIII r.

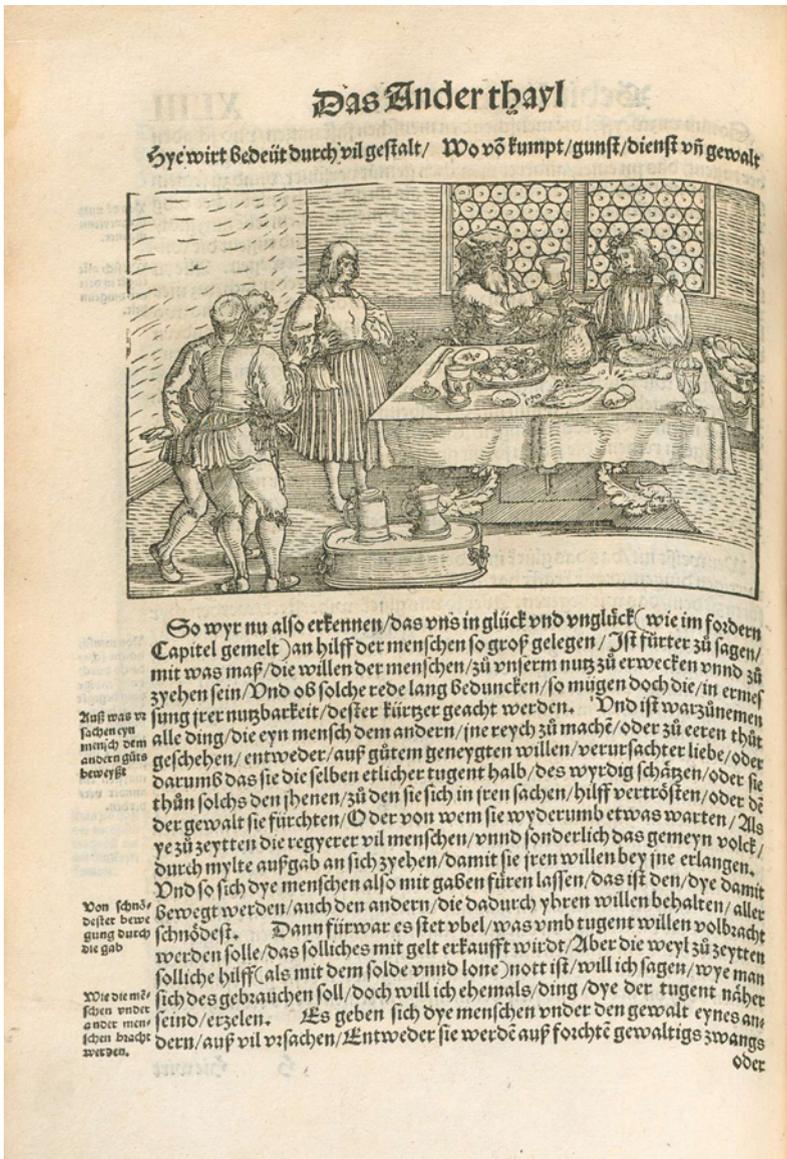


Fig. 11a. Bribery. Emblem II, 5 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII v.



Fig. 11b. Detail (private collection).

support.⁸³ Cicero is most interested in the first four means, which he considers to be effective and fruitful. He disagrees with the fifth because it is counterproductive and dangerous, and despises the sixth and the seventh, since he considers them to be morally abject.⁸⁴ According to Cicero, if a politician wants to influence the people, virtue should be the guiding principle. A state that depends on tyranny or bribery is in a very bad condition.

The emblem, however, converts Cicero's message into its opposite. The poem promises to explain 'Wo von kompt Gunst, dienst und gewalt'.⁸⁵ The image [Fig. 11b] shows two patricians sitting behind a sumptuous table. The elder patrician hands over a pouch of money to the younger: thus, an act of bribery is obviously depicted here. From the image, in combination with Schwarzenberg's poem, the reader must

⁸³ Cf. *De officiis* II, 21; the list is repeated in II, 22.

⁸⁴ In II, 22 he says that he first will discuss the means (1)–(6), and that – since sometimes one cannot avoid it – he will come back to bribery later. Interestingly, however, he does not come back to it.

⁸⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII v.

conclude that bribery is the most, if not the only, effective method to bring forth goodwill, favour, and power. This is very pragmatic and cynical advice, Machiavellian in its essence, and is totally alien to Cicero's *De officiis*, which is always based on the belief in virtue and honesty. Could it be that the author of this Machiavellian reinterpretation of *De officiis* is Johann von Schwarzenberg? Is this the moral education of the German nation he had in mind? This is hardly plausible, especially if one keeps an eye on Schwarzenberg's prefaces and on his other works, all of which were written in order to promote virtue.

If one closely analyzes the emblem, it appears that the Machiavellian interpretation is caused predominantly by the image. It is taken – again – from the *De remediis* set (I, 82),⁸⁶ and thus the person responsible for its choice is Heinrich Steiner. Interestingly, the Petrarch-Master did not intend to depict an act of bribery. Petrarch's chapter deals with "De bono patre", "On a good father". *Ratio* develops arguments about why one should not enjoy too much the fact that one has a good father. The *inventio* of the image focuses on a specific behaviour characteristic of 'a good father': to ensure a good education for his child. Part of the good education of the well-to-do was the *peregrinatio Academica*. Thus, when a son was about to leave for his *peregrinatio Academica*, his father would organize a lavish farewell dinner and furnish him with a sufficient amount of money.⁸⁷ This is what is shown in the image.

Somehow Steiner got the idea that this image would perfectly illustrate Schwarzenberg's emblem II, 5. Here, again, he proves to be a very creative person, with a strong inclination toward pragmatic thinking. He was fascinated by two aspects of the image: the glass of wine and the pouch of money. They seemed to render perfectly two effective "virtues" applied by patricians in order to achieve their goals: generosity/open-handedness, and hospitality. Through his daily experience Steiner was well aware that these were the means to generate political friendships. One must keep in mind that Steiner worked in Augsburg, a town that was dominated by very rich patricians, such as the Fugger and the Welser families. Using enormous sums of money, the Fugger had even recently proven themselves to be able to "buy" the Roman Emperor Charles V. Such practices probably represent the background

⁸⁶ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* I, 82.

⁸⁷ Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 140, pointed correctly to the traveler's bag to the right of the son. Scheidig thought that the son just had returned from travelling. In that case, however, the pouch of money would not make much sense.

against which the Augsburger Steiner transferred Cicero's *De officiis* passage into a "Machiavellian" emblem.⁸⁸

Emblems II, 6–8 ("On Tyranny"): Political Transformations

However, the next three emblems (II, 6–8),⁸⁹ all about the topic of tyranny, are not at all Machiavellian. All three offer moral lessons against tyranny. Cicero himself was very much occupied with the topic, since he composed *De officiis* in the aftermath of the assassination of the "tyrant" Julius Caesar (March 44 BC), between 9 October and 9 December 44 BC. Thus, the scenario 'political influence caused by fear' in *De officiis* leads to an in-depth discussion.⁹⁰ The historical impact of the assassination of Caesar was well understood by Johann von Schwarzenberg. This can be deduced from the fact that while Cicero, when talking about Caesar, deliberately avoids mentioning his name ('the man that [...]', 'he'), Schwarzenberg in his translation always inserts Caesar's name ('Keyser Julius') and sometimes adds historical notes in square brackets that leave no room for misunderstanding.⁹¹ Although each line in the relevant *De officiis* passage reflects Cicero's frustration with the present state of the Roman Empire, his argument is predominantly presented in a descriptive way; Schwarzenberg's emblems, however, are much more prescriptive and teach moral lessons.

The first one is 'Who kills a tyrant and a dog that suffers from rabies, will be praised': 'Tirannen und ein hund der tobt/ Wer die ertödt, der

⁸⁸ It may be that in his "Machiavellian" interpretation, Steiner was partly inspired by a mistranslation of the Latin in the German *De remediis*. The title of chapter was erroneously translated as "On a noble father" (instead of "On a good father"). A 'noble father' was, of course, a patrician, and in the image one could see a patrician sitting at his lavish table. Therefore, Steiner may have interpreted the scene just as the display of typically patrician lifestyle and behaviour.

⁸⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XLVIII r–XLVIr.

⁹⁰ *De officiis* II, 23–29.

⁹¹ Cf. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII r: 'so ist es doch jungst durch den tod des Keysers Julii [der vom Römischen rath in Capitolio erstochen] offenbar worden [...]'; fol. XLV v: 'dem {sc. Sulla} ein ander, das ist Julius Caesar, nachgevolget, der in unbillichen sachen unnder vil schnöde sygen, nit allayn die güter der eynigen Burger, öffentlich verkauffet [...]'. Cicero alludes to Caesar but does not mention his name in other passages of the *De officiis* as well, e.g. in III, 83. In such cases, Schwarzenberg always tries to make the text more explicit, and he adds Caesar's name. Cf. (III, 83): 'Wiewol nun Julius dise über gethon, wirt er toch vonden, die er vergeweltiget hat, ein vatter genant'.

wirt gelobt'.⁹² In the relevant *De officiis* passage (II, 23–24) Cicero does not praise Brutus and his comrades. However, the image – which was especially made for this emblem – shows the murder of Caesar, which took place 'in the Roman Senate', just as Schwarzenberg remarked in his commenting note [Fig. 12a and b].⁹³ The Roman 'rath' (Senate) is rendered by the three men to the right side of Caesar; the man in front is Senator Cicero, who is depicted as an old man with a long beard. In order to understand this, one may compare the woodcut with that depicting the murder of Cicero that was printed by Steiner in the *Life of Cicero*, as part of Schwarzenberg's *Teütsch Cicero* [Fig. 13].⁹⁴ In the *Life of Cicero*, Schwarzenberg had drawn from Cicero's death a moral emblem: 'Many times pious men suffer because of saying the truth [...] – 'Umm warheytt offt der frumm leydt noth,/ Das auch verursacht disen tod./ Und ist doch besser leyden pein/ Dann inn der hilff der bösen seyn'.⁹⁵

In the *De officiis* emblem II, 6 Caesar is rendered through symbolic attributes as an abominable tyrant: in his hands he holds an instrument of torture. Instead of thumbs or fingers, the hearts of his subjects are clamped. Moreover, Caesar suppresses with his feet a kneeling subject whom he has silenced, as the lock on the subject's mouth indicates. The lock pierces the tongue so that the punished person is henceforth unable to speak. 'To put a lock on one's mouth' was a current proverbial expression [Fig. 14].⁹⁶ Brutus, disguised as a traveller, is entering the scene from the left and is already drawing his sword. The image thus depicts a highly dramatic moment that Schwarzenberg chose in order to emotionalize the reader, and to morally educate him through this emotionalization. The image leaves no room for nuance or doubt – it demonstrates both Caesar's obvious crime and just punishment.

The following emblem (II, 7)⁹⁷ is on the same topic but exploits the strategy of emotionalizing the reader even more. The image shows a most cruel act, the murder and decapitation of a person that was obviously ordered by the powerful ruler to the left, who sits on his throne [Fig. 15].⁹⁸ Because of the kind of crown he is wearing, the reader understands that the ruler must be a Roman Emperor. Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem

⁹² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII r.

⁹³ *Ibidem*; cf. above.

⁹⁴ (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XIX v.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁶ Röhrich L., *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* (Munich: 2001), vol. V, 1368.

⁹⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII v.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

Sebürllicher werck XLIII

oder aber mit gütwilligkeit/grosser beweyster wolthüung/treflicher wirt-
de/hoffnung/oder verheissung künsttrigs nutz/oder miltigkeit/vnd zum letz-
ten/durch gabe oder belonung (als wir dann dick in vnserm gemeinen nutz
gesehen haben) darzu bracht.

Tyrannen/vnd ein hund der tobt/ Wer die ertödt/der wirt gelobt.



Vnder allenn dingen ist zübesicherung vnnnd behaltung der reich/nichts
schicklichers/dann lieb gehabt/Vnnnd dawider nichts schedlichers wann
durch vnzümlliche grausamkeit] gefürcht werden. Darumb der Poet En-
nius schreibt/Wen die völder fürchten/den hassen sie/vnd begert ein yeder
den/den er haßt/zünerreiben. Aber wie kein reichthumb viler mensche haf-
widerstehn mag wer das vormals vnbekant gewest/so ist es doch lungst/
durch den tod des Keyfers Julij] der vom Römischen rath im Capitolio
erstochen] offenbar worden/Vñ mit allein der tod des verzogenanten Ty-
rannen (des vergeweltigung die Stat Rom mit seyndlichen weren leyden
müß) Sonder solchs gleicher weys/durch das ende vil anderer Tyrannen
(der gar nahet keiner solchem tod empflohen ist) erklet. Fürwar forcht/
ist ein böser/vnd widerumb gütwilligkeit ein lang wirtiger getrewer hütter.
Nedoch gegen den/die mit gewalt vberwunden sind/vnd sunst mit behalten
vnd billiger weis gestrafft werden mügen/ist erwa der grimigkeit nott/Al-
so auch byswelen die herrn gegen iren vnghehor-samen knechtenn] das dar-
mals ganz eygen leut gewest] herrtigkeit bedörffen.

Von hasse er
gesochten.

Gleichnus
mit etlichen
Tyrannen.

Denn forcht
vnd lieb.

Vs nott
tigger straff
vnd forcht.

S ü Aber

Fig. 12a. The murder of Caesar. Emblem II, 6 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [. . .] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII r.



Fig. 12b. Detail (private collection).

invites the reader to identify the ruler as a tyrant: 'Wer will dass man ihn fürcht durch peyn,/ Muoss auch in stäten engsten seyn./ Hab wir bey vil Thyrannen schein'.⁹⁹ From the right side of the image one of the tyrant's henchmen enters the scene and triumphantly presents to his master the disembodied head of the man whom he had killed [Fig. 15]. The henchman in an outrageous gesture holds up the head of his victim by its hair, and his distorted face shows the emotion of *furor*. Just behind the henchman lies the beheaded body, with streams of blood still running down from its neck. This suggests that the beheading must have taken place just a few seconds ago, before the eyes of the Emperor. Scheidig, who thought that the image originally belonged to *De officiis*, has interpreted the scene as the beheading of a tyrant.¹⁰⁰ This, however, is impossible. The "tyrant" is alive and sitting on his throne; obviously, he must be the one who had ordered the beheading.

⁹⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁰ *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 305.

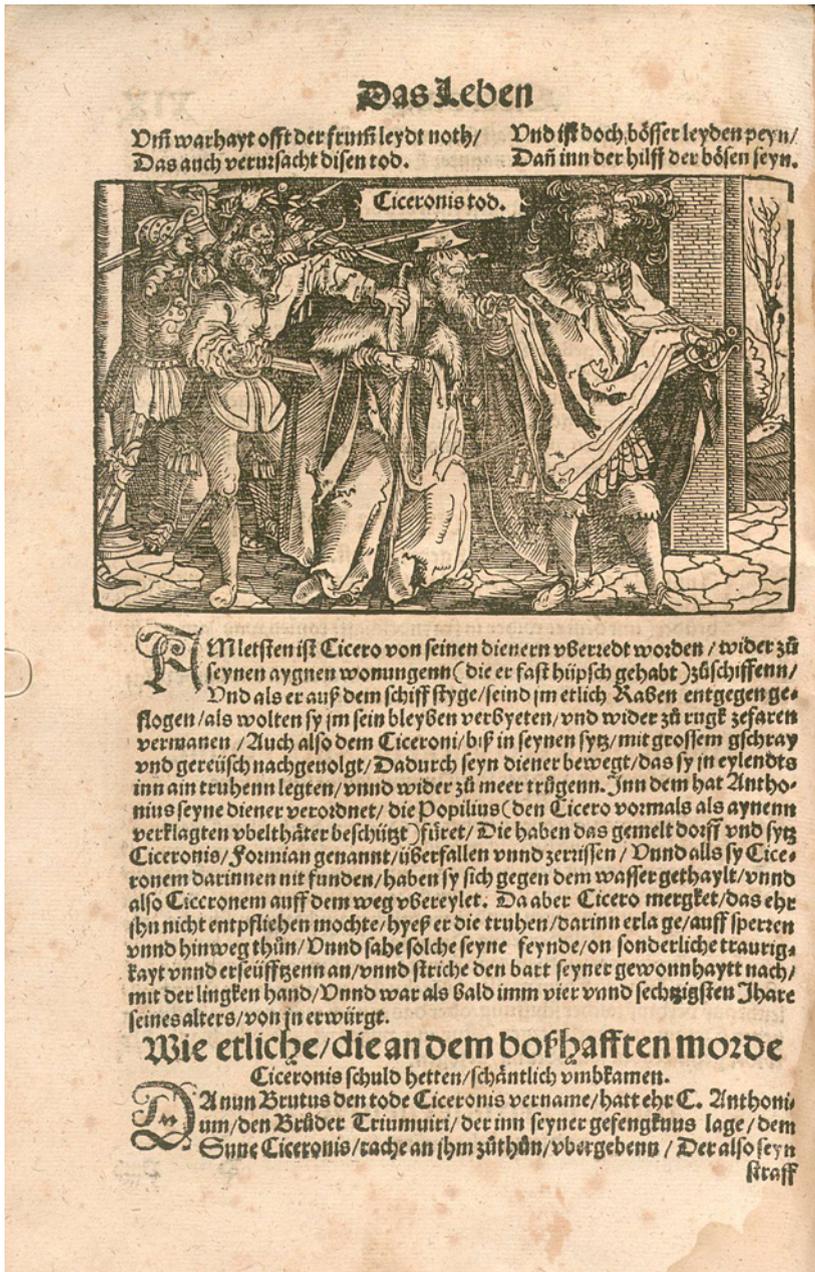


Fig. 13. The murder of Cicero. Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XIX v.



Fig. 14. Proverb 'To put a lock on one's mouth'. Röhrich, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, vol. V, 1368.

Cicero's text (II, 24–27), however, does not discuss the tyrants' cruelty, but their *fear*, and the negative results of their rule. He deals with a number of *exempla historica*, and he deliberately takes all of them from Greek history (Dionysius II from Syracuse, Alexander Pheraeus, Phalaris, Demetrius).¹⁰¹ Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem also focuses on the

¹⁰¹ *De officiis* II, 24–26; 26: 'Externa libentius in tali re quam domestica recorder'.

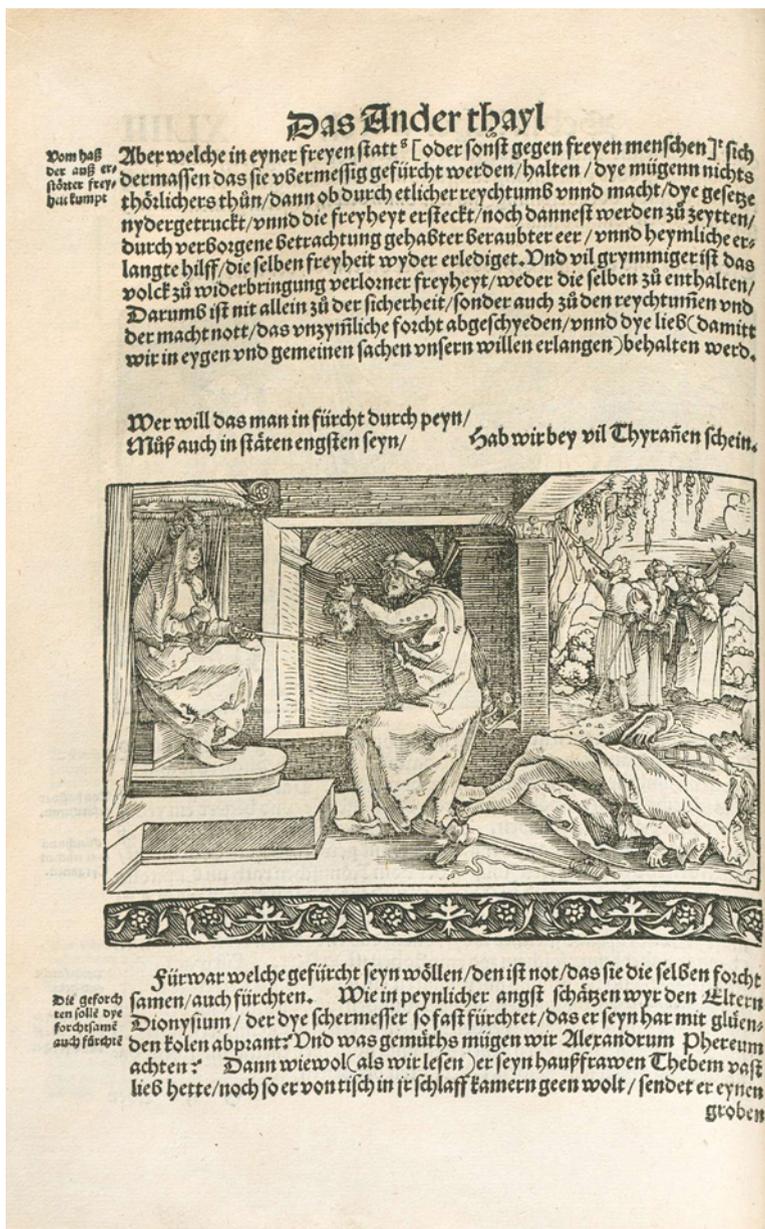


Fig. 15. The beheading of a subject (Cicero). Emblem II, 7 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII v.

tyrants' fear and anxiety. Neither Cicero nor Schwarzenberg mentions or describes beheadings. Schwarzenberg talks about 'fürcht durch peyn', which means that people are afraid of tyrants because of the tortures they inflict on their subjects. The image, however, does not display any kind of torture, but rather a beheading – a death penalty that was considered comparatively painless. Therefore, it is very unlikely that Schwarzenberg envisaged a beheading as the image of this emblem. It could well be that he invented/ordered a scene in which a person underwent some kind of late medieval torture, such as the rack (*equuleus*).

The image of emblem II, 7 was "invented" not by Schwarzenberg, but by Heinrich Steiner, and, again, he took it from the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* set. There, it illustrated chapter II, 102, "Von den Gebrechen der Redenhaftigkeit" ("De eloquentie defectu" – "On the lack of eloquence"; Fig. 16).¹⁰² The dialogue character of mental pain (*Dolor*) complains about being not eloquent enough. *Ratio* presents arguments for why one should not be grievous because of that. Scheidig did not see any connection between the content of this chapter and the illustration.¹⁰³ Therefore, he guessed that the illustration originally belonged to *De officiis*. There is, however, a clear connection already in the beginning of the chapter. *Ratio* says: 'You lack one of the tools to earn hatred. Acknowledge it is a benefit of Nature, who deprived you of [...] no small a slice of Fortune's woes. For many perish because of their eloquence. If you doubt that, ask the princes/ champions of both kinds of eloquence'.¹⁰⁴ 'The princes/ champions of both kinds of eloquence' ('utriusque eloquii principes') are Cicero, the champion of Latin, and Demosthenes, the champion of Greek eloquence. Both were killed because of their *Philippic* speeches – Demosthenes by King Philip of Macedonia because he agitated against the King's Macedonian imperialism, and Cicero by the Roman *triumviri* because of his *Orationes Philippicae* against Marc Antony. The image II, 102 designed by the Petrarch-Master, in all likelihood depicts the beheading of Cicero [Fig. 16].¹⁰⁵ The Roman Emperor sitting on the throne probably represents Augustus, who agreed to have Cicero killed.

Interestingly, if Steiner wanted to illustrate emblem II, 7 to go more closely with the text of either Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem or Cicero's *De officiis* II, 24–26, he would have had at his disposal within the *Von*

¹⁰² *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. CXXIX r.

¹⁰³ *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 305.

¹⁰⁴ *De remediis* II, 102, transl. Rawski, vol. III, 247–248.

¹⁰⁵ For the background scene cf. the illustration in the *Teütsch Cicero*, fol. XIX v (Fig. 13).



Fig. 16. The beheading of Cicero. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. CXXIX r (private collection).

der Artzney bayder Glück set at least three woodcuts that were more suitable, viz. II, 65, II, 81, and II, 39. The image of II, 39 (“On an unjust lord”/ “Von einem ungerechten Herrn”) depicts a Greek tyrant (as required by Cicero), clearly Dionysius II of Syracuse [Fig. 17].¹⁰⁶ The fact that he rules by fear and terror, and that he is inflicting pain upon his subjects, is symbolized by the sword he holds in his right hand and the whip he has in his left hand. The fear is also shown on the face of the male subject (bottom, right). The fact that the tyrant himself is afraid is made clear by the “sword of Damokles” hanging above him – a psychological torture invented by Dionysius II himself. And, last but not least, the face of the tyrant has the

¹⁰⁶ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. XLVIII r.



Fig. 17. The tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. XXXVIII r (private collection).

same anxious expression as that of his subject. The tyrant turns his head around as if he expects some danger coming from behind. The unpleasant, awkward feeling the tyrant suffers from is strengthened by the strange features of his mantle, which seems to be textured with thorns and spikes. The sinister atmosphere is further indicated by the demon, depicted at the bottom, to the left. This is the demon of tyranny. Petrarch's *De remediis* chapter contains an explanation of the image:

SORROW (DOLOR): The unhappy populace suffers from an unfair lord.

REASON (RATIO): Of all the wretched people, not one, believe me, is more wretched than a tyrant. If you doubt this, consider Dionysius, depraved but not stupid. What he thought of himself and his tyranny is clearly indicated by the point of that sword he had hung over the head of his friend. The story is well known. The people fear the tyrant and the tyrant fears them. This way they rack each other with their mutual fear, the difference being that the misery of the people is overt but that of the tyrant is hidden. Yet a wound that is covered by a purple robe does not hurt any less, nor do golden shackles bind less than iron ones. [...] On the outside the tyrant's mantle is gold. But turn it and you will find it on the inside it is full of cruel spikes. So you can see that the tyrants do not rage with total impunity and do not oppress the people without suffering retribution.¹⁰⁷

SCHMERTZ: Das unglücksälüg volck leydet ein ungerechten herrn.

VERNUNFFT: Glaub mir, in und under eynem haylarmenn volck ist niemandts heylermer denn der Tyrann oder Wütrich, unnd wenn du daran zweyfelst, so sihe den Dionisium an, der selbig böss, aber nicht ungelert mann. Hat mit der spitzen des schwerts, das uber dem kopff seynes freunds uber tisch hieng, auffß öffentlichst angezayget, was er von im selbs und seynem Tyrannischen und wütterlichen Regiment hielt. Woelliche hystoria und geschicht bekannt ist. Das volck forcht sich vor dem Tyrannen und der Tyrann vor dem volck. Also peyniget ein thayl den andern mit gleycher forcht. Aber in dem ist die underschayd, das die armsälügkayt des gemaynen volcks offenbar, aber des Tyrannen verborgen unnd heimlich ist. Doch peynigt nit weniger die wundenn, die mit einer sameten decke verdeckt ist; es beschwerenn auch die gulden fuossband nicht weniger dann die eyssene [...] Auswendig tregt der Tyrann oder Wütrich ein gulden stuck, wendest du es umb, so ist es innwendig voller brinnenden stacheln. Also (wie du sihest) nicht gantz entweder ungestrafft die Tyrannen ungütlich mit den leuten umbeegen oder das gemayn volck ungerochen beschwert wirt.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *De remediis* II, 39, transl. Rawski, vol. III, 100.

¹⁰⁸ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. XLVIII v.

Thus, this image – clarified by Petrarch’s explanation – would have fit perfectly the *De officiis* emblem II, 7. Interestingly, Steiner has used this image for a very similar emblem constructed from the third book of the German *De officiis* (III, 84–85): ‘Wer land und leüt mit unrecht drangt./ Ob dem das schwert am faden hangt./ Und stet gross gfar wie hoch er prangt’ [Fig. 18].¹⁰⁹ There, again, Cicero’s text deals with the fear and anxiety tyrants suffer from, although the passage is much shorter and less explicit than *De officiis* II, 24–26. Steiner must have decided to combine the beautiful emblematic illustration of *De remediis* II, 39 with *De officiis* III, 84–85, because in the emblematic poem to the passage Schwarzenberg explicitly mentioned the sword of Damokles (which is depicted in the image) [Fig. 18].

The illustration to *De remediis* II, 81 (“Von der verlorren Tyrannei”) shows the worst fears of tyrants, which at the same time are the topical punishments of tyranny: to be isolated, to be attacked by one’s subjects, to lose power, to be besieged by fellow citizens, and finally to get assassinated or killed by them [Fig. 19].¹¹⁰ The assassination of the tyrant is depicted in the center of the woodcut. In Petrarch’s chapter, by contrast, the tyrant remains alive. He is the one (behind the mask of *Dolor*) who complains about having lost his lordship.

The image to *De remediis* II, 65 (“On torture” – “Von peynigung”) depicts tortures inflicted by tyrants [Fig. 20].¹¹¹ In the left half of the image, a most horrible instrument of torture is shown, the iron “bull of Phalaris”, in which the victims were enclosed in order to be roasted on a fire. The iron bull was invented for the Greek tyrant Phalaris, who is mentioned in the relevant *De officiis* paragraph II, 26. Although Petrarch’s chapter treats torture from the perspective of the tortured person, RATIO answers in the beginning SORROW’s complaint by: ‘Pity your tormentor. He suffers worse torture than you. Although all the world disagrees with it, it is still a lesser evil to suffer injustice than to perpetrate it’.¹¹² In the German translation, Steiner could read: ‘VERNUNFFT: Erbarm dich seins peinigers. Derselb wirt serer gepeynigt dann du. Wiewol die welt darwider strebt, so ist doch unrecht erleyden ein kleyner ubel dann unrecht thuon’.¹¹³ Thus,

¹⁰⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXXXII v (emphasis mine).

¹¹⁰ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. XCVIII r; the chapter inscription has erroneously ‘Das LXXXII. Capitel’.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, book II, fol. LXXVI v.

¹¹² *De remediis* II, 65, transl. Rawski, vol. III, 146 (with changes).

¹¹³ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* fols. LXXVI v–LXXVII r.

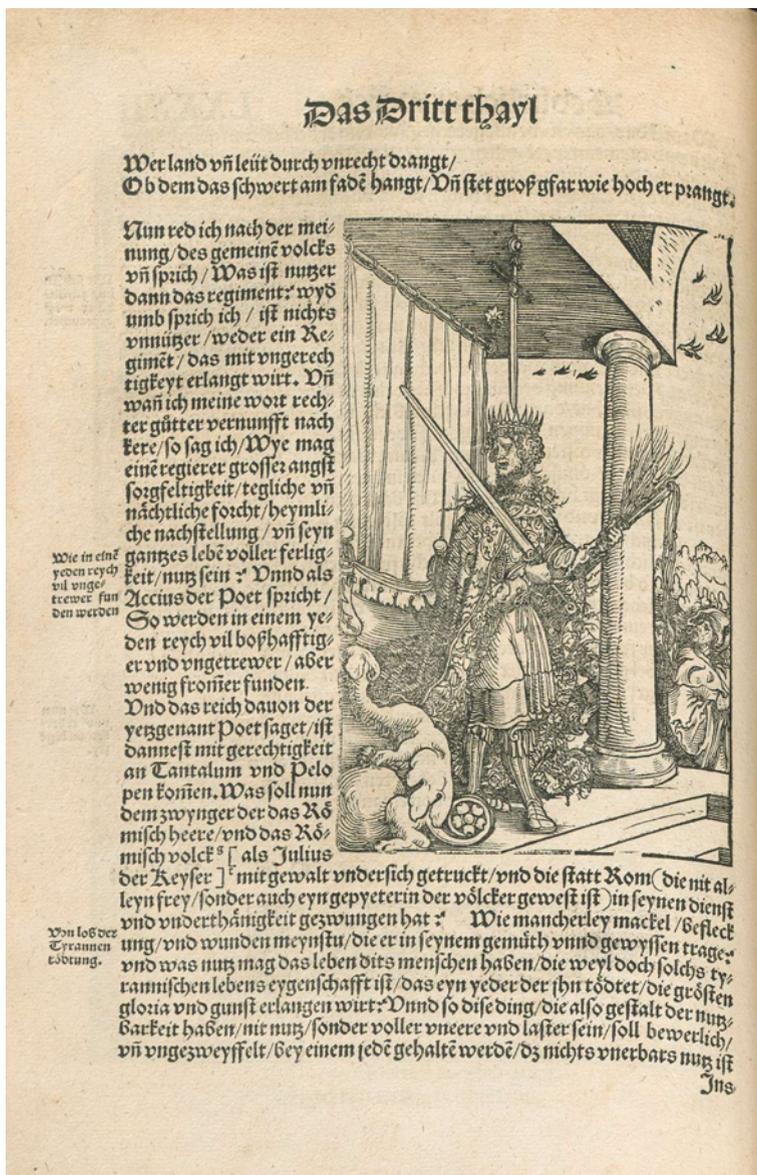


Fig. 18. The tyrant. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. LXXXII v.



Fig. 19. "Von der verlorren Tyranny" ("On the loss of a lordship"). Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. XCVI r (private collection).



Fig. 20. "Von peynigung" ("On torture"). Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. LXXVI v (private collection).

Steiner also could have chosen the images of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* II, 65 and II, 81.

But what exactly is the effect of Steiner's decision to add the image of chapter II, 102, with the beheading of Cicero [Fig. 15], to the above-mentioned *De officiis* passage? The most important thing is probably that the emblem II, 7 gets a new political dimension: it is the Roman Emperor who is depicted as a tyrant; a murderer; and a suppressor of freedom, eloquence, and – most irritatingly of all – the murderer of the author of the moral manual, Cicero. Therefore, the image offers arguments as to why it would be just to punish the Emperor. Cicero, in the relevant *De officiis* passage, was reluctant to connect the discussion on tyranny with the Roman Empire, and Schwarzenberg also did not talk about the Roman Emperor. Would Schwarzenberg have been happy to accuse the Roman Emperor of being a tyrant? This is doubtful. One must not forget that in 1521 he was a member of the *Reichsregiment* of Charles V. But it is certain that the Petrarch-Master did accuse the Emperor in various woodcuts.¹¹⁴ For the Petrarch-Master's attitude, one may compare the image to II, 73, "On a King without a son". In the image, the 'king' is depicted as the Roman Emperor, with the imperial crown of the Habsburgs.¹¹⁵ The 'King without a Son' – Maximilian I – will be unable to prolong the power of his dynasty. The design of the woodcut probably was made in 1519, in the aftermath of Maximilian's death. The woodcut of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* II, 102 adds to the *De officiis* emblems an anti-imperial and anti-Habsburg touch. German readers of the 1530s might have felt invited to understand Cicero's "Mirror of virtue", in this and similar cases, as an anti-imperial and anti-Habsburg manifesto.

Schwarzenberg's and Steiner's emblematicizations display more ideological transformations of *De officiis*. In *De officiis* II, 27 f. Cicero offers a personal interpretation of Roman history ca. 110–80 BC, in which he gives a special place to the auction Sulla held at the Forum to sell the loot he gathered from the adherents of Marius. If one departs from the Latin text, the image seems to be an illustration of Sulla's auction [Fig. 21a and b].¹¹⁶ In emblem II, 8 Schwarzenberg reinterpreted Cicero's text on Sulla's auction

¹¹⁴ Cf. Enenkel, "Pain as Persuasion" 94–119 (esp. 115–119); Steinmann U., "Die politische Tendenz des Petrarca-Meisters. Seine Stellungnahme gegen die Wahl Karls V. und sein Verhalten zu den Ereignissen in Württemberg", *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte* 6 (1964) 40–90.

¹¹⁵ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* fol. XCII v "Von einem König der kein Sun hat".

¹¹⁶ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLV v.

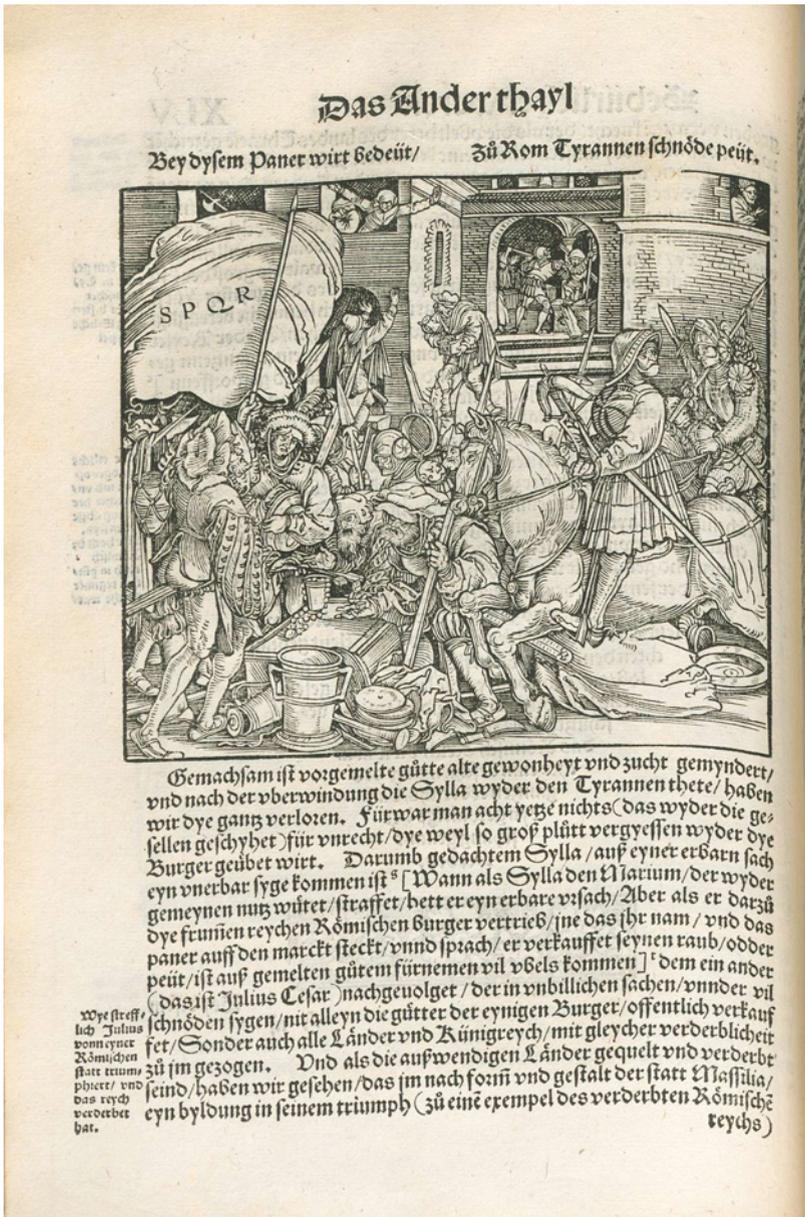


Fig. 21a. Soldiers throwing the dice. Emblem II, 8 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLV v.



Fig. 21b. Detail (private collection).

in the following way: 'this flag means: in Rome (there is; is to be had; is sold) the tyrant's immoral loot' – 'Bey *dysem Paner* wirt bedeiüt;/ Zuo Rom Tyrannen schnöde peüt'.¹¹⁷ The poem points directly to the image, which is dominated by a large flag ('paner'; top left) of the Roman state (as indicated by the inscription S.P.Q.R.). Schwarzenberg, followed by the artist who made the illustration, slightly "changed" the Roman habit of organizing an auction: 'sub hasta vendere' ('to sell under the lance'); 'hastae subicere (aliquid)' ('to put something under the lance'); 'hastam ponere' ('to fix the lance'); and 'ad hastam publicam accedere' ('to go to a public auction'). The habit was that a lance was pierced into the ground as a sign that a public auction was about to take place. 'Hastam ponere' was not about a flag or a banner, and certainly not about the flag of an army. In the image, however, not only has the lance turned into the banner of the Roman army, but the public auction has transformed into a division of spoils among soldiers decided by *throwing the dice*. The artist has depicted the greediness in the faces of the two soldiers in the foreground (who are

¹¹⁷ Ibidem (emphasis mine).

playing dice; Fig. 21b). This image refers to a well-known iconography: the Roman soldiers in front of the cross who were throwing dice for Christ's mantle. It is probably no coincidence that in the foreground of the *De officiis* image one can see a large mantle lying on the ground. Via this strategy, the emblematic image accuses the Roman army and its leader of impious, un-Christian behaviour.

In Cicero's *De officiis*, the person accused of holding a public auction is Sulla.¹¹⁸ In Schwarzenberg's emblem, *the big auctioneer of the Roman goods* appears to be *Julius Caesar*. First, Schwarzenberg transforms Cicero's text on Sulla's auction into a historical footnote by putting it between square brackets [Fig. 21a]. The text in brackets looks like a learned annotation made by Schwarzenberg to help his less learned German audience. But, as a result, the remaining prose text is all about Caesar. Schwarzenberg not only explicitly mentions Caesar's name ('das ist Julius Cesar'), but he also focuses attention on him by summarizing the content in a marginal annotation: 'Wye strefflich Julius vonn eyner Römischen statt triumphieret, und das reych verderbet hat' – 'How Caesar in a criminal way celebrated a triumph over a Roman town, and destroyed the Roman Empire' [Fig. 21a].

The result of Schwarzenberg's reorganization of Cicero's text is that his German readers must have understood the image in a way other than one might have if one just looked at Cicero's Latin text. In combination with the reworked and reorganized text, the image does not simply show Sulla's auction, but the *plundering of the Roman town of Massilia by Caesar's soldiers and Caesar's triumphant entry into Massilia*.¹¹⁹ The entry into Massilia is shown by the knights on horseback on the right side of the image. The second knight, in his full suit of armour (= Waffenrüstung), probably represents the triumphant army leader Julius Caesar. To understand this better, it is helpful to have a look at the title page of the German *De officiis* [Fig. 1].¹²⁰ It shows the tyrant Julius Caesar in his suit of armour, presiding over the Roman Senate. That he acts as a tyrant is indicated by the fact that he wears his suit of armour in the Senate. In his German poem, Schwarzenberg explains: 'So Julius durch seinen trutz/hat undertruckt gemeynen nutz [...] – 'In this way, with his belligerent

¹¹⁸ *De officiis* II, 27. In a cryptic way, Cicero alludes to 'another one' who committed worse things: who 'sold whole provinces of the Empire'.

¹¹⁹ The triumph over Massilia is mentioned in Cicero's text *De officiis* II, 28 (beginning of the paragraph).

¹²⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XXXVIII v.

behaviour, Caesar has suppressed the common good'.¹²¹ In the background of Fig. 21a and b the looting of Massilia is depicted, and in the foreground is the division of the spoils – an event that probably is thought to have taken place in Rome after the official triumph.

That Rome is mentioned so prominently in Schwarzenberg's poem, and that the city was singled out as the location of the moral disaster that ruined the Empire, also contribute to the ideological potential of his *De officiis* emblem II, 8. Schwarzenberg was an ardent Lutheran. For Lutherans, Rome had very negative associations, and they were easily inclined to identify 'the tyrant in Rome' with the Pope. The Pope was denounced as the one who was destroying Christianity (i.e. the Antichrist) and who stole the property of his fellow Christians, especially the Germans. The Pope was also seen as the immoral heir of immoral emperors of Roman antiquity, such as Julius Caesar, Caligula, and Nero. There was also a more specific link between Julius Caesar and the papacy. The previous Pope, Julius II (+1513), not only identified himself with Julius Caesar, but openly behaved like him. He was known as the (un-Christian) warrior Pope who was proud of leading his soldiers to the battlefield himself, as he did on his campaign against Bologna. Schwarzenberg's emblem II, 8 transfers *De officiis* into a Lutheran ideological discourse that came up 1515–1520 and remained relevant in the years to come when Luther's reformation gained more and more ground. Julius Caesar served as a prefiguration of the Antichrist, and the Roman Popes Julius II and Leo X were both regarded as Antichrists.

Emblem II, 9 ("How to build a barn"): Proverbial Translation

Another strategy of reader's guidance employed by the illustrations may be labelled "proverbial translation". The philosophical content of Cicero's text is summarized in a German proverb. Since proverbs are, in general, closely related to people's daily experience, they can be useful to explain more complex and difficult content. An example of this strategy is emblem 9 (fols. XLVI v–XLVII r). Cicero's text talks about the 'love' ('caritas') the politician tries to rouse in order to make people support him.¹²² According to Cicero, this love is somehow connected with and dependent on admiration, trust, and honour. Schwarzenberg translated

¹²¹ Ibidem.

¹²² *De officiis* II, 32–35.

this content into the German proverb 'mit Nachbarn baut man Scheunen', as his emblematic poem indicates: 'Des sprichworts wirt gar oft entzebt,/ dass man mit nachbern schewern hebt./ Drum wz zuo lieb und freundschaftt neigt/ Hierbey is klerlich angezeigt'.¹²³ The image is an illustration of the proverb, and the emblematic poem points directly to the illustration. The perspective and the focus of the proverb, however, differ from Cicero's philosophical argument: the proverb's perspective is not that of a politician, but that of ordinary people, and it focuses not on political support by an unlimited number of unknown people, but on the manual help given by a few neighbours. The image that depicts in detail how a barn is built [Fig. 22a and b] locates the emblematic action in the milieu of peasants and lower craftsmen, not of citizens or the nobility.

In what way does the image's comment guide the reception of Cicero's text? Cicero argues that virtue (or the positive impression a politician makes) is the most important motif for arousing the 'love' or goodwill of the people. Very differently, the help of neighbours is based on a "do ut des" or "manus manum lavat" principle. Thus, the image that demonstrates this principle stresses another motif or reason for 'love': 'beneficentia'. Cicero, who was, of course, well acquainted with the Roman "do ut des" mentality, mentioned it; however, in his philosophical argument he considered virtue much more important. As was already the case with emblem II, 5, the emblematic image (and poem) of II, 9 gives the content of the German *De officiis* a more ordinary, down-to-earth, and Machiavellian flavour.

*Emblem II, 10 ("Patrician with his children"): Shift of Perspective
as Vernacular Translation*

Emblem II, 10 also works with a shift of perspective;¹²⁴ it is composed not from the point of view of the politician, but of his clients, that is the citizens. They represent the 'T' of the poem: 'Ich glaub euch (e.g. the politician) sein gerecht und weys/ Drumb gib ich euch der eren preys./ Empfilch euch all mein hab und kind,/ Hass die gescheyd und spitzig sind'. Because the 'T' considers a certain politician to be just and prudent, it honours him and trusts to him his possessions and children. The poem closely reflects two

¹²³ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVI v.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem* fol. XLVII r.

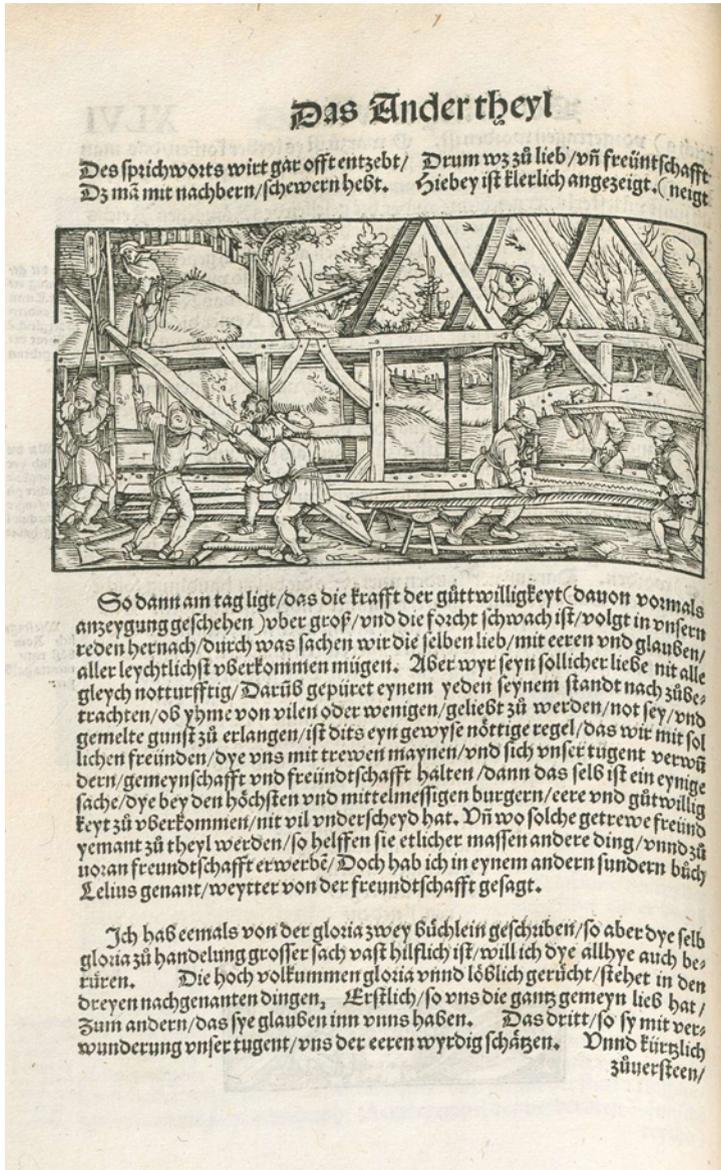


Fig. 22a. "How to build a barn" ("mit Nachbarn baut man Scheunen"). Emblem II, 9 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVI v.

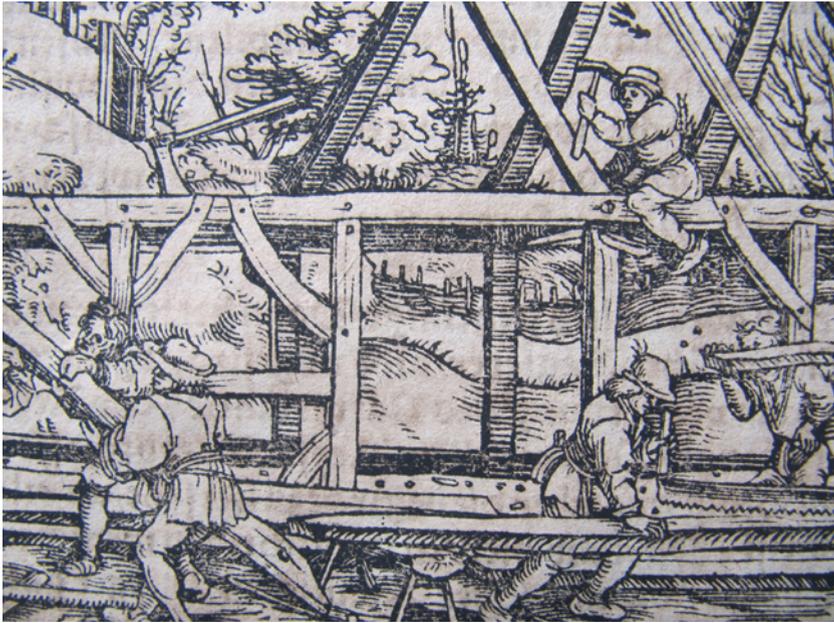


Fig. 22b. Detail (private collection).

lines of Cicero's text.¹²⁵ Thus, the shift in perspective is partly connected with Cicero's text. Cicero, however, used the first person of the plural in a general and neutral sense ('we suppose' = 'one supposes'). Nevertheless, more so than in other passages, he takes into account the manner of thinking of the 'ordinary people', the man in the street – 'vulgus' in Latin. He explicitly says that in this passage he uses certain expressions not in a philosophical sense, but a colloquial one, like the 'ordinary people', the *vulgus*.¹²⁶ This manner of arguing is functional. Its aim is indeed to better understand the 'people' – how they experience politicians. Cicero focuses on the following question: What is the most important quality a politician must have in order to make the people regard him as trustworthy? As Cicero puts it in the first line of the passage, it should be a combination of prudence and

¹²⁵ *De officiis* II, 33: 'Iustis autem [et fidis] hominibus, id est bonis viris, ita fides habetur, ut nulla sit in iis fraudis iniuriaque suspicio. Itaque his salutem nostram, his fortunas, his liberos rectissime committi arbitramur'.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem* II, 35: 'Quam ob rem, ut vulgus, ita nos hoc loco loquimur, ut alios fortes, alios viros bonos, alios prudentes esse dicamus'.

justice ('coniunctam cum iustitia prudentiam').¹²⁷ In II, 33 Cicero demonstrates the importance of prudence. In II, 34, however, he concludes that justice is much more important than prudence, and that prudence alone does not have any effect. Therefore, a successful politician should concentrate on the virtue of justice. Schwarzenberg's poem keenly reflects Cicero's discussion on the opposition between justice and prudence.

The image seems to illustrate Schwarzenberg's poem: it shows a German patrician with a large number of children (all male) and an old man [Fig. 23]. The reader is probably supposed to identify the patrician in the large armchair (second person from the right) as the father of the children and as the 'T' of Schwarzenberg's poem. He is the one who is ready to trust his children to a just (and prudent) man. One wonders whether this latter person could be the old man on the left side of the picture who is holding a rosary in his left hand and a stick in his right hand. It is difficult to discern what the little child in front of him is doing; maybe it is playing hide and seek with the old man. If so, the old man resembles more a funny grandfather than a successful politician.

Although the image seems to suit the emblematic poem very well, it was only 're-invented' as an illustration to *De officiis* by Heinrich Steiner: it was originally designed by the Petrarch-Master for Petrarch's German *De remediis*, chapter I, 70, "On the birth of children" – "Vomm gepurt der kinder" [Fig. 24].¹²⁸ The chapter collects under the speaking character of the Stoic *Ratio* arguments why one should not be too glad about having begotten children.

JOY: To me children have been born.

REASON: Double trouble and a burden for your household.

[...] You have planted a tree, which has to be cultivated with never-ending care, which will keep you busy as long as you live, the yield of which might be none, or very late [...].

JOY: I do have children.

REASON: If they are good, perennial fear; if bad, eternal sorrow. And all the time, doubtful comfort but assured grief.¹²⁹

The Petrarch-Master has decided to illustrate the big burden of children through their large number (8), whereas this is irrelevant in Petrarch's

¹²⁷ Ibidem II, 33.

¹²⁸ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book I, fol. LXXXVIII v.

¹²⁹ *De remediis* I, 70, transl. Rawski, vol. I, 205.

Gebürlicher werck XLVII

zuerstehem/ mit was sachen diese drey dinge/ bey yedem menschen inn sonderheit erlangt/ also werdenn sie gar naher/ bey der gemeinde (wiewol vnser einbildung inn ihre aller gemüt eines andern zügangs bedarff) vber kommen. Vnd ist vnder solchen vorgesagten dreyen dinge/ die gütwilligkeit so mit vil wolthätung erworben wirt/ fürnemlich zumercken/ Desgleichen geneygter beweister wil (ob die werck nit volbracht werden mügen) gemelte gütwilligkeit auch bewegt. Zum dritten/ erwechst solche lieb auß dem gerücht vnser milten wolthätung/ vñ außgab des gelts/ Auch trawen/ glaubē vnd andern tugeten/ zü der senfftmütigkeit / vnd holdsäligkeit güter sitten gehöng. Was vorgemelte ziere vnd erberkeit/ die vns auß eigener natur an gemen ist/ bewegt durch seer schöne vnd gestalt/ die gemüt der menschen/ vñ erscheint in diesem yezberümpften tugeten allermeist. Darumb in welchem menschen/ wir vns miltigkeit/ gerechtigkeit/ vnd güttes glaubens versehen/ zü der selbē liebhabung/ zwingt vns die natur / Vñ wiewol solcher lieb halb sonst mer vsach (die allhie zümelden nit von nöten) erzelt werden möchten So seund doch die dappersten/ oben angezeigt.

Ich glaub euch sein gerecht vnd weys/ Empfich euch all mein haß vñ kind/
Drumb gib ich euch/ der eren preys. Haf die gescheyd vnd spizig sind.



Das man

Fig. 23. Patrician with (his) children. Emblem II, 10 of the German *De officiis*. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVII r.



Fig. 24. Patrician with his children, “On the birth of children”. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. LXXXVIII v (private collection).

text. The large number of children, however, makes the image even more suitable as an illustration to *De officiis*: the fact that so many children are entrusted to the successful politician’s responsibility increases his *fides* (trustworthiness). The image even has potential for other interpretations in combination with the *De officiis* passage II, 35–36. For example, one could identify the presiding man on the right side not as the father of the children (or the ‘T’), but as the trustworthy man/politician addressed in the poem. By commenting on a child’s behaviour (cf. his right hand), the trustworthy man/politician displays the virtues a veritable *pater familias* is supposed to have: justice (*iustitia*) and prudence (*prudencia*). In this case, the physical father of the children or the ‘T’ could be the old man to the left. Interpreted in this way, the function of the trustworthy man would be as a guardian, in case the old man died while his children were still little.

The image’s main effect is that it makes readers identify with Cicero’s content, even if said readers are not (potential) politicians, since the

image addresses family matters – matters that concern everybody. The reader does not identify with Cicero's politician, but with the unknown citizen, the 'I' of the poem. By this device, the emblemization greatly broadens the spectrum of readers and users. In this way, *De officiis* functions as an ethical manual not only for politicians, but for everybody who lives together with other people in any way, shape, or form.

*Emblem II, 11: Monarchization of De officiis and Encyclopedia
of "Ständisches Verhalten"*

The next emblem, II, 11, deals with another means of political success, namely, arousing the admiration of the people: 'Der leut man sich verwundert gross,/ Die wircken mer dann ir genoss/ Ir werck man höchster eer vergleicht,/ Schlecht, unnutz leut, die helt man leicht'.¹³⁰ Cicero discusses the question of what a politician must do in order to make the people admire him.¹³¹ The most important thing is to display virtuous and energetic behaviour. The image [Fig. 25] shows a king or emperor talking to a couple of noblemen.¹³² Cicero, however, did not have kings or emperors in mind. In the image, it seems that the king is the one the people admire; bad and useless people seem to be represented by the four foolish and boorish guys to the right, who disqualify themselves through stupid and inadequate gestures: they fail to take a socially respectable attitude, and they demonstrate that 'schlecht unnütz leüt die helt man leicht' – 'bad and useless people are not taken seriously'.

The image, however, was originally designed by the Petrarch-Master for Petrarch's German *De remediis*, chapter I, 85, "De bono domino", "Von einem guoten herrn" ("On a good Lord"; Fig. 26).¹³³ In the first part of the chapter, Petrarch's *Ratio* attacks the notion of a 'bonus dominus' as a *contradictio in adiecto*: if he is good, he is no *dominus*; if he is a *dominus*, he cannot be good. Petrarch gives three examples of good Roman Emperors: Augustus, Tiberius, and Severus Alexander. All three publicly declared that nobody was allowed to address them as 'dominus'. According to Petrarch's *Ratio*, there is only one 'dominus' (lord): God in heaven. 'The Lord God is the god of all gods; Augustus was the emperor of all men. God maintains

¹³⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII r.

¹³¹ *De officiis* II, 36–37.

¹³² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII r.

¹³³ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book I, fol. CI r.

Gebürlicher werck

XLVIII

Der leut mā sich verwundt groß/ Je werck mā höchster eer vergleicht/
Die wircken mer dann jr genos. Schlecht vnnuz leut/die helt mā leicht.



Aber das ich wider zu meinem fordern fürnehmen "[was zu der hohem
Gloria gehöre]" komie/ So ist vnder solchen vorgemelten dreyen dingem/
die zu der glorien gehören/das dritt stuck gewest/das wir die menschen auf
verwunderung jrer grossen werck/der eren würdig schätzen. Nun verwün-
dern sich die menschen/gewonlich aller grossen sachen/vnd so sie in etlichen mä-
schen sonderliche güte vnschätzbliche vnnnd vbertreffliche ding sehen/so Beden-
cken vnd erheben sie die selben/mit den grössten lobungen/Bey welchem sye
sich aber keiner tugent/auch keiner krafft noch sterck/vnd nichts güts verse-
hen/die verachten vnd verschmehen sie. Doch verachten sie nit öffennlich
alle die/die sie Boshaft/vnd betrüglich/vnd vnrecht schätzen/sonder gedenc
en vnbels von inē "[wann man offt der gleichen schelck auffforcht allermeist
eren/vnd von jren schentlichen wercken die warheit züreden meyden müß/
Vnd ist von solchen böswichten vnbels zügedencken gar vil besser/dañ das
man einen thoren/vnd vnweyßen (als vorstet) verachtet]" Vñ gleicher weis
als die selben vorgemelten thoren/in dem kein arbeit/vernunfft/nach sorg
ist/Auch in noch andern nit nutz seind/verächtlich gehalten/Also werdenn
die yenen/die andern mit tugeten vorgeen/auch aller miszierung mangeln/
vnd den lastern (so etliche menschen nit leichtlich aufstreiben können) wider
stehen/mit verwunderung gebrist.

Wie die mens-
schen gross
dinge haben
vnd was sie
verachten.

Wer sich

Fig. 25. Social admiration. Emblem II, 11 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVIII r.



Fig. 26. "A good lord" (The Emperor Augustus). Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. CI r (private collection).

His majesty; Augustus, his modesty. He did sharply reprove the Romans in this matter and it is written of him that he always shrank from the title of Lord as reproachful and insulting'.¹³⁴ Thus, the Petrarch-Master's image shows the Roman Emperor Augustus, who modestly talks to the people as if he were one of them, as if no ritual behaviour of subordination were required. The three groups of people in the image are probably meant to represent three different social categories ("Stände"), from left to right: (1) ordinary citizens (three men); (2) nobility (three men); and (3) peasants and other lower-class people (four men). In accordance with Augustus's modesty, the lower-class people were also allowed to approach him. They do so with very clumsy, if not ridiculous, gestures.

Of course, when the German *De officiis* first appeared (1531), the readers did not know the origin and the real background of the image. But they understood that in the image the most important social categories ("Stände") were represented: king/emperor – nobility – citizens ("Bürger") – lower-class people. Since both the emblematic poem and Cicero's text

¹³⁴ *De remediis* I, 85, transl. Rawski, vol. I, 229.

discussed social honour, viz. respect(ability), the social categories were relevant for the interpretation of the emblem. In all probability it was impossible for 16th-century readers to meditate on this problem without thinking about the existing social hierarchy – a hierarchy that was greatly differentiated. In this sense, the image facilitates the process of meditation. When Cicero talked about honour and glory, he had a less differentiated social hierarchy in mind, one that was primarily divided between just two classes: the upper class, which could fulfil political offices of the Roman state (*officia*), and the ordinary “people,” which could not. This certainly would not work for 16th-century Germany. Thus, the most important function of the image was probably to “translate” Cicero’s argument into the relevant social categories of 16th-century Germany. Most noteworthy, it transformed the Ciceronian Republican politician into a monarch – an emperor or king. This commentary, interestingly enough, also contradicts Cicero’s argument – that political success is primarily based on virtue and on the positive image people receive from a virtuous man. Of course, one may have hoped that 16th-century kings were virtuous, but it is clear that the principle of succession was hereditary monarchy. Nevertheless, the image demonstrates the effect of an emperor’s or a king’s virtue, and as a side effect, it authorizes and teaches “ständisches Verhalten”.

Emblem II, 12: Christianization, Personification, Allegory

This strategy – that the image translates Cicero’s text into the social hierarchy and codes of the 16th century – is also used by other emblems of the German *De officiis*. A good example is emblem II, 12, ‘Who wants to be virtuous must neglect lust, poverty, illness and death’.¹³⁵ The emblematic poem refers to Cicero, *De officiis* II, 37–38. Cicero explains that people who are motivated by lust and pain, wealth and poverty, and fear of losing their life will not achieve virtue (*virtus*); that it is of the utmost importance to despise those motives; and finally that the psychological quality that helps human beings to do so is justice (*iustitia*).¹³⁶ Only the just man can be virtuous. Only the just man despises bribery.

The image was made especially for this emblem [Fig. 27a and b].¹³⁷ The emblematic poem directly refers to the image, this time in such a way

¹³⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII v: ‘Wer sich lest halten solche band,/ Dy dyse gleichnus macht bekant,/ Im rechten weg hat nit bestand’.

¹³⁶ *De officiis* II, 38.

¹³⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII v.



Fig. 27a. Personification of Virtue and its enemies. Emblem II, 12 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVIII v.



Fig. 27b. Detail (private collection).

that the poem makes sense only in connection with the image. 'Solche band' refers to the bonds depicted in the image. The woodcut shows a man striving for virtue, and it identifies the virtuous man with a late medieval knight. It translates Cicero's politician into the chivalrous nobility. Moreover, it translates Cicero's political *virtus* into Christian thinking: the knight who strives for virtue tries to climb to heaven, where Christ is sitting on his throne [Fig. 27b]. The knight is held back by four allegorical personifications: Poverty (Armuot), Illness (Kranckheyt), Lust (Wollust), and Death (Tod). Poverty is represented by an old man in rags, Illness by a naked old man with pustules all over his body, Lust by a naked young woman, probably a prostitute, and Death by the traditional skeleton with feathers on his head. This image was invented in all probability by Schwarzenberg. It was also Schwarzenberg who explained the allegorical personifications using German subscriptions, and it was Schwarzenberg who was a knight [Fig. 27b].

Unlike Schwarzenberg, Cicero did not have personifications in mind. He does not talk about 'Wollust', but instead of the plural 'voluptates'; furthermore, it is important to note that Cicero lists positive and negative motivations, whereas for his personifications, Schwarzenberg chose only negative ones. For example, Schwarzenberg has no personification of Wealth. In the image, Cicero's plural 'dolores' is translated not only into a personification, but into something more simple and bodily: the vague, various forms of pain (which also include mental pain) are translated into 'Illness'. Cicero's undefined 'voluptates' are translated into sexual pleasure only, and the personification is from the outset a negative one: a young woman totally lacking chastity, a prostitute, who is in fact the personification of the deadly sin *Luxuria*. Furthermore, the image does not comment on the pivotal role of justice in the process of gaining virtue.

Emblem II, 14 ("The Fox"): Translation into Fable Literature

Emblem II, 14 elaborates from another angle on Cicero's conviction that the politician's honour and fame are based on virtue.¹³⁸ This time, Cicero discusses the opposition of outward appearance and true virtue.¹³⁹ It is tempting to think that for a politician, outward appearance, viz. the simulation of virtue, would be enough to lead to success. Cicero does not agree:

¹³⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L r–v.

¹³⁹ *De officiis* II, 42–43.

a simulation of virtue cannot cause stable success. Genuine virtue is indispensable. Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem summarizes the imitation of virtue under the header of fraud and deceit. This time, he translates Cicero's argument into a kind of fable with a moral conclusion: 'Ein böses end kompt merck hiebei/ Von flascher gstat der gleissneri./ Ein frommer mensch sol also sein/ Wie er des gibt den leüten schein'.¹⁴⁰

As illustration of that moral lesson, Steiner chose a well-known animal from fable literature, the fox [Fig. 28].¹⁴¹ The fox's most important quality was its shrewdness and its ability to deceive. The fox figures in Phaedrus's *Liber fabularum* and in *Aesopus*,¹⁴² and it also appears in the first emblem books, e.g. by Andrea Alciato, who reworked the fable of the fox and the mask (Phaedrus I, 7) into the emblem "Mentem, non formam plus pollere".¹⁴³ Thus, in the German *De officiis*, emblem II, 14 cautions against behaving like a fox. Through the strategy of presenting Cicero's chapter as a fable, Schwarzenberg and Steiner "translated" the Latin ethical treatise for less learned and vernacular readers (who would be well acquainted with fable literature). German translations of the Latin *Esopus* were among the most popular books.¹⁴⁴ It is possible that the image was not made especially for the German *De officiis*. It should represent a fox, but it could be a wolf as well. It may well be that it was taken from a set of illustrations belonging to a manual on hunting or on husbandry, or even from a kind of natural history.

Schwarzenberg's Glosses as Emblematic Commentary and Guidance of Emblematic Meditation

In Cicero's prose text Schwarzenberg inserted glosses between square brackets and 'g' and 't' ('g[...]t'): 'g[' indicates that a gloss ('glossa') begins, and ']' t' that the gloss ends and the 'textus' goes on again.¹⁴⁵ These annotations were meant to help the vernacular reader better understand Cicero's text. In the case of allusions or obscure wording, the glosses would clarify what Cicero meant. At times, some scholarly knowledge was required for the proper understanding of the text – for example, when Cicero implies that

¹⁴⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L v.

¹⁴¹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L r.

¹⁴² Inter alia, Phaedrus I, 7; 10; 13; 26; 28; IV, 3; 9; 21; Aesopus 1; 9; 15; 27; 124; 426; 474; 518.

¹⁴³ Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. C 5 r.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Dicke G. – Grubmüller K., *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein Katalog* (Munich: 1987).

¹⁴⁵ Fore these glosses, cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 302–304.

Gebürlicher werck **L**

Durch dise gleichnus/merck hiebey/ Ein frumier mensch/ sol also sein/
Don falscher gfgalt der gleifnerey. Wie er das gibt den leuten schein.



Vnd als man mit allein gelt zü vberkoffen/ sunder auch dasselbig nutz
lich anzulegen (Damit solchs zü vnser notturfft der zeyere vnd mitlen aufga
Be dienlich sey) für weislich acht/ Gleichertweis sol gloria vnd eer/ mit allein
vernunftiglich erlangt/ sunder auch weislich geprauchet werden. Socra
tes hat für den nechsten vnd kürzten weg/ solcher waren glorien halb/ ange
zeigt/ das sich ein yeder/ wie er vom andern wol geacht sein/ halte. Darin
welche mit gleifnerey/ leichtfertiger berümmung/ falscher geperd/ Gedich
ter rede/ oder betrüglichem angesicht/ bleibliche gloria zü erwerben vermei
nen/ die iren fast. Dan für war/ die war gloria breyt sich auß/ vnd wurzelt
vestiglich/ Aber alle erdichte gleifnerey zurgert vñ felt schnell/ als die welck
en blümlein. Wan nichts erdichts mag bestendig sein/ Vnd wiewol in sol
lichen beden fällen (als warer vnd erdichter eer) vil zeugen sein/ so wöllen
wir vns doch/ ymb kürz willen/ mit nachvolgetem exempel eines Römisch
en geschlechts/ gnügen lassen. Tyberius Gracchus ein sun des Publij/ wirt
(als lang die Römischen historien bleyben) gelobt/ vnd wider ymb würdē
seine süne/ dieweil sie noch lebten/ nit gerümet/ vñnd behalten darzū nach
irem tode den namen/ das man sie pillich zü tod geschlagen hab/ Darumb
wöliche die waren gloria vberkoffen/ vnd behalten wöllen/ die sollen sich tu
gentsamer gepürlicher werck der gerechtigkeit (von den im ersten büch ge
sagt ist) halten vnd gebrauchen.

J ü Der

Wie die glo
ria mit vñ
nufft eulage
vñ gebrauch
et werde sol.

Das sich ein
yeder/ mit er
wol geacht
sein/ halten
vnd gleifne
ey vermeint
sol.

Von bestens
digkeit war
er gloria/ vñ
vergencklich
ere falscher
gedichter
eer.

Fig. 28. "The fox". Emblem II, 14 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. L r.

his readers would know certain historical facts, philosophical dogmas, or literary works. Schwarzenberg, who was well aware that this was not the case with his intended vernacular audience, supplied the necessary information in his glosses. For example, Cicero many times alludes to the dictator Julius Caesar without mentioning him. In those cases, Schwarzenberg would supply Caesar's name in glosses.¹⁴⁶

But there is more. Schwarzenberg wanted to present *De officiis* – written, after all, by a pagan author – as an ethical *manual for Christians*. Sometimes he used his emblematic poems, sometimes the images to comment on Cicero's text in order to adapt it to Christian users. In his poems, he frequently talks about a 'frum(m)' or 'frumme man', by which he means a good Christian;¹⁴⁷ sometimes he talks about 'repentance' ('boese rew'), another Christian concept.¹⁴⁸ In some emblems, Schwarzenberg identifies values from antiquity with Christian virtues, as in the case of hospitality.¹⁴⁹ In the case of emblem II, 12, the image adapts Cicero's text to Christian values [Fig. 27a and b].¹⁵⁰ In a number of cases Schwarzenberg uses the glosses as a means of translating Cicero's pagan text for Christian users. For example, when presenting Plato's advice (quoted in Cicero's *De officiis* I, 85) that a good politician should principally put aside his personal interests, Schwarzenberg comments in a gloss:

Fürwar es ist sich nitt kleyn sonnder auff das höchst zuo verwundern und davon zuo bessern, das der genannt Cicero unnd anndere frumme heyden gerechtigkeit unnd tugentt hoehher dan ir lebenn und alle zeitliche anfechtung gewegenn habenn. Gott verleyhe und gebe, das wir Christen im liecht unnsers warenn glaubenns der geleychenn auch thuon, unnd dadurch nicht allainn yrdische, sondern auch ewige himlische ere unnd belonnung erlangenn.¹⁵¹

Schwarzenberg's gloss is in this case a prayer to God. It functions similarly to prayers in meditations, viz. as the last, decisive, and conclusive part of the meditation. It is the conclusive prayer Schwarzenberg derives from his

¹⁴⁶ Schwarzenberg was, however, not very consistent with marking his additions. Many times, he forgot that he inserted some "glossary information", and then it looked as if it was simply Cicero's text. In other cases, he denoted parts of Cicero's text as (historical) glosses. Cf. above.

¹⁴⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XXXII r: 'Vil guots der frum mit reddenn stiftt [...]'; fol. XXXIIIr; fol. XL v and LXIII r: the one who does not understand that honesty and utility are connected lacks 'frumbkeyt'; fol. L r '[...] Ein frummer mensch soll also sein/ Wie er das gibt den leuten schein'; fol. LI v: '[...] Ein Junger wirt leycht laster frey,/ Der frummen leüten wonet bey'.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem* fol. XXVII v: '[...] damit mich boese rew nit quel'.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem* fol. LVI v.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem* fol. XXXVIII v.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem* fol. XXI r.

emblem. First comes the emblematic poem: it starts with the disgraceful behaviour of a foster father who steals the money of the child entrusted to him. The reader should understand it as an allegorical representation of a politician who follows only his personal interests. The image facilitates this meditation by demonstrating the behaviour of a bad foster father [Fig. 29].¹⁵² Then comes Plato's advice regulating the behaviour of politicians. In a kind of *scala meditationis*, the reader should draw a conclusion from the historical example with respect to his own Christian lifestyle.

This conclusion may also take the shape of the rhetorical thought figure "ex minore ad maiorem". For an emblem of the second book of *De officiis* on the virtuous selflessness of the Roman military leaders Scipio Africanus, Aemilius Paulus, and Lucius Mutius,¹⁵³ Schwarzenberg offers this thought figure in a gloss: 'haben nu die tugentlichen heyden so grosse ding umb eins guotten namens willen bey den menschen zuo erlangen gethan, was sol dan uns Christen an tugentlicher ubung [...] verhindern, dadurch unser guoter nam nit allein zeitlich erhoehet, sunder auch in ewiger sälligkeit under der zal aller ausserwölten funden wirt'.¹⁵⁴ In his gloss, Schwarzenberg describes what the reader should think when meditating on the emblem in question.

From book I of *De officiis*, 102 ff., where Cicero argued that sensual pleasures are unworthy of the dignity of man, Schwarzenberg constructed an emblem.¹⁵⁵ In this passage, Cicero lists all kinds of playful behaviour: joking and jesting, having holidays, and bodily pleasure. There, Schwarzenberg adds a long gloss on "toasting": 'O wie gar weit weichen die zuotrincker von disen nöttigen tugentlichen leren die durch willige un menschliche füllerey ihr natürliche vernunfft also verplenden unnd entschicken, das sie damit nit allein von menschlicher art geschyden, sonder auch von vil thyeren mit bescheydenheit und mancherley schicklichkeit fern ubertroffen werden. Gott sey geklagt das solche aller schwerste plage williger füllerey und damit so vil boeser [...] in etlichen hochteütschen landen, und sonderlich bey uns Francken wider das löblich herkommen unser eltern so schedlich eyngebrochen hat'.¹⁵⁶ Through his gloss, Schwarzenberg guides the reader's meditation in a specific direction; he should meditate on the habit of drinking and eating too much. With his gloss, Schwarzenberg adapts his emblematic Cicero to his goal: the moral education of the German nation.

¹⁵² Ibidem fol. XX v.

¹⁵³ Ibidem fols. LIX v–LX r.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem fol. LX r.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem fol. XXV r–v.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem fol. XXV v.

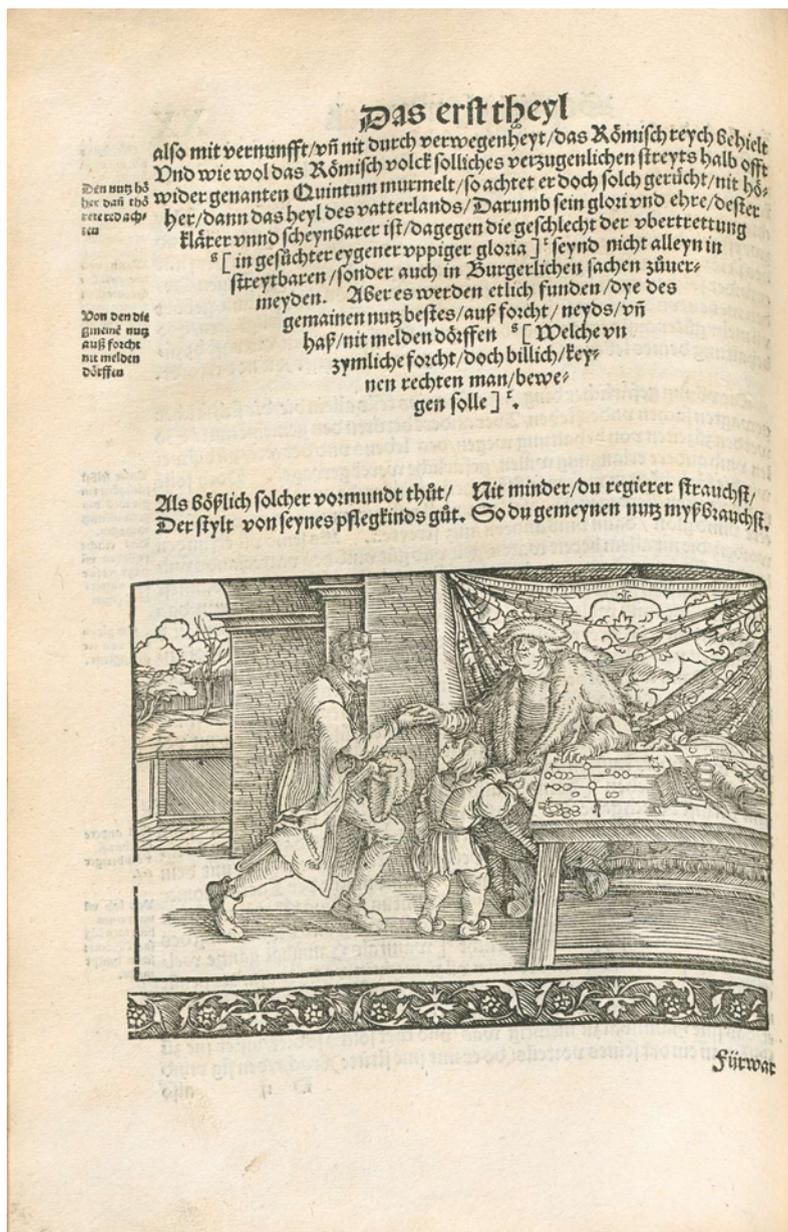


Fig. 29. A bad foster father. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XX v.

With the same aim in mind, Schwarzenberg had composed a short treatise *Against Drinking Parties: Ein buechle wider das zuotrinckenn*, which Steiner would publish later in the *Teütsch Cicero* (1534; 1535; 1537; 1540; 1545).¹⁵⁷ The title illustration, originally designed by the Petrarch-Master for the German *De remediis*, shows a number of heavily drinking Germans from about 1520 [Fig. 30].¹⁵⁸

*Emblematic Reorganization and Refinement:
Christian Egenolff's Edition of the German De officiis (1550)*

After Steiner got into serious financial problems in the mid 1540s, the woodcuts of a number of his projects, among them Petrarch's *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* and the German *De officiis*, as well as other printing material, were bought by the Frankfurt printer Christian Egenolff. Egenolff published the *De officiis* anew¹⁵⁹ and edited it in a way that stressed the emblematic character of the work even more. He changed it predominantly in 14 respects:

1. He designed a new main title and applied a new title illustration – instead of a historical example, he used an emblematic image with symbolic representations (laurels, sword, crown, lamb; Fig. 31).¹⁶⁰
2. He deleted all connections of the work to, and the memory of, the inventor of the emblem book Johann von Schwarzenberg.
3. He deleted the rich index register of seven folio pages that Steiner had printed at the beginning of the work.¹⁶¹
4. Instead, Egenolff offered a short table of contents of one and a half folio pages, which, in fact, is a *list of emblems* (the entries give the titles of the singular emblems in an abbreviated form).¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ *Teütsch Cicero* fol. LXXIX r ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem* fol. LXXIX r.

¹⁵⁹ Frankfurt a. M.: 1550; 1554; 1565. Vgl. Degen, *Litteratur der deutschen Übersetzungen* 82; Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 371; Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption* no. 149.

¹⁶⁰ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit.*//

*Des Fürtrefflichen hochberümpften Römers Marci Tullii Ciceronis/
Drei Bücher an seinen Suon Marcum. Von Gebürlichen wercken, Tugentsamen ämptern
unnd zuogehörungen eines ieden wol unnd recht lebenden Menschen; auss dem Latin in Teütsch
verwandelt und mit schönen Figuren fürgebildet* (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550).

¹⁶¹ Fol. v v ff.

¹⁶² *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. <i>r-v.

LXXIX

Din Büchle wider das zutrin-
cken / mit sunderen Vorreden / figu-
ren / vnd Reymen / Volgt hernach.

Ein willkunt bring ich dir hiemit /	Seyt wir am nechsten waren vol /
Für mein gesellen ich dich bit /	Was weins wir öfien / waistu wol /
Das er hab bald dz nechst von dir /	Vnd wañ ich noch daran gedenck /
Dñ also kumpt in kuntschafft schir /	So lach ich mir der gütten schwenck /
Recht streichmaß wöñ wir trinckē ab /	Bey solchem praß ich gern bin /
Lang ich dich nit gesehen hab.	Das gilt dir gar vnd geet dahin.



Den menschen scheidet von dem thier /	Als etwas güts dabey solt sein /
Das er bezwyng sein böß Begier /	In füllerey durch bier vnd wein /
Als durch vernunfft geschehen mag /	Mit vilauß ich das fragen will /
Drumb ist es wol ein grosse flag /	Was disem thoßheyt ist züwil /
Ja wer sich selbst der wyß beranßt /	Wer sich zü vil fült / als mā offt thät /
Vnd einem vollen narren glaubt /	Das schadet seel / cher / leib / vnd güt.

Q

Fig. 30. Heavily drinking Germans. Title page of Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Ein buechle wider das zuotrinckenn*, in idem, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. LXXIX r.

5. He deleted the explanations of the Roman state offices, which were printed in the Steiner editions at the beginning of the work.¹⁶³
6. Maybe most importantly, Egenolff inserted emblematic title inscriptions.
7. He reduced the marginal annotations to a considerable degree.
8. He deleted the glosses that had been inserted in Cicero's prose text by Schwarzenberg.
9. In a number of places, Egenolff abbreviated the text of the translated Cicero; what he primarily tried to reduce were scholarly remarks and (in his view exuberant) learned examples and quotations from Greek and Roman history, philosophy, and literature.¹⁶⁴
10. He reworked Schwarzenberg's emblematic poems. Especially in the first book of *De officiis*, the poems became longer and more substantial. In a few cases, Egenolff inserted completely new poems. For the whole work, he redesigned the poems into rhymed pairs of verses.
11. In a couple of cases, Egenolff replaced the Steiner images with other ones.
12. In a few cases, he deleted Steiner's and Schwarzenberg's emblems (illustrations and poems) without giving a new alternative.¹⁶⁵
13. In rare cases, Egenolff added a new emblem with a new illustration and a new emblematic poem.¹⁶⁶
14. He also thoroughly revised the German text of *De officiis*.

¹⁶³ Fols. iii v–v r.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fols. XXV r; XXVII r.

¹⁶⁵ For example, Steiner's emblems at *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXXVII v and LXXVIII r.

¹⁶⁶ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XXXVI v. However, this emblem is an extension of an already existing emblem, fol. XXXVI r "Der mensch zu guotem end sich kert,/ Der aufrecht und on falsch handtiert". The image shows a merchant in his office studying his books. He suffers from his way of life and thinks about a free and happy existence in the countryside, as the picture in the circle above his head indicates. The following combination of image and poem (made by Egenolff) elaborates the merchant's dream (fol. XXXVI v): 'So ich bei aller welt befind/ Den falsch und untrew so geschwind/ In allen händeln vortel gross/ Mit truog und luog, an ehren bloss/ Drumb lust mich keinr handtierung mehr./ Dann mich zu meinen Bawguetern ker,/ Meinn ackerbaw und Weingart pflantz,/ Acht nimmer der händler gross vinantz'. The image shows a man on horseback who inspects his vineyard and cornfields in the countryside. Both images were taken from the Petrarch-Master's *De remedis* set: fol. XXXVI r belongs to chapter II, 56 "On Difficulties and Hard Work"; and fol. XXXVI v to chapter I, 57 "On Fertile Land". Thus, Egenolff created an exceptional constellation in the *De officiis* emblem book: that one emblem was equipped with two images and two emblematic poems. In later emblematics, this happened more often, for example, in Reusner's *Picta Poesis Ovidiana* (1580). But, interestingly, already in Steiner's first edition there was such a case (*Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXXVIII r). Besides, these emblems were deleted by Egenolff.

Unlike Steiner, Egenolff presented the German *De officiis* as an emblem book right on the title page by using a true emblem: a symbolic image accompanied by an emblematic poem that explained the meaning of the objects that can be seen on the *pictura* (laurels, sword, crown, lamb) [Fig. 31]. In the image, the objects are located on stairs; the objects on top are clearly more important and more worthy than the lower ones. The poem says: ‘Go away, sword and laurels! / (Here) a wise tongue wears the crown; / War is waged prudently by this wise tongue alone, / That talks about peace, as the patient lamb’.¹⁶⁷

The poem reads as a variation on Cicero’s famous epic one-liner ‘Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae’, which is quoted in *De officiis*.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the reader is already invited by the title emblem to understand the work as an *ethical manual*, and furthermore as a manual *for peaceful people*. It is not meant to be a manual for knights, the champions of chivalrous society. As the poem states, the book does not teach readers how to get famous in war (*sword*), but how to act in a civilized way, i.e. through educated speech (*weise Zung*) in a civilized setting (*friden*).

Also, the new main title *Vonn Gebuere und Billicheit – On Proper and Reasonable Behaviour* – points in that direction. As the title page indicates, the audience Egenolff had in mind does not consist especially of politicians or the holders of political offices. He devotes the emblematic manual to *everybody* who wants to live in a proper and reasonable, i.e. civilized and peaceful, way, or – as the subtitle says – ‘eines ieden wol unnd recht lebenden menschen’.

The people he addresses in this way are, of course, the citizens (*burgers*). Cicero, on the other hand, wrote *De officiis* for the officers of the Roman state, and although he personally had a preference for administration in peacetime,¹⁶⁹ he clearly includes the war offices of army leaders (*praetor, propraetore* etc.) Egenolff, however, excludes them by using

¹⁶⁷ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit*, title page: ‘Du Schwert und Lorbeerkrantz weich ab/ Ein weise Zung die Kron auffhab/ Die klüglich allen krieg verricht/ Wie gduligs Lämmlein friden spricht’. The image is discussed in more detail as an emblem of the first book of *De officiis*, fols. XVIIv–XVIIIr; Egenolff gives to the emblem the following title: “Dass rümlicher sei und grösser manlicheit in Burgerlichen sachen dann in Kriegshändeln fürtrefflich sein”. The poem has new verses added by Egenolff; in Schwarzenberg’s poem two main symbols, the crown and the lamb, were lacking. See *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XVII v. Schwarzenberg took the symbols of the sword and the laurels from Cicero’s famous one-liner. Probably he did not have in mind the emblematic image printed by Steiner. Thus, Steiner is the inventor of the emblematic image, and with his new verses Egenolff better adapted the poem to the image.

¹⁶⁸ I, 77.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *ibidem* I, 74–78.



Fig. 31. Title page of *Vonn Gebüre und Billigkeit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) (private collection).

the emblemized form of Cicero's preference as the title emblem. We can also see who Egenolff's intended audience is through the fact that he deleted the explanations on the Roman state offices that were printed in Steiner's editions.¹⁷⁰ Egenolff did not edit the work for officers, and therefore he did not want to focus attention on the Roman offices.

What is the impact of Egenolff's intervention to annihilate Johann von Schwarzenberg (2)? In Steiner's editions, the emblem book was closely connected with Schwarzenberg's person. On the back side of the title page, there was a large portrait of the nobleman with the claim that said portrait was made by Dürer [Fig. 3]. In two prefaces, Steiner neatly described the pivotal role Schwarzenberg had played in the making of the book. Egenolff avoided mentioning Schwarzenberg's name – possibly because Schwarzenberg belonged to a past generation (+1528) and to the chivalrous society Egenolff did not want to address his emblem book, and possibly because Egenolff wanted to claim the inventive presentation of *De officiis* as an emblem book—*On Proper and Reasonable Behaviour*. If he had printed one of Steiner's prefaces, this honour inevitably would have gone to Schwarzenberg.

Why did Egenolff leave out the rich index register (3) and replace it with a "list of emblems" (4)? This was another means to strengthen the character of *On Proper and Reasonable Behaviour* as a true emblem book. The rich register – albeit in the vernacular – had more the outlook of a scholarly edition of a classical text. And Schwarzenberg, in fact, had made a big effort to better understand Cicero's text by analyzing its contents in detail. Also, many of his very numerous marginal annotations serve this goal (7); in fact, they offer a second index of the contents of *De officiis* that could be used when "scrolling" through the work or engaging in a random reading. Egenolff was not fond of this analytical presentation. He considered it superfluous and distracting. Rather, he was inclined to divide Cicero's text as clearly as possible into the units he considered relevant—and these were the singular emblems. So he tried to reduce further subdivisions to a minimum.

An even more important device was Egenolff's insertion of title inscriptions. Through this device he streamlined and stressed the emblematic structure of the work: (a) emblem title + (b) emblematic poem + (c) image (*pictura*) + (d) prose text. In Schwarzenberg's conception (which had been taken over by Steiner), the emblems did not have a proper title: the

¹⁷⁰ Fols. iii v–v r.

title's task was fulfilled mostly by the German poems, which in general did not exceed three lines. The advantage of Egenolff's new (prose) titles was that they presented the emblems' topics more clearly, whereas the poems henceforth could be read more like emblematic epigrams, i.e. as poems that focus on the evaluation, meaning, and memorization of the content. The fact that the title inscriptions were printed in a larger font size also facilitated the use of the German *De officiis* as an emblem book. Now the reader could, in fact, orientate himself using only the title inscriptions.

Another advantage of the new title inscriptions was that the poem could focus solely on the function of the emblematic epigram. Accordingly, Egenolff rewrote many poems and made them longer, especially with respect to the first book of *De officiis*. Sometimes Egenolff used the occasion to establish via extensions of the poems a closer relationship between image and epigram. For example, he added to the poem of emblem I, 10 two lines in which he pointed to the devil that was visible in the image: 'Wo aber Geiz nimpt überhandt/ Da felt man in des Satans bandt' [Fig. 32].¹⁷¹ The establishment of a closer bond between poem and image was all the more useful here, since the illustration originally stemmed from Petrarch's *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* I, 53.¹⁷² In Cicero's *De officiis* text, of course, there was nothing about the devil. For emblem I, 11 Egenolff added a completely new poem (of 12 lines) that related exactly to the image. As the image demonstrates, the emblem is about men caring for and assisting each other: providing one's neighbour with fire, and showing the right way to strangers [Fig. 33].¹⁷³

In the majority of the discussed emblems of the second book, the title inscriptions render the content of the emblem in question much clearer and are more to the point (e.g. II, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 14). In the case of emblem II, 3, the poem in fact announced only a kind of encyclopedic enumeration: 'Allhie synd wyr gar klare sag/ Wye mensch dem menschen nutzen mag'.¹⁷⁴ The point is, however, that the most important source of all commodities is human society and civilization. This is indicated by the new prose title: "Woher mann allen nutz und unnutz/ und ein mensch

¹⁷¹ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. X v.

¹⁷² Book I, fol. LXIX v.

¹⁷³ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XII r.

¹⁷⁴ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLI v.



Fig. 32. Avarice. Emblem from *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. X v. Detail (private collection).

vom anderen solichs alles haben mag”.¹⁷⁵ Whereas the poem of emblem II, 4 struggles with stating what the emblem is about, Egenolff’s title is as clear as it can be: “Dass die grösste verderbung die menschen einander selbst anthuon”.¹⁷⁶ In the case of emblem II, 6, the poem rather obscured Cicero’s argument because it evoked the impression that Cicero directly advised assassination: ‘Tirannen und ein hund der tobt/ Wer die ertödt, der wirt gelobt’. Cicero, however, argues there only that, as Egenolff’s title indicates, “Einem Oberherrn ist nichts besser dann von seinen Underthanen geliebt werden. Und kein grimmig tyrannisch vergwaltigung lang besteht” [Fig. 12a and b].¹⁷⁷ The emblematic poem of II, 9 translates Cicero’s text into a German proverb, ‘dz man mit nachparn schewren heb’, and Egenolff’s new title is much more precise and reflects Cicero’s argument:

¹⁷⁵ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XLI v.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem* fol. XLII v.

¹⁷⁷ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XLIII r.



Fig. 33. Providing one's neighbour with fire, showing the right way to strangers. Emblem from *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. XII r.

“Dass man bei iederman gunst zu haben sich befeissen sol”.¹⁷⁸ The title inscription of emblem II, 10 helps to better understand Cicero's text, since it does not adopt the somewhat disturbing shift in perspective Schwarzenberg's poem had introduced. According to the new title, the emblem deals with “Warmit mann trew und glauben bei den leüten überkomme”.¹⁷⁹ In the case of emblem II, 7, the new title covers the other part of Cicero's argument, namely, that the results of tyrannical administration are very bad: “Tirannisch Regiment nimpt ein böß end”.¹⁸⁰ This case demonstrates

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem fol. XLVI v.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem fol. XLVII r.

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem fol. XLVIII v.

the potential of the new titles: title and poem may deal with different aspects of the emblem's topic. If the reader combines the title and the poem with the illustration, he may come to a new moral understanding of the image. In this case, the title in fact presents a kind of moral conclusion: that tyrants will be punished for their unjust and cruel regimes. If the reader meditates on the connection between the title and the image, he may conclude that the tyrant shall be punished in a similar way: that he shall be assassinated and beheaded. Also, in the case of emblem II, 6, the new title guides the reader in a direction different from that of the poem. When the reader looks at the image, the title invites him to think that 'no tyrannical regime lasts for long'. Then he will discover that the image depicts the murder of Caesar by Brutus [Fig. 15].¹⁸¹

Schwarzenberg's reduction of the marginal annotations is, in its essence, also connected to the insertion of title inscriptions. Since the title inscriptions and the marginal annotations were each meant to present a short summary of the content, one of these devices became superfluous. Since the basic content was now given in the title inscriptions, the marginal notes became largely unnecessary. The annihilation of the marginal annotations would stress the unity of the single emblems and prevent the reader from being distracted from emblematic meditation.

In some cases Egenolff replaced Steiner's images with other ones. Such cases, although they do not occur very often, may nevertheless reveal differences in emblem poetics. One emblem of the first book of *De officiis* is on shame and the function of clothes.¹⁸² Cicero argues that shame – and thus also the use of clothes that cover the pudenda – is natural: nature has already taken care that the beautiful parts of the human body (such as the face and the body's shape/figure) can be seen, but its ugly parts (such as the genitals and the anus) stay hidden (e.g. by pubic hair).¹⁸³ Cicero advises – in the name of honesty – against mentioning the genitals by their proper names (such as *penis*, *mentula*, *cunnus*).¹⁸⁴ Steiner had these thoughts illustrated by a beautiful naked woman with long, blonde hair, a kind of Venus figure [Fig. 34],¹⁸⁵ albeit without any attribute that would identify her as Venus. The young woman is almost entirely naked; only

¹⁸¹ Ibidem fol. XLIII v.

¹⁸² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XXX v–XXXI r; *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XXX r–v.

¹⁸³ *De officiis* I, 126 ff.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem I, 127.

¹⁸⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XXX v.



Fig. 34. Venus figure. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehöruigen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XXX v. Detail (private collection).

in front of her *pudenda* is she negligently holding up a small, wrapped cloth. Steiner perfectly understood what Cicero meant in this passage. It is, however, significant that he associated man's bodily beauty immediately with a naked female body, whereas Cicero's text does not suggest this. Since Cicero wrote the treatise for the Roman politician, he primarily had the male body in mind. Steiner's image displays a free and humanistic all'antica attitude towards the naked human body, like that of, for example, Italian Renaissance artists ca. 1500–1530. Similar images of naked female bodies also appear in Steiner's editions of Alciato's *Emblematum liber* – for example, Venus,¹⁸⁶ the personification of the 'Naked Truth' on the emblem "Fidei symbolum",¹⁸⁷ three naked women (judgement of Paris) on the emblem "In studiosum captum amore",¹⁸⁸ or the personification of "Occasion".¹⁸⁹

Egenolff, however, was not pleased with Steiner's "Venus" image. He considered the picture of a naked woman to be indecent and the direct opposite of the honesty that was the focus of Cicero's argument. Like Steiner, Egenolff associated bodily beauty with the female body, but he was convinced that a young woman honestly dressed would do much better. So he searched for another illustration, and he found one in the Petrarch-Master's *De remediis* set [Fig. 35].¹⁹⁰ The relevant chapter of *De remediis* is "On a splendid body".¹⁹¹ Petrarch talked about male¹⁹² and female bodies as well. *Ratio*'s arguments in this chapter are mainly about vanity and the transience of all earthly things. In a passage in the middle of the chapter, *Ratio* describes the total decay of female beauty in old age:¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ 1531, fol. F<1>r.

¹⁸⁷ Ibidem fol. <E 7>r.

¹⁸⁸ Ibidem fol. <D 6>r.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem fol. <A 8>r.

¹⁹⁰ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* fol. II v.

¹⁹¹ I, 2 "De forma corporis eximia".

¹⁹² I, 2: 'GAUDIUM: Forma corporis mira est. RATIO: Bene ais mira. Nam quid hac vanitate mirabilius? Quot delectabilibus abstinent formosi iuvenes? Quot suscipiunt labores? Quanta sibi inferunt supplicia, ut formosiores non sint quidem, sed appareant. [...] – JOY: The appearance of my body is marvelous. REASON: You can say "marvelous" all right, for what is marvelous than this vanity? How many delightful things handsome young men have to give up! How many troubles they go to, what tortures they inflict upon themselves in order not even to be, but to look more attractive! [...]' (transl. Rawski, vol. I, 17, with changes).

¹⁹³ Ibidem.



Fig. 35. "A splendid body" or Vanity. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...]. (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1932), book I, fol. II v. Detail (private collection).

JOY: The appearance of my body is admired by everybody.

REASON: And yet, within a very short time, this comeliness and glow of your face will change. These blond locks shall fall out, and what remains of your hair shall become white, ugly lines will furrow you soft cheeks and the fair forehead. The cheerful brightness and the shining stars of your eyes shall be covered by a melancholy cloud; and rotten decay shall consume and wear away the radiant white ivory of your teeth, changing not only their colour, but also their regular array. The upright neck and nimble shoulders will be bent, the smooth throat wrinkled, and those withered hands and crooked feet will not seem as your own. What more? The day will come when you do not recognize yourself in the mirror. [...].¹⁹⁴

The Petrarch-Master's image seems to refer especially to this passage;¹⁹⁵ it shows a beautiful young lady with long, blonde hair, a beautiful face, a long neck, and adorable shoulders. Nevertheless, the Petrarch-Master did not literally depict Petrarch's text, nor is the lady in the woodcut a

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Michel, "Transformation" 366.

realistic portrait of the woman Petrarch described in the above quoted passage. The image the Petrarch-Master designed in fact represents a personification – of Vanity, *Vanitas*, or Vainglory, as can be deduced from the mirror (which the lady holds in her left hand),¹⁹⁶ the flowers (which she holds in her right hand), and the peacock¹⁹⁷ (which covers the whole right side of the image). Thus, Egenolff replaced Steiner's naked woman with a highly *symbolic image*, a personification.

Also, if one looks at the new, programmatic image on the title page of *De officiis* [Fig. 31], one may conclude that Egenolff had an even greater preference for symbolic images than Steiner did. The image Egenolff combined with Cicero, *De officiis* I, 126 ff. offers a Christian commentary on the pagan text. Cicero's argument is about a kind of social aesthetics, about decent appearance in public spaces. By means of the image Egenolff suggests a Christian interpretation of the passage. He guides the reader first to a meditation on Vanity, especially of physical beauty. To be "caught" by physical beauty is sinful behaviour that will lead to spiritual death. An image that directs the reader to this meditation is included in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, chapter 92 [Fig. 36]. In this image the lines of thought are made more explicit: while the young lady is indulging in her beauty, she is caught by the devil, who acts as a bird hunter. The young lady is the bird sitting on his "Leimrute". Of course, that is not at all what Cicero meant. But guided by the image's comment, the reader will understand the passage in a different way. He will read the passage as if Cicero were criticizing physical beauty as such, as if the whole of the body belongs to the realm of the earthly, and thus worthless, things. The image's comment thus also bridges the difference between antique "shame culture" (Cicero) and Christian "guilt culture". The reader will understand Cicero's call for social decency as a directive to avoid sinful behaviour.

Another instance in which Egenolff changed Steiner's image is emblem II, 14, containing Cicero's advice that the politician's honour and fame should be based on genuine virtue.¹⁹⁸ As demonstrated above, through addition of the image of the fox, Steiner "translated" the philosophical argument of the Latin treatise for vernacular readers into fable

¹⁹⁶ Marle R. van, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (The Hague: 1931/1932) 53 ff.; Michel P. (ed.), *Präsenz ohne Substanz. Beiträge zur Symbolik des Spiegels* (Zurich: 2003); Hartlaub G.F., *Zauber des Spiegels. Geschichte und Bedeutung des Spiegels in der Kunst* (Munich: 1951).

¹⁹⁷ For the symbolic meaning of the peacock cf. Michel, "Transformation" 368–369.

¹⁹⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L r–v; cf. above.



Fig. 36. “Überhebung der hochfart” (Vainglory caught by the devil). Illustration to Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff* (Basel, Johann Bergmann: 1494) no. 92.

discourse. The fox is conceived as a fable animal that symbolizes fraud and deceit [Fig. 28]. The fox represents the opportunistic politician who cheats the people, who – according to Schwarzenberg’s emblematic poem – is not “fromm”, but engages in “gleissnerei”.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L v: ‘Ein böses end kompt merck hiebei/ Von flascher gestalt der gleissnerei./ Ein frummer mensch sol also sein/ Wie er das gibt den leüten schein’.

Egenolff, who was not happy with this image, replaced it with another, which he found again in the Petrarch-Master's *De remediis* set, the one for chapter I, 13 [Fig. 37].²⁰⁰ As I have shown in another publication, this image represents a harsh Lutheran attack on the Catholic Church.²⁰¹ It shows the worshipping of an awful demon that sits on a rock: the Catholic "klosterkatze". The "klosterkatze" is the personification of Catholicism as devilish heresy, false belief, and hypocrisy. Luther himself used the "klosterkatze" as a favourite proverbial expression.²⁰² The hypocrisy is symbolized



Fig. 37. The worshipping of the "klosterkatze". Emblem II, 14 of *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. L r. Detail (private collection).

²⁰⁰ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. L r.

²⁰¹ Enenkel, "Der Petrarca des Petrarca-Meisters" 95–104, section "Verlagerung in den Diskurs Lutheranischer Religionspolemik".

²⁰² Cf. Röhrich, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* 856–857, s.v. "Klosterkatze".

by the larger-than-life rosary the demon cat holds in its paws. The cat is worshipped by the Catholic *clerus* – monks, nuns, and priests. The fact that the image denies the authority of the Catholic Church is demonstrated by a figure located just one step higher on “the rock”: it is St. Peter, the “rock” of the Catholic Church and the first Pope. He is just about to receive the keys as the symbol for the Pope’s authority as successor of Christ. It is no coincidence that the bodies and gestures of the “klosterkatze” and those of St. Peter are designed in a remarkable parallelism: the purpose is the total deauthorization of the Roman papacy. Via this device the Petrarch-Master identifies St. Peter and the Roman Pope as a devilish demon. Of course, that was not what Petrarch meant in his chapter I, 13: there, *Ratio* collected arguments in order to avoid *superbia* in religious matters. Petrarch had not the slightest intention of denying the authority of the Roman papacy.

The image “invented” by Egenolff comments on Cicero’s text in a way that heavily influences the reader’s perception. In the first place, the image identifies Cicero’s true and genuine virtue with Lutheranism. It forces the reader to identify with Lutheranism and pushes him – if he is not yet a Protestant – to abdicate from Catholicism and the Roman papacy. The message is: whoever is a Catholic is a liar, cheater, and hypocrite. Interestingly, in his emblematic poem Schwarzenberg already applied the text of Cicero’s chapter to religious matters; one may say that he “Christianized” it: ‘Ein *frummer* mensch sol also sein/ Wie er das gibt den leüten schein’. And interestingly, Schwarzenberg was a Lutheran, too. It is not clear what image he had in mind, although it certainly was not the Petrarch-Master’s elaborate *inventio*. The image brings about that the reader will first engage in a Lutheran meditation. Then he will read and understand Cicero’s text from this perspective. In this perspective the text does not refer to politicians, but to ordinary citizens; not to political behaviour, but to religious belief. The true glory mentioned by Cicero does not refer to the earthly fame of successful politicians, but to religious glory the adherents of the true religion, i.e. Luther’s reformation, will achieve. This glory is not at all about fame, but about the future existence in the Christian heaven that the “righteous” people will achieve. On the other hand, Catholic ‘gleissneri’ will lead to hell. Also, this last image testifies to the enormous power the comment exerted on the reader’s understanding and interpretation of the German *De officiis*.

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