

Learned Love

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Creator of the earliest collection of French emblems, but now also creator of the earliest collection of love emblems? Evidence from a newly discovered emblem book by Guillaume de la Perrière

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The 'love emblem' is normally associated with the Dutch tradition, beginning with the well-known and delightful collections of *emblemata amatoria* by Heinsius and Vaenius, dating from the early seventeenth century, featuring in witty and often whimsical manner the exploits of winged Cupid.¹ In focussing around the single theme of erotic love these highly popular works were clearly very different from the earliest collections of emblems – those published in France in the first half of the sixteenth century – which were characterised by the diversity of their subject matter.²

It has nevertheless long been recognised that the Dutch love emblem may well owe some debt to an earlier French model. Heavily inspired by familiar Petrarchan and Ovidian conceits (to the extent that Porteman has remarked that Vaenius's *Amorum emblemata* could well have been entitled *Emblemata Ovidiana*, following the pattern of his earlier *Emblemata Horatiana*), Dutch emblem books of the early seventeenth century may well have received this influence through the filter of Maurice Scève's *Délie*, as Mario Praz suggested nearly 70 years ago.³ Certainly the mode for Ovidian and Petrarchan love poetry was very strong in France from the 1530s, and Scève's originality lay in giving an additional layer to the conceits of love by complementing his verses with illustrative woodcuts. And certainly there are clear similarities between some of the woodcut figures and devices and the textual imagery in Scève's *Délie*, published in Lyon in 1544, and those of the earliest collections of Dutch love emblems, but the similarities do not extend beyond that. There is little resemblance between the conventional emblematic pattern of the Dutch emblem books (which normally comprise a collection of freestanding verses each accompanied by a figure and motto) and Scève's complex *canzoniere*, which has an almost narrative thread, relating the peripeties of a single sustained love affair as perceived through the subjective vision of the poet-lover, a *canzoniere*

1 Heinsius (1601); Heinsius (1608 and 1973); Vaenius (1608/1996). For details of editions of Heinsius see Breugelmanns (1972, 281-90). See also Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999 and 2002).

2 For this purpose I include Alciato's emblem book – the first official emblem book – among 'those published in France' since it was in France that it was primarily published in numerous editions after the first (very inferior) Augsburg edition of 1531: Alciato, Andrea (1531) *Viri clarissimi D. Andree Alciati iurisconsultiss. Mediol ... emblematum liber*. Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner.

3 Vaenius (1996), introduction, 3; Praz (1964); Scève (1544).

in which the sequence of 449 stanzas is broken up by the insertion at regular intervals of woodcut figures and devices.

The similarities and parallels of imagery are interesting, certainly, but I would not wish to argue that Scève's *Délie* in any way constitutes a threat to the accepted view that collections of love emblems are a Dutch invention of the early seventeenth century. The object of this paper, however, is to draw attention to a newly discovered early French 'emblem book' which, it could be argued, does call into question the generally accepted view that collections of love emblems are 'a wholly seventeenth-century Dutch invention.' This work is Guillaume de la Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour*, a very rare work, published in Lyon in three different editions, the earliest of which dates from 1543. Only two known copies of the work survive (neither of them from the first edition), and – until a year ago – only one known copy (from the second edition) survived.

La Perrière is well known as the writer of the earliest French emblem book – a remarkably early one, composed in 1535, but not published until 1540.⁴ That work, the *Theatre des bons engins*, follows, not surprisingly, the hotch-potch pattern which was first established in Alciato's emblem book, and remained the norm for all early emblem books (until the discovery of the rather different *Cent considerations d'amour*). Certainly, like Alciato's emblem book, La Perrière's *Theatre* does include emblems on the subject of love, but these are scattered throughout the volume, and love is just one topic among many others. The same is true of his other well-known emblem book, the 1553 *Morosophie*,⁵ as it is likewise true of other early French emblem books like Gilles Corrozet's 1540 *Hecatomphe* or Barthélemy Aneau's 1552 *Imagination poetique*.⁶ But La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* is, as its title suggests, quite different from these, since it comprises a series of 100 'emblems' all on the single subject of love.

But what is this book, and why has it been hitherto so unnoticed by emblem scholars? The reason is that until a year ago there was only one known copy of the work (in Paris in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), and this was not a copy of the first edition, but of a subsequent edition published in 1548 by a little known Lyon publisher, Jacques Berion.⁷ Furthermore, in this 1548 edition there are no woodcut figures: the text simply comprises 100 quatrains on the theme of love, all closely packed together, six to the page. However, when I first saw this little sedecimo volume many years ago, I was nevertheless struck by the emblematic potential of its highly figurative verses which clearly would have lent themselves very well to woodcut illustration. (In parenthesis, I was also struck by the remarkable similarities between some of the imagery used by La Perrière in this work and that used by Scève in his 1544 *Délie*, which – interestingly – was published a year *after* the 1543 first edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour*.) My strong feeling, already then, that La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* really ought to be considered to be

4 La Perrière (1540 and 1973).

5 La Perrière (1553 and 1993).

6 Corrozet (1540 and 1974); Aneau (1552).

7 La Perrière (1548).

an emblem book was strengthened by finding a reference in a nineteenth-century sale catalogue to a copy of the first edition, also published in Lyon, but by François Juste and Pierre de Tours, in which the work was described as indeed containing 'figures sur bois'.⁸ 'Figures sur bois', though, is somewhat vague, and could mean no more than a few woodcuts scattered through the text, but another reference to the same edition by the admittedly not wholly dependable Brunet did further specify that this edition contained woodcuts on every page.⁹ So although we had here fairly clear evidence that in the form in which the work first appeared, the *Cent considerations d'amour* did indeed include illustrations, since the present whereabouts of the Yemeniz copy are not known, and there is no other known copy, this information remained somewhat hypothetical.

However since those early days when I first became interested in this work, modern technology has progressively provided Early Modern scholars with hugely enriched resources for bibliographical search, and in this particular instance it was while making a routine check on the online *Catalogue collectif de la France* to see if by any chance that, or another copy of the 1543 illustrated edition had turned up somewhere in a provincial French library, I did not find such a copy, but what I *did* find was a copy of a hitherto completely unknown, rather later, edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* in the Bibliothèque municipale in Versailles, published in Lyon in 1577 by Benoît Rigaud, and described tantalisingly in the catalogue as 'fig'.¹⁰ And indeed in this 1577 edition the work is 'fig' throughout. Its structure replicates that of La Perrière's first emblem book, the *Theatre des bons engins*. The layout is symmetrical, with each emblem occupying a single page and comprising woodcut figure followed by 4-line verse. As in the *Theatre* (and also in his later *Morosophie*) La Perrière does not use titles or mottoes in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, but simply numbers his 'emblems' from 1 to 100. The big difference between this 1577 edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* and the *Theatre*, however, is that the *Cent considerations d'amour* is – unfortunately – an extremely inferior piece of printing, whereas the *Theatre*, particularly in the editions published by Denis Janot in Paris, is an aesthetically sophisticated and lavishly produced work, characterised by the strikingly ornate decorative borders framing each of its emblems. In contrast to this there are in the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* virtually no decorative borders. Only in two 'emblems' (31 and 100) are very basic side-pieces used, and the reason for these is because the woodblock used for them is smaller than all the others and the side-pieces serve to fill the space (Fig. 1).

8 'Les Cent considerations d'amour, composees par Guillaume de La Perriere Tholosan. DMXLIII. A Lyon par François Juste et Pierre de Tours, in 16. Figures sur bois, mar. rouge, filez à compart. tr. dor. (Moreau). première édition. Rare', *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. N. Yemeniz*. 1867, no.1834.

9 Brunet, J.C. (1860-65; col. 830).

10 La Perrière (1577). See also Peach (1992, 345) (where the date is incorrectly noted as 1557). I should like to note my gratitude to the staff of the Fonds Ancien in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles for permission to reproduce illustrations and for facilitating my work on this edition, and in particular to Mme Marie-Françoise Rose for her unfailing help and generosity.

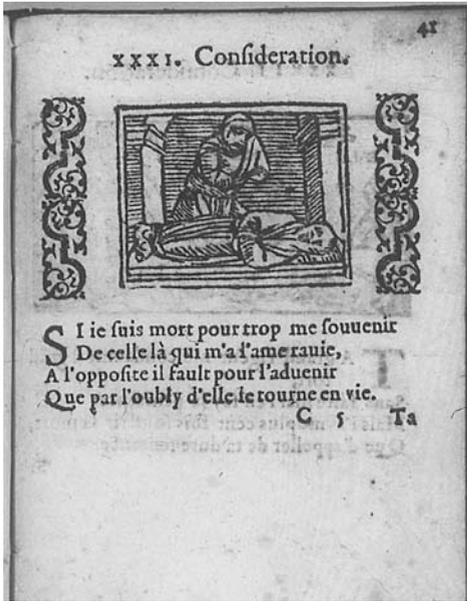


Fig. 1: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 31

It is unfortunate that no copy of the original 1543 edition of the work has as yet emerged. The Yemeniz Collection was sold at auction at the Hotel Drouot in 1867. The whole collection was bought up by Ambroise Firmin Didot, who kept a few items for himself, but sold on the rest, thereby dispersing the collection. His copy of the 1543 *Cent considerations d'amour* can not have been among the works which he kept for himself, since it features neither in the *Catalogue raisonné* of his library nor in the subsequent sale catalogue of his collection.¹¹ Individual books which were formerly part of the Yemeniz Collection do appear in sale catalogues, but not, as yet, his copy of this work, and all my attempts to trace the whereabouts of this copy or indeed of any other copy have so far failed. We can only surmise, therefore, what this edition would have been like, but my guess is that, like La Perrière's other works which were published in his own lifetime, it would almost certainly have been a better produced volume than the 1577 edition which appeared more than 20 years after his death in 1553.¹² More significantly (again based on the evidence of his other works published within his lifetime) I would guess that La Perrière would have ensured that in its first edition this work would have been illustrated by appropriate woodcut figures, possibly even designed specifically for it, as seems to have been the case with both his other two emblem books, the Paris-published *Theatre* and Lyon-published *Morosophie*.¹³

11 *Catalogue raisonné des livres* (1867); *Catalogue des livres rares* (1878).

12 For biographical details of La Perrière see Dexter (1955, 56-73).

13 The woodcut figures used in the Janot editions of the *Theatre* are different in both style and size from those used by Janot in other works, and the fact that Janot did not re-use them subsequently to illustrate other works (as he commonly did) suggests that they may perhaps have

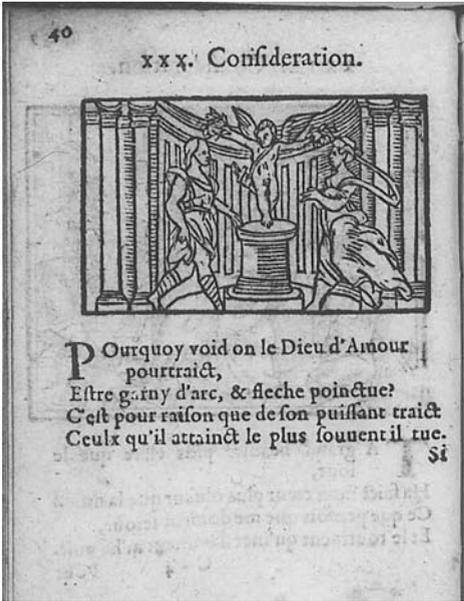


Fig. 2: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 30

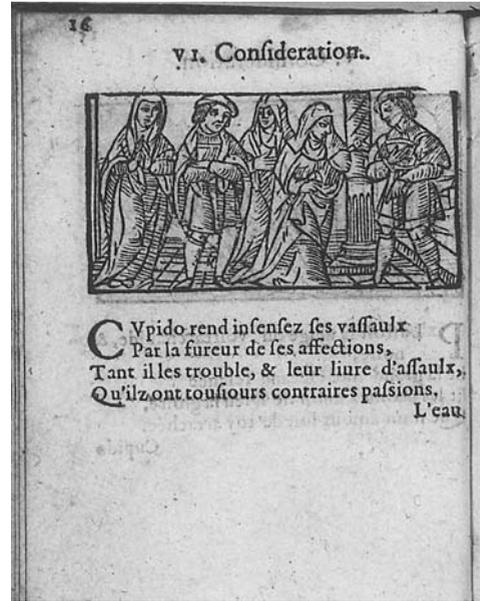


Fig. 3: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 6

But what we actually have in the form in which it appears in the 1577 edition is a work which is visually much inferior to La Perrière's other emblematic works. It is immediately evident that the woodblocks that are used here were not purpose-made for this text. Several different series of woodblocks are used, and they vary considerably in both size and style (Figs 2-5).¹⁴ La Perrière's emblematic verses are thus accompanied here by very diverse, and illy assorted woodcut illustrations (several of which are used more than once), taken from various sets originally designed for other works, with the result that very often the correlation between what is depicted in the figure and what is said in the verse is poor. In some cases it is easy to identify what the woodcuts were originally designed to depict (particularly since several include the name of the characters represented) (Figs. 6-7).¹⁵ But in other cases, where the woodcut depicts a fairly indeterminate scene, identifica-

been supplied by La Perrière himself. Likewise the striking and appropriate woodcut figures used by Macé Bonhomme for the *Morosophie* never reappear elsewhere.

14 It is difficult to identify precisely how many series of woodblocks are used in the work, but there are at least five, and possibly as many as nine, and they appear in four different sizes. The most common size is 30 x 55 mm, though one series (which includes Pyramus and Thisbe, (Fig. 8) and Orpheus with the animals) is slightly different, measuring 32 x 50 mm. Another very distinct series of five woodblocks is much larger, measuring 45 x 58 mm, (Fig. 4) while one single woodblock representing a shrouded dead figure (which is used twice) is much smaller, measuring only 28 x 34 mm. (Fig. 1).

15 As, for example, 'Diane' (1,65); 'Mars' (10,44); 'Oenone Paris' (11, 48, 61); 'Les trois Graces Volupté Cupido Venus' (14, 17, 47, 98); 'Chyron Thetis Achilles' (6, 91); 'Piragmon Vulcan Brontes' (25) (Fig. 6); 'Veissiez Eperion' (52, 60) (Fig. 7).



Fig. 4: Cent considerations d'amour, embleme 13

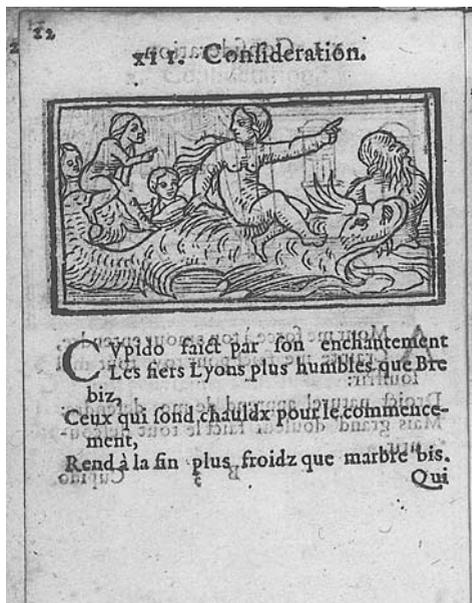


Fig. 5: Cent considerations d'amour, embleme 12

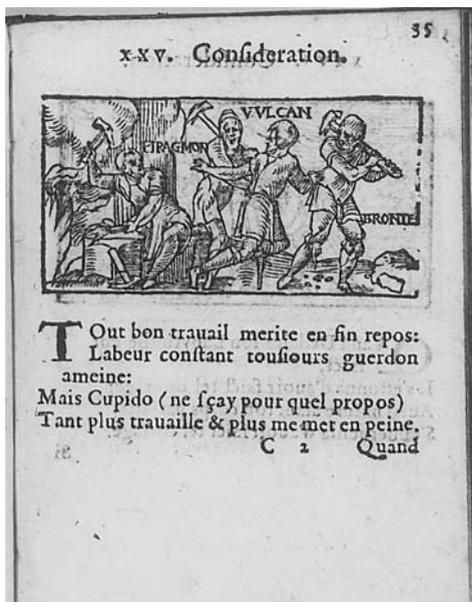


Fig. 6: Cent considerations d'amour, embleme 25

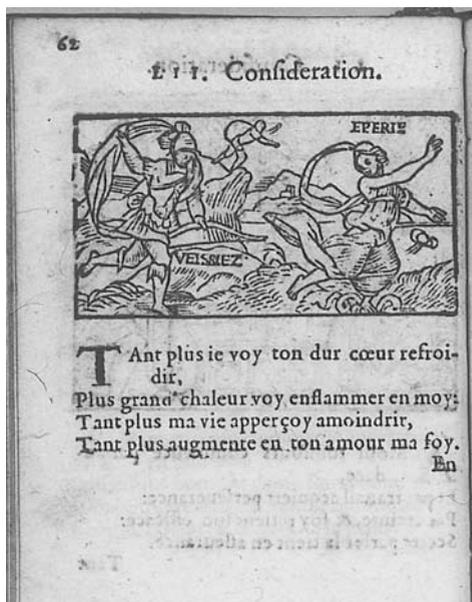


Fig. 7: Cent considerations d'amour, embleme 52

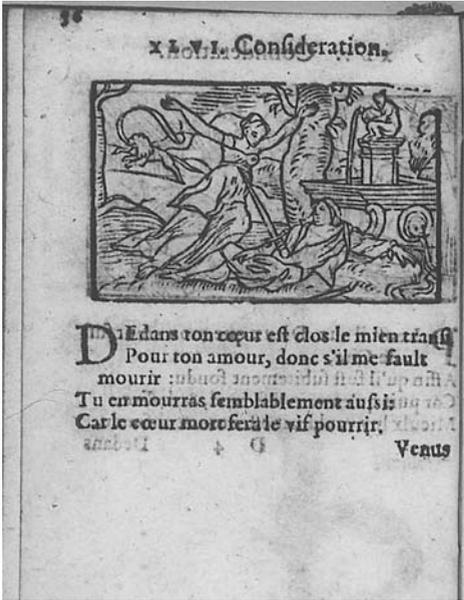


Fig. 8: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 46

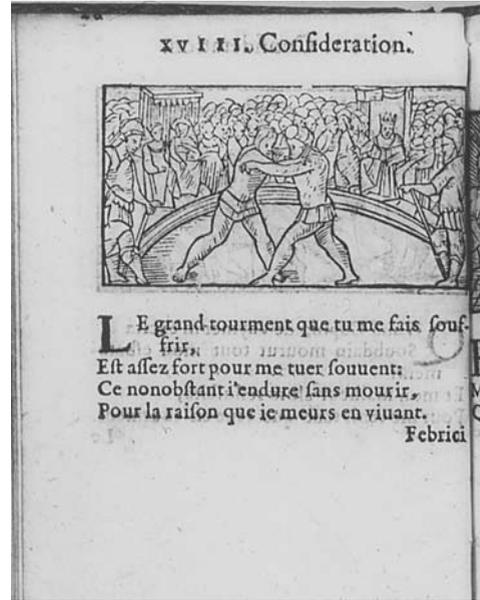


Fig. 9: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 18

tion is not so easy, as for example in the rather archaic illustration to *Consideration* 6 (Fig. 3). And in the cases where the figures are identifiable, it is not always easy to establish precisely where they would originally have been used. One thing that is clear is that they were not all woodblocks owned by Benoît Rigaud which he had already used in earlier works that he had published. Several, for example, depict scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which is a text that he did not publish. Among the *Metamorphoses* illustrations are Hesperia fleeing from Aesacus (*Considerations* 52,60; *Metamorphoses*, Bk 11) (Fig. 7), and Pyramus and Thisbe (*Considerations* 3,46,88; *Metamorphoses*, Bk 4) (Fig. 8). I have not been able to identify where these came from – certainly some of them – including these two – are crude mirror-image imitations of woodblocks from a set used by Marnef and Cavellat in 1574 for an edition of the *Metamorphoses* – which were themselves closely modelled on the Bernard Salomon illustrations used by Jean de Tournes in his 1557 edition of the work.¹⁶ (In particular with the *Metamorphoses* there was a strong tradition of copying illustrations from one edition to another.) I have, however, identified two of the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* woodcuts (*Considerations* 18, 53 and 26, 49) as having been earlier used in an edition of an extract from the *Metamorphoses* published in Lyon by Pierre de Tours in 1567 under the title *Le proces d'Ajax et d'Ulisses pour les Armes d'Achille, contenu au treziesme livre de la Metamorphose d'Ovide, translaté en langue françoise par M. Jacques Colin* (B1r and

¹⁶ *Les XV livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide* (1574); *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (1557).

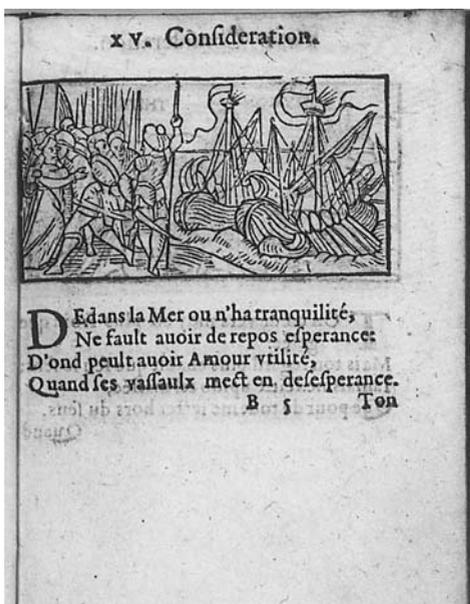


Fig. 10: *Cent considerations d'amour*, emblem 15

B2r).¹⁷ Interestingly, in the case of the woodcut depicting the wrestling figures of Ajax and Ulysses, the names of the two characters which were incorporated into original 1567 version of the woodblock have been removed by the time it is used in the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* (Fig. 9).

Certainly therefore in this 1577 version we have a very inferior 'emblem book' in which the correlation between figure and verse is often poor. But this quite commonly occurred in later sixteenth-century reworkings of illustrated texts dating originally from the earlier part of the century. We see it, for example, in two other such works published by Benoît Rigaud in various editions in the 1560s to 1580s: these are reworked versions of Barthélemy Aneau's 1549 *Decades de la description des animaux*, and Guillaume Guérault's 1550 *Second livre de la description des animaux contenant le blason des oyseaux* (both originally published in Lyon by Balthasar Arnoullet) which appeared in a number of later editions by Rigaud and by others under variants of the titles *La description philosophale de la nature et condition des animaux, tant raisonnables que bruts. Avec le sens moral sur le naturel et condition d'iceux* and *La propriété et nature des oyseaux: avec leurs pourtraits & figures naïfvement taillees; le tout remis en bon ordre avec le sens moral, par un sçavant philosophe, pour l'utilité d'un chascun*.¹⁸ Arnoullet's original versions were not particularly elegantly produced, but the later versions produced by Rigaud, like those similarly produced by members of the Bonfons family in Paris (who also

¹⁷ A copy of this very rare work exists in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

¹⁸ *La description philosophale* (1586); *La propriété et nature des oyseaux* (1584).

specialised in producing reworkings of earlier illustrated works) are – like the 1577 edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* – very crude pieces of printing.¹⁹

Unfortunately the Versailles unique copy of the 1577 *Cent considerations d'amour* is incomplete, lacking an entire gathering (F) and one leaf of another gathering (B1), so that it contains only 82 out of the full complement of 100 'emblems'. *Considerations* 7-8 and 71-86 are missing, so we cannot form an accurate evaluation of the extent to which in this edition there is correlation between figure and text. But from the 82 'emblems' in this copy, 22 do show a correlation between figure and text²⁰ (see, for example, Figs 1, 2, 6, 8, 10) while in the remaining 60 the correlation is not evident. Among these 60 the figures in 15 'emblems' are relatively indeterminate²¹ (see, for example, Fig. 3) but in the remaining 45 where the woodcut figure depicts a more specific scene, there is little evident connection between the message of the verse and that of its accompanying figure (see, for example, Figs. 5, 7, 9). Given the potential importance of this work by La Perrière, as a collection of 100 symmetrically arranged illustrated epigrams all on the subject of love, produced decades before the Dutch collections of love emblems, it is unfortunate that there is at the moment no known copy of the first edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour* which would have given us better grounds for judgement of what La Perrière himself had originally envisaged.

Two arguments against the view that this work constitutes an early emblem book on the subject of love have been suggested by David Graham, in the course of discussion at the conference at which this paper was presented. One is the fact that La Perrière does not use the word 'emblem' in the title, whereas he did so in the titles to both his *Theatre* and his *Morosophie*, and the other is the fact that in his dedication of the 1553 *Morosophie* to Antoine de Bourbon, he refers to one earlier emblem book produced by himself ('l'autre Centurie d'Emblemes, que pieça je dediay à la feu Roynne de Navarre', B1r) rather than to two. These are cogent arguments, and the case for regarding the *Cent considerations d'amour* as an emblem book would certainly have been stronger if La Perrière had used the word 'emblem' in the context of this work. However, 1543 was still a very early date in the development of the emblem genre, and the word was by no means always used rigorously or consistently by writers at the time. Corrozet, for example, did not use the word 'emblem' in the title of his 1540 *Hecatographie*, nor yet did Aneau use either 'emblem' or 'emblem' in the titles of his Latin and French versions of the 1552 *Picta poesis/Imagination poetique*. Despite David Graham's reservations, therefore, and despite the undoubted aesthetic shortcomings of the 1577 edition and the poor correlation between figure and text in many of its 'emblems', I would argue that given its structure, the *Cent considerations d'amour* clearly should be seen as a hitherto unacknowledged emblem book. And if we do accept it as such,

19 For details see Saunders (1976, 437-57).

20 2, 3, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23, 25, 30, 31, 35, 36, 40, 46, 47, 55, 60, 87, 94, 98, 100.

21 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 22, 33, 34, 35, 51, 56, 57.

then it does raise an interesting question as to the earliest manifestations of the love emblem book.

In La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* we have an edition of a French love emblem book published in 1577, nearly a quarter of a century before the emblem books of Heinsius and Vaenius, but even more strikingly if we count back (as we logically must do) to 1543, the date of the first edition, we are talking about a collection of emblems being produced in France on the single theme of love more than half a century before those of Heinsius and Vaenius. So this newly discovered edition is a very striking discovery. (And in parenthesis, since its publication predates that of Scève's *Délie* by one year it is very tempting to suggest that Scève's inspiration to accompany his love *canzoniere*, in which a number of the images parallel those used by La Perrière in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, with interspersed figures and devices, came not wholly from his own inventive genius, or from a greater awareness of the work of Alciato than has hitherto been thought to be the case – as has been suggested by Gerard Defaux in his recent edition of the *Délie* – but rather perhaps from the more immediate and highly innovative model produced just the previous year by La Perrière.)²²

Moving on from bibliographical and physical description of this new 'emblem book' let us now consider the textual content of the *Cent considerations d'amour* to see the extent to which it shows parallels to, and differences from early seventeenth-century Dutch love emblems. And to avoid speaking too unspecifically about 'the Dutch love emblem' in general, I intend to focus on one particular early Dutch collection of love emblems, Vaenius's 1608 *Amorum emblemata* published in Antwerp in trilingual editions with different combinations of languages, quoting, for purposes of easy comparison with La Perrière's French text, the French quatrains that appeared in this edition.

One very apparent difference must be mentioned straightaway. Although in terms of its single theme of love, Vaenius's collection of emblems is very different from earlier French emblem books, in another important respect it *does* conform to a characteristic pattern of the earlier emblem books, in the sense that nearly all Vaenius's emblems express their message impersonally, offering a moral lesson or reflection on the nature of love which is universally applicable. Thus, for example, in *Amour vainqueur des Dieux* Vaenius depicts the figure of a diminutive but triumphant Cupid contemplating the arrow that he has just shot into the breast of mighty Apollo (shown standing rather nonplussed beside the monstrous crocodile that he has himself just conquered), accompanied by a self-explanatory verse reflecting on the all-powerful nature of love:

²² Scève (2004). For discussion of emblematic aspects of Scève's *Délie* and similarities of textual imagery between it and the 1548 non-illustrated edition of the *Cent considerations d'amour*, see Saunders (1996, 405-17).

Amour laschant au coeur de Phebus sa sargette,
Par bravade luy dit: Cogyoy moy plus puissant,
En tant que les hauts Dieux les bestes vont passant:
Toute chose en la terre & au ciel m'est subiette. (Vaenius, 20)

Similarly in *Amour change nature* the figure of Cupid attaching a small pair of wings to the shoulders of a mule is accompanied by a quatrain spelling out the universal truth that love has a civilising effect even on the most unlikely candidates:

Il n'y a parmy nous de chair masse si lourde,
A qui ne puisse Amour ses aislerons donner,
Il peut aux grands esprits l'asne paragonner,
Et au plus gros rustau esveiller l'ame gourde. (Vaenius, 114)

But this universality is much less apparent in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, in which La Perrière adopts overall a more subjective approach, very different from the universal approach which characterised his two accepted emblem books, the *Theatre des bons engins* and the *Morosophie*. We find in the *Theatre*, for example, an impersonally expressed emblem on the theme of the civilising impact of love, based on an image of Cupid teaching a mule to dance, which could well have been the inspiration for Vaenius's emblem:

Amour apprend les Asnes à dancier,
Et les lourdaulx faict devenir muguetz:
Pigner les faict, farder, & agencer,
Par le moyen de ses subtilz aguetz.
Aux endormiz il faict faire les guetz.
Rusticité transmue en gentillesse:
Car sans cela que de son traict les blesse,
Leur vilanie il convertist en grace.
Cymon jadis en receipt telle adresse,
Comme l'on ligt aulx escriptz de Boccace. (*Theatre*, emblem 62)

and in the *Morosophie* a similarly impersonally expressed emblem on the impact of Venus on the adolescent boy:

Lenfant croissant vient en adolescence,
Lequel Venus la Déesse conduit:
Lors le sang bouilt, & lors croist la semence,
Qui le rend prompt à l'amoureux deduit. (*Morosophie*, emblem 3)

But in contrast, in the *Cent considerations d'amour* La Perrière tends to a more subjective approach, with the love that is evoked in quatrain after quatrain being that

of the persona of the poet himself. Thus although in many cases the theme of his quatrains is the same as that of the French quatrains in Vaenius's work, the message conveyed by La Perrière is less one of reflection on the generality of human experience, but rather one of reflection on his supposed personal experience.²³ Both Vaenius and La Perrière, for example, include emblems on child Cupid's dominance even over that most powerful god, Jupiter, but whereas in Vaenius's version, *Rien m'arreste*, the message is expressed in characteristically universal terms:

L'Amour surmonte seul le Terme, & le terrasse,
Redouté d'un chascun, mesme de Jupiter,
Qui sent son grand pouvoir par le Terme dompter.
Rien n'empesche l'Amour, que par tout il ne passe. (Vaenius, 18)

La Perrière's message is directed more specifically to the lover's mistress:

Si Cupido ha vaincu Jupiter,
Il te pourra facilement convaincre,
Dequoy te sert les flesches despiter,
Quand tu vois bien quil peult les haultz dieux vaincre? (*Consideration 33*)

The opening quatrain of the *Cent considerations d'amour* sets the tone for the work, with the second couplet providing a subjective gloss on the striking image expressed in the first couplet – that of the lover in his boat with Venus at the sail and Cupid at the helm:

Venus conduit le vent de ma nacelle,
Et Cupido tient en sa main la rame.
En tel peril (ou je tremble & chancelle)
Qui peult lascher lancre fors que ma dame. (*Consideration 1*)

Other good examples of the way in which La Perrière combines in the *Cent considerations d'amour* vivid emblematic images with very personalised and subjective interpretations include *Consideration 23* using the image of the wounded stag seeking the medicinal plant, dittany, to heal his wound to represent the suffering of the poet-lover seeking solace (but also paradoxically further pain) from his mistress:

Le Cerf frappé cherche diligemment
L'herbe quil scait bonne à sa guarison,
J'yroie vers toy aussi semblablement,

23 In this respect the *Cent considerations d'amour* is very similar to Scève's *Délie* – though with a marked difference in the quality of the verses.

Mais en toy gist mon remede, & poison. (*Consideration 23*)

or *Consideration 19* associating the burning/shivering reality of high fever with the feverish lovesickness experienced by the poet-lover brought on by Cupid's attack:

Febricitans tremblent durant le froid,
Avant avoir de la fièvre l'ardeur.
Mais cupido m'a mys en tel destroit,
Que de froid tremble en la grosse chaleur. (*Consideration 19*)

The same technique is used again in *Consideration 48*, but with the order of the couplets reversed, so that the subjective interpretation here precedes the image from which it is derived: vanquished by love, the poet-lover asks his cruel mistress for pity, using the analogy of the cruel lion which accords pity to its vanquished enemy:

Puis qu'amour m'a vaincu par son oppresse,
Allege moy par ta benevolence
Le lyon est cruel quand on le presse,
Mais aux vaincuz il use de clemence. (*Consideration 48*)

But although the subjective element is undoubtedly very marked in many of the verses of the *Cent considerations d'amour*, following the tone set in the opening 'emblem', and likewise reflecting the personal tone adopted in La Perrière's dedication of the work to his cousin Jean de Maleripe, in which he refers to Maleripe's strong interest in love during his youth,²⁴ interestingly it is not present in *all* of them. In fact a significant number are expressed impersonally, in the manner of a traditional emblem book, but because the subjective approach of the others is so marked, their presence is less apparent. There are in fact 31 such 'emblems' in the *Cent considerations d'amour*, so they comprise nearly a third of the whole collection. Interestingly they are not scattered evenly through the work, but rather they appear more and more frequently as it progresses, to the extent that it could almost be argued that the work changes character as it progresses.²⁵

A large proportion of these impersonally expressed verses conveying a universal message about the nature of love are based on static representations of Cupid in one or other of his traditional guises – as for example childlike:

24 'Car pourtant qu'en ta tendre adolescence, & florissante jeunesse, Venus deesse des Amoureux, & Cupido son filz ayent souvent piquée & eguillonnée ta sensualité (comme il advient infaliblement à tous jeunes hommes)' (*Cent considerations d'amour*, 1577, a2r).

25 The first half of the work includes 11 such impersonal verses, but this number almost doubles to 20 in the second half, and within that second half they feature more heavily towards the end, with 14 appearing among the last 25, and 7 among the last 10.

Si Cupido comme il est en paincture,
Est jeune enfant debile, sans vigueur,
Comment peult il doncques par sa poincture,
Maint puissant homme affoyblir par langueur? (*Consideration 68*)

Pourquoy painct on Cupido comme enfant,
Quand il debvroit estre painct en Satrappe?
Pource quil faict par son dard triumpphant
Perdre le sens à tous ceulx la quil frappe. (*Consideration 77*)

Si Cupidon est tendre, & jeune d'aage,
Comme lon voit quil est painct en tous lieux,
Comment peult il vaincre par son courage
Foibles, & fortz, sages, folz, jeunes, vieulx? (*Consideration 98*)

or blind:

Si Cupido de ses yeulx ne voit goute,
Il ne peult estre à tirer bien adroit:
Et fault conclure, & dire somme toute,
Quil ne scauroit viser les flesches droict. (*Consideration 84*)

or naked:

Si Cupido est tel comme lon pense,
Pourquoy va il tout nud si povrement?
Puis quil est Dieu, n'a il pas la puissance
De recouvrer (sil veult) ung vestement? (*Consideration 97*)

or bearing bow and arrow:

Pourquoy voit on le dieu d'amour pourtraict
Estre garni d'arc, & fleche poinctue?
Cest pour raison que de son puissant traict,
Ceulx quil attainct, le plus souvent si tue. (*Consideration 30*) (See Fig. 2)

While verses like these do undoubtedly have very clear echoes of Alciato's emblems on representations of the traditional attributes of Cupid, they have less obvious affinities with the much later love emblems of Vaenius, which characteristically go one stage further and focus either on Cupid's interchanges with others or on his various exploits, rather than simply commenting on his traditional attributes. Typical of Vaenius's more complex approach are his emblems on the relationship

between Cupid and Fortune in *Fortune aveugle l'Amour*:

La fortune à l'Amour quelquefois les yeux bande,
Et mobile le met sur son globe tout rond;
Car au chaud d'un malheur l'Amour leger se fond,
Mais en l'Amour loyal deffaut sa force grande. (Vaenius, 156)

and between Cupid and Avarice in *Amour hayt l'avarice*:

Amour l'avarice ouvre par sa puissance
La bourse bien fermée, & rend le chiche esgal
(Changeant son naturel) à l'homme liberal,
Lors qu'un trait plein d'ardeur en sa poitrine il lance. (Vaenius, 204)

Typical of Vaenius's emblems on picturesque exploits of Cupid are *Amour trouve moyen* depicting Cupid's ingenuity in using his quiver as a makeshift raft, and his bow as a paddle to cross water:

Voycy le Dieu d'Amour, qui hardy passer ose
Les vagues de la mer, flottant sur son carquois,
D'une rame luy sert son petit arc Turquois.
L'Amant pour voir sa Dame entreprend toute chose. (Vaenius, 92)

which must surely be a witty development from Corrozet's non-love specific emblem *S'aider de tous ses membres* in the *Hecatographie*, depicting a squirrel similarly on a raft, using his tail as a sail:

Quand tes affaires tu remembres
Qui tumbent en adversité,
Il t'est adoncq necessité
De te servir de tous tes membres. (*Hecatographie*, K3v)

or *Qui trop embrasse, peu eststraint* showing Cupid with a pair of hounds trying to hunt two hares at the same time, to make the point that the lover attempting to pursue two women at once risks losing both:

Qui deux lievres poursuit à mipartie chasse
Fera faute à tous deux, ainsi qui fait l'amour
A deux dames au coup, l'une, & l'autre à son tour
Lesconduiront à droit, de tout ce qu'il pourchasse. (Vaenius, p. 24)

– an emblem which again offers a clear echo of Corrozet’s more generally applicable emblem on the same subject in his 1543 *Emblemes*,²⁶ *N’entreprendre trop d’affaires à une fois*:

L’homme tresapre en son affection
Qui à la fois trop d’affaires assemble,
Sans jugement & sans discretion
Entreprenant tout ce que bon luy semble:
Scavez vous bien à qui cest qu’il ressemble
A un chasseur mal ruzé, non scavant,
Qui en chassant à deux lievres ensemble
N’en prend que l’un, & point le plussouvent. (*Emblemes*, G2r)

It is in this area of emblems on the various exploits of Cupid that we find the clearest affinities between Vaenius’s emblem book and the *Cent considerations d’amour* which also includes emblematic verses on the activities of Cupid. Although these are not necessarily the *same* activities as those depicted by Vaenius, they are nevertheless depicted in a similar manner. And in all of these we see La Perrière using his ‘emblems’ to convey a universal message which is absolutely akin to those of Vaenius, rather than expressing, as he does elsewhere in the collection, a subjective message relating to the impact of love on the persona of the poet-lover. Thus, for example, Vaenius’s *Amour par tout*, *Par Amour tout*, *tout par Amour*, *par tout Amour* depicting Cupid shooting arrows at a globe, accompanied by a verse gloss explaining the universal impact of love, impacting on both heaven and earth:

Ce petit Dieu d’Amour le ciel, la terre, & l’onde
Transperce de ses dards, les joignants d’un accord:
Sans l’Amour tout ne fut qu’un chaos de discord.
Il nourrit & soustient le ciel, & ce bas monde. (Vaenius, p.34)

finds an echo in La Perrière’s earlier emblem which similarly offers a non-subjectively expressed message about the universality of love, linking heaven and earth:

Le ciel, & terre, & tous les aornemens,
Sont par amour lyez jusques au bout:
Dont dire fault par expres argumens,
Que qui dict mal d’amour, dict mal de tout. (*Consideration 95*)

Again in *Consideration 12* La Perrière’s uses the exploits of Cupid to make a non-subjective point about the nature of love: here Cupid is described as using his powers to tame mighty lions:

²⁶ *Emblemes*, appended to *Le Tableau de Cebes de Thebes* (1543 and 1997); Corrozet (1544 and 1543).

Cupido faict par son enchantement,
Les fiers lyons plus humbles que brebis:
Ceulx qui sont chaulx pour le commencement,
Rend à la fin plus froidz que marbre bis. (*Consideration 12*) (See Fig. 5)

– a theme which offers a clear early echo of the much later well-known opening emblem of Heinsius's *Emblemata amatoria*, *Omnia vincit amor*, depicting Cupid perched triumphantly on the shoulders of a fierce lion. Further examples could be cited. So we see that even in this *apparently* subjective collection of 'emblems' on the theme of love by La Perrière, many are actually just as universally applicable in their reflection on the nature of love as the verses in conventionally accepted emblem books, and this brings La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* and Vaenius's *Emblemata amorum* much closer together than might at first sight have appeared to be the case.

But it is interesting also to look at this question the other way round. While close inspection shows that the message of a number of La Perrière's love 'emblems' is universal rather than personal, similar close inspection of Vaenius's collection of love emblems shows that not all of them offer a universally applicable message. In fact a number offer a message which is just as subjective as some of those of La Perrière. Here also, therefore, we find further parallels between the two works. Thus we find in Vaenius's emblem *Rien ne me peut guerir* on the injured stag seeking dittany to heal its wound a clear – and equally subjective – reworking of La Perrière's earlier interpretation of that same image:

Le cerf fuyard atteint d'une viste sagette
Cerche parmy les bois le dictamne oste-fer:
Mais nulle herbe ne peut de ce mal triompher,
Que m'a fait en mon coeur d'Amour la main tendrette. (Vaenius, 154)

Vaenius offers a similarly subjective interpretation of the image of Cupid distilling tears in an alembic fired by the flame of love in his emblem *Mes pleurs tesmoignent*:

Amour me fait en pleurs distiller goute à goute,
Sa flamme sert de feu, de fournaise mon coeur,
Et mes souspirs de vents, nourrissants ma chaleur.
Mes yeux d'un alambic, qui mes larmes esgoute. (Vaenius, 188)

again echoing La Perrière's earlier subjective interpretation of the same theme:

Leau amortist le feu par sa coustume:
Mais quant à moy, elle faict aultrement:
Leau de mes yeulx, mon feu plus fort allume:

Car tant plus pleure, & plus ay de torment. (*Consideration 7*)
Again in *Secours me nuit* Vaenius's description of the incurable nature of lovesickness for which the remedy only renders the illness worse is expressed in subjective first-person terms:

La pluye ny le vent ne nous peult rendre esteinte
La flamme de l'Amour, ains nourrit son brandon.
Quel espoir de trouver à mon mal guerison?
La medecine accroist la cause de ma plainte. (Vaenius, 170)

echoing the personal tone of La Perrière's similarly paradoxical expression of the same theme:

Du mesme lieu que procede ma playe,
Fault obtenir le remede benin
Ver toy, doncq' fault que d'aller je m'essaye,
Car en toy gist medecine, & venin. (*Consideration 64*)

So what can be concluded from this? What I hope to have demonstrated is that – despite the aesthetic shortcomings of the work as it exists in the 1577 edition – there are nevertheless significant similarities between La Perrière's *Cent considerations d'amour* dating from the first half of the sixteenth century and Vaenius's collection of love emblems dating from the early seventeenth century. Certainly there are differences: that is hardly surprising, but these differences are in fact less marked than at first appears to be the case. Nothing that I argue here negates the importance of the Dutch love emblem or the huge impact it exercised across Europe in its numerous successive manifestations and reworkings, particularly subsequent on Vaenius's inventive genius in creating the further figure of *Amor divinus*, thereby giving a whole new dimension to the love emblem. But what I do suggest is that whereas we have hitherto accepted the notion that there is *some* French influence on the Dutch love emblem, partly via Maurice Scève's *Délie*, and partly in the form of occasional borrowings of images from Corrozet's *Hecatographie* and La Perrière's *Theatre* (as of course from Alciato himself), we now need to think in terms of a much more fundamental French influence on the genre. Vaenius was clearly aware not just of Corrozet's well-known and popular *Hecatographie* but also of his much less well-known and popular *Emblemes*. Like many others in the Netherlands, he was similarly aware of La Perrière's well-known and popular *Theatre*. As Karel Porteman reminded me, three editions of a Dutch translation of the *Theatre* were published in Antwerp in the space of ten years between 1554 and 1564.²⁷ We cannot *know* that Vaenius was also aware of La Perrière's less well-

²⁷ La Perrière (1554, 1556 and 1564).

known *Cent considerations d'amour*, but it does now look very much as though he was, and that in creating his own aesthetically delightful and witty emblems of love he did have an already existent French model in mind.

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