

M. DE MONTPLAISIR AND HIS EMBLEMS

METROBATE est un homme de qualité qui fait fort bien des vers: le Songe qu'il a fait, et dédié à Galerius, en est une illustre marque pour luy, et je croy qu'il est peu de louange plus considerable que celle de dire qu'il en est considéré, puisque l'estime de Galerius peut passer pour celle d'un des hommes le plus accompli de la cour. Ces galaneries n'en sont pas moins les justes marques que ses grands emplois; et l'estime generale que tout le monde en fait, accompagnée de cette joye qu'il porte dans tous les lieux où il va, nous fait assez connoistre qu'il faut que Metrobate soit fort accompli, puis qu'il en est considéré.

Through this flattering portrait of Metrobate, Sommaize was characterizing René de Bruc, self-styled Marquis de la Guerche et de Montplaisir.¹ And the extravagant praise does seem to reflect with real accuracy the impeccable reputation of this perfect *courtisan*. His graceful, if usually insignificant, verse adorns many of the printed anthologies and manuscript collections of poetry from the second half of the seventeenth century. His poems appear often enough in such fashionable collections to give one the impression that they served as models of a certain courtly decorum. Indeed, Montplaisir is reputed to have been Madame de La Suze's mentor in the art of poetry, and rumor insinuated further that Montplaisir had even composed some of her better verse.

De Bruc was born into an old Breton family in Paris in 1610. Being a fourth son, he found himself obliged to make his own way in the world and chose a career in the military where he distinguished himself as a valiant soldier in fighting against the Spanish in Picardy in the 1630's. As a result, he soon attracted the attention of the court, and his star began to rise, with the eventual result that he was named *lieutenant du roi* in Arras in 1659. The final payment for his services to the king came when his property at La Guerche in Brittany was "érigée en marquisat" shortly before his death in 1683: at long last, he had the right to bear one of the titles he had used for much of his adult life.

Most of de Bruc's galant and occasional verse was published in anthologies between 1653 and 1681; and in the middle of the eighteenth century, Lefevre de St-Marc gathered together the poems known or reputed to be his work and published them along with the poetry of de Bruc's friend, Lalanne.² In at least one of these poems, de Bruc shows that he was already interested, like so many of the *précieux* and *précieuses*, in the emblematic forms as early as 1666.³ It has always been assumed, but with no tangible evidence, that he also composed some serious verse toward the end of his life, for Loménie de Brienne claimed that, in his later years, Montplaisir "s'est mis dans la dévotion, & qu'il a composé un grand nombre de Vers de Piété."⁴

None of his biographers has been able to locate this poetry, but in fact, at least three manuscripts contain more or less complete copies of a body of work that fits Loménie's description. To date, however, they have passed largely unnoticed or have not been identified as Montplaisir's work. Being

the product of a perfect *courtisan* and model *précieux*, this collection of emblems provides new evidence of the extent to which the emblematic mode of expression penetrated *précieux* society.⁵ It also gives some idea of the moral principles of the typical *précieux* and useful insights into his spiritual life because the moral lessons expressed in these emblems are supposed to form a portrait of their author that will serve as a moral and aesthetic heritage and preserve his memory among his descendants.

The most complete collection of these emblems, together with prose commentaries, has been preserved in a manuscript at the University of Illinois that is entitled *Emblemes et devises morales*. This manuscript is luxuriously bound – in a way reminiscent of some jewel-like eighteenth- and nineteenth-century missals – in old black sealskin with beautifully fashioned silver clasps. The volume is about the size of a large octavo and contains thirty-two emblems, each organized around a skillfully drawn watercolor illustration. On the verso preceding each composition, there is a prose explanation of the emblematic construction. The emblems themselves are formed by the illustration, the motto on a banderole above it and, beneath it, the poem whose length will vary from emblem to emblem. Sometimes, the poems are as short as four lines, and then the entire emblem will be complete on one page; at others, the poems may run to as many as thirty-four lines and continue onto the following page or pages. Each of these emblems, thus constituted, is followed by a sermon-like meditation in prose of the kind often found in seventeenth-century French emblem books.⁶ These commentaries range in length from one to five pages, and some of them close, as such meditations often did, with a short, prayer-like poem.⁷

A second copy of the collection is housed in the Dartmouth College Library, and its outward, physical aspect is somewhat different from that of the Illinois manuscript. The illustrations here are watercolored engravings, and there are no prose commentaries following the emblems. While some of the engravings were signed by Juan Dolivar, the text is unsigned, and it has never been identified as Montplaisir's work.⁸ Bound in red morocco, the Dartmouth copy contains thirty-two engravings on separate leaves. Following the engraved title page, and with the exception of the fourteenth engraving, each illustration has been made into a complete emblem with a manuscript copy of the same poem as in the Illinois manuscript. In this version the prose descriptions of the emblematic constructions are not on the facing verso, but follow the poem at the end of the composition. It does not include one emblem contained in the Illinois manuscript, nor does it include the extended prose commentaries. A third, still more fragmentary copy of the collection is contained in the *Recueil Le Camus* at the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal.⁹ This unillustrated copy is entitled „Morale chrétienne, à monsieur de Montplaisir,“ and it contains only 27 mottoes and poems.

Minor variants aside, thirty combinations of illustration, poem and short prose elucidation in the Dolivar manuscript are duplicates of those in the

Illinois manuscript; I am convinced that Dolivar was using it, or a prototype from which both were copied, as his model because the engravings are mirror images of the illustrations in the Illinois manuscript, as if Dolivar's plates had been copied from those illustrations. The title of the Arsenal copy indicates that the collection was addressed to de Bruc's eldest son, and while the elegant presentation of the other two copies does suggest that the work was not being prepared for commerce and the wide audience it supposed, there is no other indication in the physical presentation of these books of their intended use or audience.

Dolivar's book of engravings does not possess a standard, trade title page, and its text is manuscript. Everything about it suggests that it was issued in a very limited, and probably private, edition. An explanation for this situation may lie in the verses which preface the Illinois manuscript, but do not appear in the Dolivar reproduction. There, the admiring author of a long liminary poem praises the work, but laments de Bruc's intention to restrict his audience to his immediate family:

Permettez toutefois, qu'approuvant le dessein
 Qui, pour les exprimer vous mit la plume en main
 Je ne puisse approuver que vous cachiez aux autres,
 Ce que vous y tracez pour l'exemple des vôtres:
 Et que vous reteniez injustement chez vous,
 ce qui pourroit servir a nous instruire tous.
 Il est vray, ce sera le plus riche heritage,
 Dont ils pourront un jour faire entre eux le partage:
 Puis que vous leur avez transmis dans cet Ecrit,
 les plus purs sentimens qu'ait formés vostre Esprit.
 Mais pouvez vous cacher au public, sans envie,
 ces crayons sur lesquels il peut dresser sa vie? (p. 4)

And the argument in favor of wider publication as a civic duty continues until the poem closes with a charming picture of the Marquise reading her husband's book and devoutly meditating on the moral wisdom it contains. The friend's pleading was apparently not heeded, and it may be assumed that the book never circulated very widely outside the confines of the author's family and, perhaps, his circle of close friends; at least, this is the group clearly designated in the liminary poem as the intended public for de Bruc's efforts at moralizing emblematics.

By the time de Bruc was composing his emblems, near the end of a rather long life, his children must have been fully grown, and he must surely have already had ample opportunity to impress upon them his moral wisdom in an oral manner. Such, in any event, is the way family moral principles have traditionally been transmitted, in a fragmentary and haphazard way, from one generation to the next. So I think this *summa* has another purpose to serve. If the book is to be a "rich heritage" for his children (see lines 7 and 8 of the passage quoted above), the collection of emblems must be understood less as a compendium of several discrete moral rules than as a composite model for moral conduct. Through his book, the father, or rather

the ideal image of himself that he had elaborated throughout his lifetime, will continue to serve as an exemplar for his children. So what he is leaving to the next generation is a kind of idealized moral portrait of himself. Earlier in the same liminary poem, as well as in the accompanying liminary emblem, de Bruc's anonymous admirer provides ample confirmation for this hypothesis:

Ces mots ingenieux, qui leur [the emblems] tiennent lieu d'Ame;
 me font voir de la vostre une si belle flame;
 Qu'il me semble a l'eclat de sa vive lueur,
 Y voir a decouvert le fond de vostre Coeur.
 Je ne me trompe pas: Et c'est Vous que nous peignent,
 tant d'aimables vertus, que vos vers nous enseignent:
 C'est par des sentimens si beaux & si discrets;
 que vostre coeur luymesme explique ses secrets;
 Et ces enseignemens, que vostre plume y trace,
 Vous donnent pour exemple a ceux de vostre race. (pp. 2-3)¹⁰

This kind of figurative portrait is not unknown in French letters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and de Bruc's most famous precursor would, of course, be Montaigne. Montaigne often spoke of his *Essais* as a portrait intended to preserve his memory among his posterity; perhaps he even expected that portrait to procure for him the kind of afterlife thought to be provided by progeny earlier in the sixteenth century. That would explain why he used a procreational metaphor on occasion (e.g. II, 8) to describe his work. De Bruc was trying to do much the same thing on a more prosaic level as he attempted to give the ephemeral wisdom that he had acquired by experience and with age a form that would guarantee its preservation for future generations. In so doing, he shaped his portrait by the choice of, and in the personalized stamp impressed upon, this rather traditional body of moral teaching. As George Huppert has so interestingly suggested, if members of the emerging Renaissance *noblesse de robe* did not leave a flattering self-portrait of some kind in the image of the new humanist ideal, they ran a risk of being forgotten by their posterity, no matter what their other accomplishments, no matter how much wealth they had accumulated, no matter what noble alliances they had formed.¹¹ Such a portrait, alone of all these things, would be a worthy heritage of moral nobility to leave to one's children.

Now, these figurative or moral portraits did not, of course, always take an emblematic form, but they often did so because the standard conception of the courtly device since its early use on *revers de médaille* in fifteenth-century Italy had developed in such a way as to suggest that it could be effectively used to present a faithful and somewhat flattering, if highly abbreviated, image of its owner's moral character or ideal. The model for such devices can be found in some of the earliest Italian medals, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century. In those medals, designed by Pisanello and his followers, the *revers* presented, through a metaphorical combination of pictorial sign and cryptic motto, the moral portrait of the person whose

physical portrait graced the obverse of the same medal.¹² By the middle of the sixteenth century, the French historian Claude Paradin, who compiled the first anthology of two-part devices, was claiming that, since Antiquity “. . . les grans Rois, Princes, & Potentaz: lesquelz ayans de tout tems, en leurs sublimes esprits, les Ombres ou Idees de Vertu: ont tant fait s’aydans de cette Peinture [i.e. devices], que ja soit que icelles Idees fussent passageres, & merueilleusement mobiles: ce neanmoins les y ont si bien retenues & arrestees, que perpetuellement en ont eu l’heureuse amour & connoissance.”¹³ The device provided, in this view, a vehicle for distilling, retaining, articulating and perpetuating all that was most noble and virtuous in its owner. So, it is not surprising that, by the seventeenth century, the device had become an important element of ceremonial decoration, serving generally to present the honored personage in a particularly favorable light and, more specifically, to reinforce the panegyrics occasioned by a given ceremony. They were found especially useful in royal *entrées* and funerals for important dignitaries of the court or the Church. The fashion culminated in a posthumous biography of Anne of Austria composed entirely of devices by M. de Chaumelz in 1667.¹⁴ Since de Bruc presumably participated in the composition of the *tombeau d’Anne d’Autriche*, he may very well have known this biography and used it as a loose model for his own self-portrait. In any event, it is clear that de Bruc was working within a long, and well-established tradition when he set out late in life to leave a moral self-portrait composed of emblems and devices for his heirs.

Another interesting problem posed by this work is de Bruc’s use of the terms “*emblème*” and “*devise*.” A casual glance at the title of his collection can easily lead to the hasty, but improper, conclusion that, as in modern usage, the *emblèmes* are the pictures, and the *devises*, the mottoes or texts. The two terms were indeed occasionally used this way as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, but they were more commonly understood to mean something quite different until the second half of the eighteenth century. The *emblème* was a didactic combination of picture and text used to express general truths. The *devise* was a tightly regulated combination of pictorial sign and short motto that expressed particular ideas in such a way as to serve as a personal symbol. De Bruc used the terms that way, and here, the distinction between the forms points intriguingly to a corresponding distinction between different kinds of moral imperative that may well have been operational throughout the *précieux* society of which de Bruc was such a representative member.¹⁵

Aside from the title, and once in the liminary poem, the two words in question occur only in the prose descriptions of the emblematic compositions; and with one exception, only one of the two terms is used in each description. In these prose elucidations, the *pictura* is called the *corps*, and the motto or *inscriptio*, the *âme*, following the standard terminology of seventeenth-century theoretical writings on the device. Here is a typical example from composition 12, “Des Plaisirs, et de la Volupté.”¹⁶(See figure 1)



Figure 1

Des fleuves et des Ruisseaux qui coulans par des Lieux agreables et fleuris se vont perdre dans la Mer ou leurs douces eaux deviennent ameres, font le Corps de cette Devise, pour monstrier que tous les plaisirs s'écoulent de mesme et changent le plus souvent leurs douceurs en de facheuses amertumes suivant l'Ame de cette Devise

DULCIA SIC IN AMARA FLUUNT.

Five of these compositions (4, 10, 16, 20 and 31) are characterized in the prose explanations as *emblèmes*. All the others are called *devises* as in the example cited above, except composition 3, which has a kind of double *pictura*. There, the *devise* is a compass, while the *emblème* presents a man at

the rudder of a sailboat, looking at the North Star. With this exception, all the compositions seem generically similar, and it is not at all surprising that Hoefnagel has concluded that the two terms are being used interchangeably.¹⁷

Such, in fact, is not the case. In reality, de Bruc's use of this terminology, as we might expect from his choice of the technical terms "corps" and "âme" to refer to the picture and motto, is based on a rather good knowledge of the theory of the forms as it was understood in seventeenth-century France, and is actually much more precise than it would at first appear. Composition 3 provides the clue to the primary distinction between *emblèmes* and *devices* throughout the collection. Each of the emblems contains one or more human figures, while the devices do not. In the emblems, Hercules appears twice (10, 20), and there is one anthropomorphic representation of God (4). Two other emblems present men in boats on the sea of life (3, 31), while one shows men attempting to build the Tower of Babel (16). It is perhaps worth noting as well that, in three of the six compositions characterized as emblems, there is a double motto; in two of these emblems, one of the two mottoes is a Biblical verse, while in the other, one motto is taken from Seneca. None of the devices has such a double motto.

This seemingly trivial distinction between emblem and device is actually quite important, and in a number of ways. First, the consequences of this distinction in the conception and realization of de Bruc's emblematic compositions betray what I am sure was a very good knowledge and clear understanding of the contemporary theoretical discussions of the nature and composition of the device; as a result, the work provides historians of the emblematic forms with new evidence of the extent to which courtly society took such discussions seriously. Further, de Bruc's work actually provides new evidence as well about the nature of the difference perceived to exist between the two forms.

Among other things, the complicated, and often fastidious, theoretical writings on the device in seventeenth-century France proscribed the human form from the properly constructed device.¹⁸ Now, a simple awareness of this rule is not in itself very interesting; anyone who was in the market for a flattering personal device at the French court in the middle years of the seventeenth century was apparently well aware of this theoretical restriction. The theorist Henry Estienne recalls with amusement the story of a pedant who needed to represent the wind in a device he was having painted, presumably in his country house; but he was uneasy about using the traditional puffing infant's face. The impatient artisan charged with executing the composition suggested irreverently that he could portray another part of the anatomy which makes plenty of wind, but has no face! And Estienne recounts this anecdote in an effort to discourage the slavish adherence to this rule of composition.¹⁹

What is interesting is that de Bruc seems to understand the implications of this rule and the more profound differences between the emblem and the

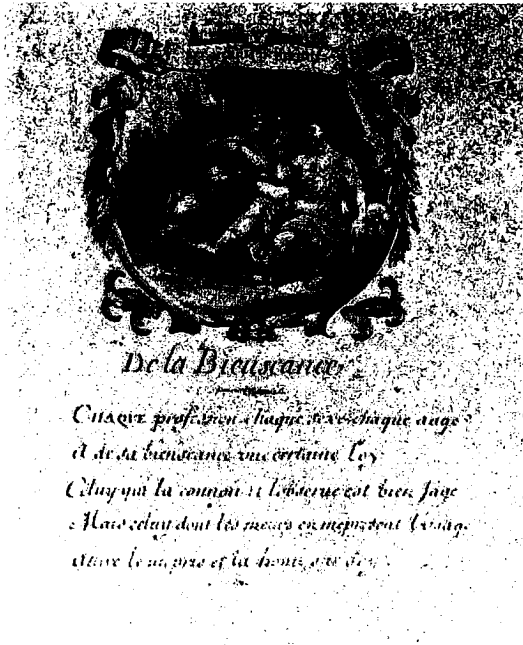


Figure 2

device. The human form was perfectly acceptable in the less strictly defined emblem, and some of de Bruce's contemporaries – those who followed most closely the earlier Italian theorists – would probably have concluded that he had classified six of his compositions as emblems simply because he considered them flawed as devices. Close attention to the verse *subscriptios* of de Bruce's emblematic compositions, however, reveals that the difference between the *picturas* for emblems and those for devices corresponds to, and perhaps even entails, a difference in the textual development of these poems. In the emblems, the scenes containing human figures serve as examples to demonstrate, confirm, or emphasize universally valid moral precepts. In composition 20, for example, Hercules is dressed as a woman (see figure 2), and this travesty is emphasized by an *écheveau*, the traditional symbol of a woman's work, that Hercules is holding. Omphale, on the contrary, is dressed in Hercules' lion skin, and looks idly on as Hercules spins busily away. This rather silly scene is intended to serve as an example of what *bienséance* is not, and why its laws should be observed:

Chaque profession, chaque sexe, chaque aage
 A de sa bienséance une certaine Loy
 Celuy qui la connoit et l'observe est bien Sage
 Mais celuy dont les meurs en mepriſent l'usage
 Attire le mepris et la honte sur soy.

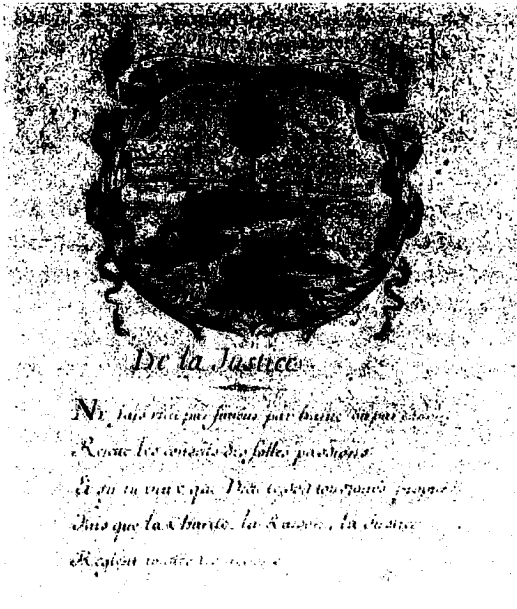


Figure 3

This text must be understood to be about the human condition: it formulates a *rule* directly and generally applicable to all men. Now, the emblem was traditionally understood to express general truths, while the device was supposed to contain particular ideas emanating from individuals and/or characterizing them in some way; and this difference was seen to constitute the principal distinction between the two forms throughout the seventeenth century. However, the concept of the individual was not yet completely distinct from that of the type, and so devices described types as naturally as they characterized individuals.

Partly because of this confusion between individual and type, de Bruc's devices may be divided into two categories, each of which adheres in a peculiar way to the principal distinction between emblems and devices. Some of them are exhortations, while others are *blasons* of particular types. The texts of those devices exhorting the reader to follow a certain model of conduct deduced from the metaphorical comparison are constructed around an imperative (first person plural, second person singular or plural). There are eleven such devices,²⁰ of which composition 8, "De la justice," with the motto *Dritto e incorrotto*, provides a fair example: (see figure 3)

Ne fais rien par faveur par haine ou par caprice
 Rejette les conseils des folles passions
 Et sy tu veux que Dieu te soit toujours propice

Fais que la Charité, la Raison, la Justice
 Reglent toutes tes actions
 Ainsy malgré des Vents la secousse terrible
 Dessus le Mont Liban saint et délicieux,
 Le Cedre se maintient tousjours Incorruptible
 Et porte ses Rameaux tousjours droit vers les Cieux.

We may assume that this text is exhorting the reader to take the device as his own, thereby pledging to model himself upon the concept it represents and use it, perhaps, as an ideal moral portrait, or some component of one.

Other devices are *blasons* describing a particular type. The texts of these devices resemble those of the emblems in that they too are constructed in the third person singular. They differ nonetheless from emblems because they are not universally descriptive of the human condition. They speak of men rather than of Man. Most of them are pejorative, and the rhetoric of satire they contain alerts the reader that he is being advised to follow the opposite course. Beneath a winter scene with the motto *Non desunt venena sed torpent*, the following text develops the theme “De l’Hypocrisie” (6):

L’Hypocrite effronté sous la fausse aparence
 D’une froide et feinte prudence
 Cache le noir venin qu’il couve dans son Cœur
 Comme un Serpent qui durant la froidure
 Semble estre sans venin dans sa Caverne obscure
 Mais qui reprend l’esté sa mortelle vigueur.

The accompanying prose commentary is helpful in distinguishing this composition from other types as it suggests that the device describes a particular class of people: “L’application de cette Devise est aisée a faire aux hypocrites dont l’aparente modestie cache toutes sortes de vices sous sa froideur.” Devices like this one fulfill one of the possible functions of the device, that of figurative description. Such compositions are classified as devices rather than emblems even though they too express generally valid moral observations because they do not derive their lesson from the entire human condition, but rather from the description of a limited type. They are still portraits, in a sense, but of types rather than of individuals, following a long tradition in the art of the device which seems to date from Gabriello Symeoni’s collection of devices first published in 1559.²¹

So, de Bruc’s emblematic compositions may be divided into two distinct categories—*emblèmes* and *devises*—depending on the kind of moral wisdom they present. Through examples and allegories, the emblems simply express some general truth concerning mankind, or a universal moral rule. De Bruc’s devices very closely resemble emblems because, instead of describing individuals as they are, or think they are, they set ideal moral goals for people who are, or want to be, exceptional. Although all de Bruc’s devices are built around metaphors, they may still be subdivided, as we have seen, into two groups. One group metaphorically describes a particular human type in such a way as to set it up as a model to be followed or avoided. The

other kind of devices are more directly imperative exhortations to conform to the particular moral ideal proposed by the metaphorical comparison.

Three or four compositions in the collection do not fit this taxonomy exactly, but it is nonetheless interesting for what it tells us about the differences between emblems and devices as they were understood in the seventeenth century. All men are subject to death, fortune, the *bienséance* of their condition, the rule of God; all men can overcome fear by reason and through practice. And so these are the subjects for emblems. But only certain people are *méditants*; only certain people, in this view, are capable of great friendship, can be truly just or temperate. The devices talk about and/or to a limited part of the human race. They deal with the particular, while the scope of the emblems is universal and general. Devices talk about exceptional people, people who carry some trait of the personality, some virtue or vice well beyond more common people. And this characteristic of the device goes far in explaining why the human figure was thought to be unsuitable in its *pictura*. If a man is uncommonly – we might even say inhumanly – just or obedient, any comparison with another human being is going to be something less than ideal. A device was supposed to portray its owner as unique.

Following a very ancient tradition, theorists of the device argued that, since Nature had given Man reason, it worked to maintain an equilibrium among all its creatures by lodging ideal perfection in other areas of the moral domain in different plants and animals.²² Thus, in order to project an *ideal* moral portrait, or express an exhortation to follow a certain moral ideal, the device would be most effective if it used a comparison with that animal or plant which seemed to epitomize the virtue its bearer wished to be known for, or which he was going to strive to emulate. The emblem could more naturally be constructed around allegories, personifications and examples using human beings because it presented man's ordinary and universal condition, and the rules of conduct that apply equally to all men.²³ The device, it would appear, was the vehicle for presenting extraordinary, or noble, vices and virtues.

For modern scholarship, the difficulty arises in distinguishing between the two forms because we no longer think, as our seventeenth-century ancestors apparently did, in terms of elitist distinctions between moral *rules* and moral *ideals*. Differentiating between the two forms which served as the vehicles for expressing the two parts of their moral system depends on a certain perspective. And this was the perspective of a certain nobility destined soon to disappear. As this class did begin to disappear, or evolve, or merge with a more bourgeois *noblesse de robe* in the eighteenth century, the illusory distinctions of this moral taxonomy gradually vanished leaving the emblem practically indistinguishable from such devices, except on the grounds of formal rules which seemed ever more fastidious and devoid of an authentic *raison d'être*.

“La préciosité est un effort vers la distinction.”²⁴ De Bruc's collection of

emblematic compositions provides interesting confirmation for this intriguing generalization by René Bray, and they are pivotal in seizing some of the transitory distinctions that must have characterized *précieux* society. De Bruc's obvious care in constructing his emblems and devices suggests, among other things, that artists and writers in that circle did distinguish with mannerist care between the two forms; and their attention to the differences between the emblem and the device explains the great interest in the theory of the forms during the period between 1620 and 1680. De Bruc's collection also provides interesting clues in a broader context to a taxonomy of parables, examples and metaphors that has largely disappeared from our cultural framework.

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Notes

1. A. de Sommaize, *Le Dictionnaire des précieuses*, ed. C.-L. Livet (Paris, 1856), I, 169. On Montplaisir, see le Baron de Wismes, "Notice historique et littéraire sur René de Bruc, Marquis de Montplaisir, poète breton du XVII^e siècle," *Revue des Provinces de l'Ouest*, I (1853-1854), 14-30, 201-216; *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Dix-septième siècle*, ed. G. Grente (Paris, 1954); and C.-P. Goujet, *Bibliothèque française* (1741-1756); rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1966), III, 553-555. For additional, but less reliable information, see the *Biographie universelle*, New ed., vol. XXIX (Paris and Leipzig, 1854).

2. *Poésies de Lalanne et du marquis de Montplaisir* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1759).

3. Goujet reports (*loc. cit.*, III, 554) that Bouhours included in his *Recueil de vers choisis* (Paris, 1693) one of Montplaisir's *sizains* on the device composed of a pyramid of flaming hearts with the motto *Assi sepulrada, no es muerta*, from the *tombeau d'Anne d'Autriche*.

4. Reported by Goujet, *loc. cit.*

5. The role of emblematics in the different *précieux* societies of the seventeenth century is complex and poorly understood. Early in the century, Laugier de Porchères was famous as a master of the composition of devices; half a century later, Mme. de Sévigné was still admiring the rocket device he had invented for Bassompierre. Each member of Mme. de Rambouillet's circle had a personal device (for examples of such devices, see the beautifully painted collection in Arsenal ms. 5217; Julie d'Angennes' device is reproduced in Anne Denieul-Cormier, *Paris à l'aube du grand siècle* [Paris, 1971], p. 305). Later in the century, Bussy-Rabutin decorated his château with many devices (see Maurice Dumoulin, *Le Château de Bussy-Rabutin* [Paris, 1933], *passim*); and as Kurt Weinberg has recently shown ("The Lady and the Unicorn, or M. de Nemours à Coulommiers: Enigma, Device, Blazon and Emblem in La Princesse de Clèves," *Euphorion*, 71 [1977], 306-335), Mme. de Lafayette used courtly emblematics in the structuring of her famous novel.

6. Cf. for example, Jean Baudoin, *Recueil d'emblèmes divers*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1638-1639); Le Roy de Gomberville, *La Doctrine des moeurs* (Paris, 1646); and le P. F. Berthod, *Emblèmes sacrez tirez de l'Escriture . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1657-1665).

Close study of these prose commentaries would certainly repay the effort in an increased understanding of the way moral teachings were presented outside the Church and Jesuit pedagogy in France at the time. Such a study is, however, beyond the scope of this article.

On emblems, see Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem* (Toronto, 1979); W. S. Hecksher and K. A. Wirth, "Emblem, Emblembuch," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, V (Stuttgart, 1959), cols. 85-228; Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, eds., *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967; bibliographical supplement, Munich, 1976); and Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1964).

7. See Daly, pp. 133, 176.

8. Dolivar was active in Paris in the atelier of Jean Berain mainly during the decade of the 1680's. For information on his career and a catalogue of his other work, see R. A. Weigert, *Jean*

(I) *Berain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937).

Dr. Dick Hoefnagel has published a careful description of this volume in "A Seventeenth-Century Emblem Book," *Dartmouth College Library Bulletin*, XI (NS), No. 1 (Nov., 1970), 26-39.

9. Arsenal ms. 675, Recueil Le Camus, t. V, fols. 599-607.

10. Cf. the liminary emblem "A Monsieur de Montplaisir sur son Livre d'Emblemes & de Devises." The picture shows a château bathed in sunlight; the motto reads *Ipse sui pictor*, or "Il est le Peintre de luy mesme."

Quand le Pere du Jour veut faire a la Nature,
De ses brillans appas la naive peinture,

Il est luy mesme son Crayon:
Pour vous représenter de la mesme maniere,
Vostre Esprit est Vostre lumiere,
Et Vostre plume son rayon.

11. *Les Bourgeois Gentilhommes. An essay on the Definition of Elites in Renaissance France* (Chicago, 1977), p. 60, note 2, and *passim*.

12. See Jean Babelon's article on Renaissance medals in the *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade. Histoire de l'art* (Paris 1965), III, 130-138.

13. *Devises heroïques* (1557); rpt. Menston: Scolar Press, 1971), pp. 3-4.

14. *Devises panegyriques pour Anne d'Autriche . . .* (Bordeaux: Jacques Mongiron Millanges, . . . 1667); B. N. Lb³⁷. 3546.

15. Distinctions between the two forms were elaborated in the theoretical discussion of the courtly device. This discussion was carried on mainly in the following works: François d'Amboise, *Discours ou traité des devises* (Paris, 1620); Henry Estienne, *L'Art de faire des devises* (Paris, 1645); M. de Boissiere, *Les Devises . . .* (Paris, 1654); Pierre Le Moyne, *De l'art des devises* (Paris, 1666); Dominique Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugene* (Paris, 1671); C.-F. Menestrier, *La Devise du Roy justifiée* (Paris, 1679) and *La Science et l'art des devises* (Paris, 1686). There is a particularly good summary of the debate at the beginning of Menestrier's *La Philosophie des images* (Paris, 1682).

16. All the illustrations are taken, with permission, from *Emblemes et devises chrestiennes et morales* in the Dartmouth College Library. My numbering for these compositions follows the order of the Dolivar volume. The numbering is slightly different in the de Bruc manuscript because it does not contain Dolivar's composition 14, while Dolivar does not contain the composition formed by a pyramid with the motto *Grandeze sin sobras*. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations too are from the Dolivar manuscript at Dartmouth.

I have taken the useful terminology for motto (*inscriptio*), illustration (*pictura*), and verse text (*subscriptio*) from the introduction to Henkel and Schöne's *Emblemata*.

17. Hoefnagel, p. 27.

18. See for example, Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Artiste et d'Eugene* (Paris, 1734), pp. 345-346.

19. *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

20. Devices 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23, 24, and 29. There is a certain overlapping between the two categories; hence, it is possible to situate composition 7, "De l'Obeissance qu'on doit aux Roys, et des Revoltes," as I have done, in both categories, as it contains both a *blason* of the rebel and an exhortation to be obedient to one's king. For the most part, as in this device, virtues are presented in the form of an exhortation while vices are shown in *blasons*. The *blason*-devices are 2, 6, 7, 18, 22, 25, 26, 28, and 30. Along with composition 25, "De la Reconnoissance," composition 22, "De l'Amitié," is an exception in that it provides an example of a positive *blason*, using the traditional image of palm trees intertwined across a river to figure perfect friends.

21. *Le Imprese heroiche et morali ritrovate . . .* (Lyons, 1559); translated into French the same year as *Les Devises ou emblemes heroïques et morales*, and published by the same printer, Guillaume Rouille.

22. Le Moyne (*op. cit.*, p. 127) argues this way: devices are similes, and a simile is based on exaggeration. More specifically, in a device where someone is being praised for a particular quality, there pertains a rule of amplification which requires that "pour représenter ces qualitez avec plus de relief & plus de montre, on les represente sous la figure des choses où elles ont leur dernière perfection." He goes on to explain that Nature, having given man a superiority in the domain of Reason, "l'a traité en inferieur & en cadet au partage de ses autres Biens; & luy en a esté moins liberale qu'à tout le reste des Animaux. C'est donc hors de chez nous que la dernière perfection de ces qualitez doit estre cherchée, & par consequent, c'est hors de chez nous qu'il en

faut chercher les Figures & les Symboles, quand on les veut représenter avantageusement, & selon toute leur estenduë, & toute leur force.”

23. Naturally, plants and animals were used extensively in emblems by other writers, making it even more difficult to distinguish between the two forms.

24. René Bray, *La Préciosité et les précieux* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1968), p. 136.