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Images of Proverbs Intermedial Code-Switching in Italian Illustrations of Proverbs¹

Illustrated Proverbs² as Intermedial Phenomena

Much like linguistic code-switching implies a socio-communicative functionality achieved through the intermixing of two different languages (or variants of a language),³ intermedial code-switching aims at attaining a specific socio-cultural objective in disseminating content through the combination of two or more media.⁴ Similar to linguistic code-switching, intermedial code-switching accommodates gaps in knowledge, so that the involved codes may facilitate the process of meaning making and reflection. These media cannot rely on the same (linguistic) proximity that allows the emergence of code-switching between the standardized form of a language and its regional varieties. However, they do need to relate to each other (by similitude, opposition, synonymy, and so on) in order for them to communicate a comprehensible message. For instance, the intersection of the verbal and the visual allows for a meaningful and effective transmission of knowledge (and moral concepts in the context of this article) in ways that would be difficult or less appealing with just texts or images. The two media types can function together because they are complementary, and the general meaning of the resulting composition can be inferred only by means of a simultaneous interpretation of the textual and illustrative apparatus. In other words, separately

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Maria Sole Costanzo for introducing me to the concept of intermediality, to which I will refer later, and Dr. Deena R. Levy for her linguistic help. I also thank the anonymous reviewers of my essay for their precious comments. A special thanks to Prof. Wolfgang Mieder, who invited me to University of Burlington and introduced me to his International Proverb Library.

² In this contribution, the term “proverb” is used as a general term including different typologies of expressions. For an accurate definition and categorization of these expressions, see Daniela D' EUGENIO: *Paroimia: Brusantino, Florio, Sarnelli, and Italian Proverbs from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, West Lafayette, Purdue University Press, 2021, 33–39.

³ For further discussion on code-switching in the Italian language, see Gaetano BERRUTO: “Italiano regionale, commutazione di codice e enunciati mistilingui”. In Michele Cortelazzo – Alberto Mioni (eds.): *L'italiano regionale: Atti del XVIII Congresso internazionale di studi, Padova-Vicenza, 14–16 settembre 1984*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1990, 105–119, and Giovanna ALFONZETTI: *Enciclopedia Treccani dell'Italiano*, 2010, s.v. “commutazione di codice”, treccani.it/enciclopedia/commutazione-di-codice_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano%29/, accessed 13 July 2023.

⁴ Irina RAJEWSKY: “Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality”. *Intermedialités: histoire et théorie des arts, des lettres et des techniques/Intermediality: History and Theory of the Arts, Literature and Technologies*, 2005/6, 43–64. 50.

these media would not be able to convey the same message as when they are closely associated.

Illustrated proverbs are a well-fitting example of intermedial code-switching. As Yoko Mori writes, the early modern period, and specifically the sixteenth century, was “the age of the visual popularization of proverbs,”⁵ since these expressions were used both for entertainment and admonition related to the oddities, abuses, and immorality of mankind. In their synthesis of words and images, visualized proverbs represented a multimedia product that, like visual storytelling, demanded an active role from the viewers. This means that viewers were asked to recognize the original proverbs and interpret the symbolic and allegorical concepts inserted into the illustration. Consequently, they would be able to appreciate the message of the expressions resulting from the combination of the textual and the visual and implement ethical improvements in their own behavior.

Mixed media represented a form of cultural and societal portrayal of the early modern period's „taste for images, erudition and allusiveness.”⁶ Illustrated proverbs, as well as emblems and devices reflected a shift toward a greater sensibility for visual aspects, symbols, and celebration of wisdom.⁷ For all of these genres, their intermixed nature guaranteed a longer lasting impression of their meaning and the dissemination of a more fruitful moral lesson.⁸ It is worth noticing that in his 1618 *Nova Iconologia*, Cesare Ripa argues that a symbolic illustration should always be accompanied by a short, written description guaranteeing the intelligibility of its allegorical elements and its widespread reception (“[I] nomi delle cose sottoscritte all'istesse imagini” – “The names of the things are written below the images to which they refer”).⁹ In order to achieve this objective, illustrated proverbs adhered to a structure that allowed for the maximum realization of their intermedial qualities by imitating the organization of space adopted for emblems: an *inscriptio* (the motto), a *pictura* (the image), and a *subscriptio* (the commentary). Such easily accessible and digestible structure was fundamental for the production of meaning also in sources that were not born originally as emblems but still combined the “syntagmatic and semiotic aspects of both words and images.”¹⁰

⁵ Wolfgang MIEDER: *The Netherlandish Proverbs: An International Symposium on the Pieter Brueg(h)els*, Burlington, University of Vermont, 2004, 105.

⁶ Mario PRAZ: *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964–1974, 87; see also György SZÖNYI: “The ‘Emblematic’ as a Way of Thinking and Seeing in Renaissance Culture”. *e-Colloquia. 16th Century English Culture, revista electronica*, 2003/1.1, 1–46.

⁷ John MANNING: *The emblem*, London, Reaktion, 2002, 16–17.

⁸ Robert CLEMENTS: *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960, 61–71, 85–120.

⁹ Cesare RIPA: *Nova iconologia di Cesare Ripa perugino cavalier de SS. Maurizio et Lazzaro. [...] Ampliata ultimamente dallo stesso autore di trecento immagini e arricchita di molti discorsi pieni di varia eruditione, con nuovi intagli et con molti indici copiosi*, Padova, per Pietro Paolo Tozzi nella stampa del Pasquati, 1618, b2v.

¹⁰ Tania TRIBE: “Word and Image in Emblematic Painting”. In Alison Adams – Anthony J. Harper (eds.): *The emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and variety. Selected papers of the Glasgow International Emblem Conference, 13–17 August, 1990*, Leiden, Brill, 1992, 254.

It is not surprising that emblem books had one of their antecedents precisely in manuscript collections of proverbs.¹¹ This was especially true for such collections of classical maxims and proverbial expressions that listed precepts deriving from ancient ethics and characterized by a figurative meaning able to trigger a visual representation. In turn, when artists decided to illustrate proverbs, the rich sixteenth-century tradition of emblems provided a prototype that they could easily imitate. In this context, Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber*¹² represented an influential work that would serve as a reference point for subsequent years. After its 1531 edition,¹³ the three-part emblematic structure became mainstream for authors of emblem books and similar forms of emblematic expressions.¹⁴ Local artists and collectors transposed and adapted this textual and illustrative content to their geographical, societal, and cultural contexts and exchanged ideas, prototypes, and techniques. The resemblance of textual sources and visual representations, despite the different methods used, testifies to the wealth of cross-references in material and visual culture throughout early modern Europe.¹⁵

These exchanges were particularly frequent between Italy and Northern Europe. Flemish and German printers and engravers, including Catholic ones who were persecuted in their own homeland for religious reasons, had a considerable impact on the European market throughout the first part of the 1500s.¹⁶ In the second half, engravings and etchings from the North found their way south of the Alps by going through Antwerp, which at the time was one of the major publishing centers in Europe. Flemish artist Hieronymus Cock (1510–1570), one of the most renowned

¹¹ PRAZ: *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, 25; Alison SAUNDERS: "Is it a Proverb or is it an Emblem? French Manuscript Predecessors of the Emblem Book". *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1993/55.1, 83–111. 84.

¹² *Emblematum liber* condensed classical proverbs, maxims, epigrams, and images that were already circulating all over Europe, mostly through Erasmus's *Adagia*, and could be easily transferred to Christian morals. ENENKEL: *The Invention of the Emblem*, 8–9 also mentions Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, fable literature, Isidorus's *Etymologiae*, Greek and Roman epos, and many other Greek and Latin sources.

¹³ Andrea ALCIATI: *Viri clarissimi D. Andreae Alciati Iurisconsultissimi Mediolani ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum Iurisconsultum Emblematum liber*, Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner, 1531.

¹⁴ It should be noted that the 1531 edition of Alciati's *Emblematum liber* was the first one to present images along with the mottos that characterized the 1521 first edition; from then on, images were considered a valid component of emblems and became part of the "emblem poetics" (Karl A. E. ENENKEL: *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge ca. 1510–1610*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, XII). See also other possibilities for emblematic structures in MANNING: *The emblem*, 18.

¹⁵ Andrea ALCIATI: *The Latin Emblems. Indexes and Lists, and Emblems in Translation*, Peter M. Daly – Virginia W. Callahan – Simon Cuttler (eds.), Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1985, vol. 2.

¹⁶ The German progressive popularization of the printing process, which allowed producing fast and accessible prints, took root particularly in Venice (Andrew PETTEGREE: *The Book in the Renaissance*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010). There, the Bertelli brothers, along with Giovanni Francesco Camoccio, Giacomo Franco, and Niccolò Nelli, produced the majority of circulating engravings in Italy and beyond (for more information on these printmakers, see Anna OMODEO: *Mostra di stampe popolari venete del '500. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, catalogo no. XX*, Firenze, Olschki, 1965, 53–57).

printers at the time, could count on contacts throughout all of Europe, particularly in the Italian peninsula.¹⁷ Similarly, Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) traveled to Italy, stopping in Bologna and Rome, where he probably exchanged prints with the Carracci family.¹⁸ The presence of all these Flemish professionals made it possible for works produced in Flanders to circulate among Italian professionals and artists; likewise, this is how Italian materials reached Northern Europe. Italian artists were introduced to the techniques and styles of Northern European painting and engraving, and Flemish engravers borrowed artistic patterns from Italy.¹⁹ All of these borrowings created a “certain intellectual uniformity”²⁰ and a “shared sense of identity in a wider society,”²¹ meaning that users of emblems, devices, and illustrated proverbs would feel a sense of belonging to the same textual-illustrative community and would become members of a collective memory system. It was, as György Szőnyi argues, a “way of thinking and seeing” that was shared in every aspect of art and culture.²²

Within these practices of reciprocal influences, artists of illustrated proverbs drew from vast collections of textual and visual sources for moral instruction. The choice of which expressions to visualize was not a fortuitous process; instead, it was deliberate. Artists looked for expressions that were characterized by either narrative density or visual potentiality because they could be easily rendered into a “bildhafte Aussage” (“visual message”).²³ In the final hybridized product, the textual component reflected the nuances of the proverb’s interpretation, especially its metaphorical message, while also clarifying the ambiguous and enigmatic essence of symbols and allusions. At the same time, the illustrative apparatus

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¹⁷ Cock’s connection to Italy resulted from a fruitful association with Mantuan engraver Giorgio Ghisi (1520–1582). Additionally, Cock’s former protégé, Cornelis Cort (1533–1578), resided in Italy for twelve years from 1565–1566 until his death and distinguished himself for his engravings based on Titian’s works; he worked with Ghisi, as well as in a lesser degree with Bolognese Marcantonio Raimondi (circa 1480–after 1530), and greatly influenced generations of Northern European and Italian printmakers, among whom is also Agostino Carracci (see Diane DEGRAZIA: *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné Published in Conjunction with the Exhibition “Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family”, Held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, March 18–May 20, 1979*, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1979, 30–33). After bringing several drawings and prints back from Italy, Cock produced a considerable number of prints from Italian works that had huge circulation in Flanders (see Timothy RIGGS: *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher*, New York – London, Garland Publishing, 1977, 156–179).

¹⁸ See DEGRAZIA: *Prints and Related Drawings*, 43–44.

¹⁹ Gert Jan VAN DER SMAN: “Dutch and Flemish Printmakers in Rome 1565–1600”. *Print Quarterly*, 2005/22.3, 251–264.

²⁰ CLEMENTS: *Picta Poesis*, 21.

²¹ Koen SCHOLTEN – Dirk VAN MIERT – Karl A.E. ENENKEL: *Memory and identity in the learned world. Community formation in the early modern world of learning and science*, Leiden, Brill, 2022, 1.

²² SZŐNYI: “The ‘Emblematic’ as a Way of Thinking and Seeing”, 1.

²³ Dietmar PEIL: “Sprichwörter und ihre Illustrationen im *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*”. *Proverbium*, 2021/38, 273–314. 274.

guaranteed a more immediate experience of the visualized proverbs, since viewers could recognize cultural and social aspects appealing instantly to their senses. Pictures would captivate their imagination and speak not only to their mind but also to their eyes. Such production was therefore aimed at making the content of these multimedia products accessible even to viewers without formal education.²⁴ The “pubblico mezzano” (“middle public”), as Francesco Bruni calls it,²⁵ was not too fond of classical and mythological references per se or in search of expensive engravings, such as those executed at a high level and with obscure allusions. It was, rather, attracted to refined artistic productions that showed moral and ethical aspects of human existence relevant to their everyday life. Despite different subject choices, though, such art had a lot in common with educated and formalized works, since they used the same images and patterns of representation. Additionally, members of the bourgeoisie and higher social strata were equally fascinated with these engravings. Both purchased them, even though at times satire was expressly directed against members of the upper class and their lavish (at least, from a non-aristocratic perspective) way of living.²⁶

The following examples of illustrated proverbs are selected from the artistic production of four Italian artists between the second half of the sixteenth century and the second half of the seventeenth century: Niccolò Nelli (1533–1575) and Giuseppe Piattoli (1743–1823) from Florence, and Agostino Carracci (1557–1602) and Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718) from Bologna. By depicting common spaces, daily activities, and familiar human types, the four artists sought to instruct people through the delivery of ethical messages within their respective cultural and social contexts of production and reception. Their works can be considered “pictorial form[s] of proverb collection,”²⁷ in which proverbs were selected primarily for their rhetorical structure (concise and, possibly, in rhyme form) and iconographic potentiality, as well as their effectiveness and impact on society. Additionally, their value as tools to teach moral messages and amuse pedagogically were taken into account. Whether produced as single etchings or engraved broadsheets, or more organic collections, the four artists’ illustrated proverbs show how the intermedial combination of the written and the visual ensured viewers a simultaneously moralizing, enriching, and pleasant experience – certainly more than if the works consisted of just written text alone. Undoubtedly, the visual component would not have been enough to guarantee an appropriate understanding of the proverbs’ meaning because of the infinite possible applications of their symbolic and allegorical references. However, viewing the images from the onset would set the ground for a reflection on what is appropriate and what is not, which the proverb

²⁴ PRAZ: *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, 169–203.

²⁵ Francesco BRUNI: *Boccaccio: L’invenzione della letteratura mezzana*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1990, 37.

²⁶ David KUNZLE: *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973, 426.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 105.

would then confirm or refine. These engravings could be “consulted, memorized, recited, meditated upon, pointed out for authority” as forms of moral concepts crystallized into permanent visual forms to observe, interiorize, and appreciate as a multimodal and multisensorial experience.²⁸

The Proverbs of Nelli, Carracci, Mitelli, and Piattoli

The proverb production of Nelli, Carracci, Mitelli, and Piattoli interprets the intermedial combinations of text and image each in different structural ways.²⁹ Their illustrated proverbs combine textual elements (proverbs) and visual components (pictorial representations of the proverbs) without an overarching theme or explicit storylines connecting the different illustrations.³⁰ In their works, the text is a fundamental constituent of the iconographic apparatus. Yet, the relevance given to the textual portion cannot compete with the centrality assigned to the visual part. To varying degrees, the text of the four artists' illustrated proverbs appears on the top or the bottom of the image and in a small font or even in the form of a visual rebus, which consistently gives undisputed prevalence to the illustration. The images are not merely decorative, but rather serve to “reinforce meaning which is already clearly expressed in the text,” i.e., in the proverb.³¹ The viewers must actively engage with the picture to understand the nuances that the proverbs or the accompanying texts reveal, to appreciate the image's message, and to find the correct correspondence between all of the different aspects of the artistic work. Only by doing this would they reap a fulfilling experience from a visual, textual, and moral perspective.

In the mid-1500s, Florentine printmaker Nelli owned one of the most prolific printing shops in Venice specializing in proverb and moral prints. His *Proverbii* (1564) is the first visual collection of expressions that are called “proverbs” (Figure 1). The work is organized into thirty-two expressions in the form of moralizing rhyming couplets disposed in four horizontal rows, each of which contains eight proverbs distinct from one another. *Proverbii's* regular, simple, and almost geometrical organization probably attracted the viewers' attention and made the work more alluring and accessible. Not yet arranged as emblems, Nelli's proverbs still optimize the space with an image and a motto/commentary. A broad sheet of paper like Nelli's engraving could be easily hung on walls or displayed in a room and, similarly to emblems, could serve as a reference work

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²⁸ Tessa WATT: *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, 227.

²⁹ Sue WELSH REED – Richard WALLACE: *Italian etchers of the Renaissance & Baroque*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1989, 47–53.

³⁰ Walter GIBSON: *Figures of Speech: Picturing Proverbs in Renaissance Netherlands*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010, 1.

³¹ SAUNDERS: “Is it a Proverb or is it an Emblem?”, 95.

for constructing arguments on various themes based on the different visualized proverbs. The artwork of Flemish painter Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590) may have influenced Nelli's broadsheet with patterns of isolated vignettes connected to their equivalent proverbs. Specifically, *The Blue Cloak* (1558) represents forty-three illustrated proverbs paired with the equivalent textual sources "as evidence of the folly of the world."³² Similarly, *Al Hoy* (1559) features twenty-nine scenes inspired by proverbs and biblical parables, accompanied by two- to four-line moralizing verses. While Hogenberg's textual parts are not regular in position, Nelli's proverbial texts feature on top of the corresponding image instead. Thus, they delimit the upper border of the space dedicated to a row of proverbs, while a continuous line that crosses the sheet from right to left defines the lower part. From a visual point of view, the proverbs are not united in a single framework, yet they share an anonymous plain landscape that repeats in each row, except for two proverbs placed in a marine setting. By visualizing behaviors founded on virtue, chastity, and prudence, as well as hate, lies, and laziness, Nelli created a catalog of virtuous actions to praise and unworthy ones to condemn. Like a comic strip of images arranged in a sequence, his illustrated proverbs represented a repertory of widely popularized moral examples with a clear pedagogical intent between demonstration and persuasion.³³

Moving to Bologna, we find two artists realizing illustrated proverbs similarly, yet in different proportions. Agostino Carracci, brother of Annibale and cousin of Ludovico, with whom he founded the Carracci Academy in 1582 (called *Accademia degli Incamminati* in 1589), devoted his production to etchings and engravings more than to painting as had the other two.³⁴ Agostino's style reflects his exposure to different workshops and artists in his hometown, as well as in Parma (circa 1580), Rome (circa 1581 and later 1597–1600), and especially Venice (circa 1582 and 1588–1589). Here, he trained at the workshop of Dutch engraver Cornelis Cort and his engraving style reached full artistic maturity. Among his vast production, just a few examples of engraved proverbs are known. One of them, *Ogni cosa vince*

³² MIEDER: *The Netherlandish Proverbs*, 53.

³³ KUNZLE: *The Early Comic Strip*, I–4. It is interesting to note that another engraving by Nelli, organized in a similar way to *Proverbia*, depicts the Topsy-Turvy World. The satirical and humorous representation of the consequences deriving from disintegrated social norms fascinated sixteenth-century viewers. Among the many illustrations that Nelli introduces in his *Il mondo alla riversa* (before 1564) are a donkey washing a man's head, a fish "swimming" in the trees and feeding on birds in the sea, and a wife riding her husband (see Giuseppe COCCHIARA: *Il mondo alla rovescia*, Torino, Boringhieri, 1981). These "inverted proverbs" represented an indirect invitation to preserve traditional social practices and customs in a society that was slightly moving toward the Counter-Reformation. Nelli supposedly reclaimed order but simultaneously entertained the public with a satirical representation of unconventional roles.

³⁴ For further details on the style of the three Carracci, see DEGRAZIA: *Prints and Related Drawings*, and Diane DEGRAZIA: *Correggio and His Legacy: Sixteenth-Century Emilian Drawings*, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1984, 349–373 (Agostino Carracci is analyzed on pp. 357–363).

l'oro, belongs to a series of erotic etchings, probably circulating clandestinely, called *Lascivie* (1580–1590s) (Figure 2).³⁵ Although this work has clearly bigger dimensions than the other etchings of the series, its inclusion frames its message within the sexual sphere.³⁶ In comparison to Nelli's desire to create a moralizing experience for his readers, Carracci depicts aspects of his society with a critical eye towards the deficiencies and faults that characterize humankind. Therefore, *Ogni cosa vince l'oro*, much like other etchings, serves as an admonition of what everyone could face if behaving in the same way as his engraved figures do.³⁷ Despite not necessarily connected to an emblematic structure, the engraving still emphasizes the combination of the verbal and the visual in a mutually beneficial relationship.

Almost one century later, Mitelli's *Proverbi figurati* (1677–1678),³⁸ dedicated to Francesco Maria de' Medici, constituted the first example of an organized collection of moral expressions adapted into images.³⁹ The son of celebrated painter Agostino Mitelli, the artist perceived that same fascination for popular traditions and the least polished aspects of everyday life that had characterized the oeuvre of his fellow citizen Giulio Cesare Croce (1550–1609).⁴⁰ From a more artistic point of view, Mitelli operated in the same Bolognese environment where Agostino and

³⁵ See DEGRAZIA: *Prints and Related Drawings*, 304–305, and Marzia FAIETTI: "Rebus d'artista: Agostino Carracci e *La carta dell'ogni cosa vince l'oro*". *Artibus et Historiae*, 2007/28.55, 155–171. The other etching added to the series because of its erotic references is entitled *Il satiro "scandagliatore"* (see Stefania MASSARI – Simonetta PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ (eds.): *Tra mito e allegoria: Immagini a stampa nel '500 e '600*, Roma, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica-Sistemi Informativi S.p.A., 1989, 348–349).

³⁶ *Ibid.* 350–351.

³⁷ Agostino Carracci also represented another proverb during his greatest moment of artistic maturity in Rome: *Omnia vincit amor* (1599; DEGRAZIA: *Prints and Related Drawings*, 339–341). This engraving was inspired by Annibale Carracci's 1598–1599 *Diana e Callisto*, coming from the cycle that he painted at Palazzo Farnese between 1597 and 1607 and to which Agostino also contributed. Set in an ideal landscape, which Agostino borrows from his younger brother, *Omnia vincit amor* represents, on one side, two nymphs and, on the other, a putto and Pan, the god of the wild, shepherds, and flocks. Cupid's victory over Pan (a word which in Greek means "all") visually represents the message of the expression, which is framed within a cloud overlooking the entire scene. The satyr's painful facial expression illustrates his failure against the power of love (MASSARI – PROSPERI VALENTI RODINÒ (eds.): *Tra mito e allegoria*, 352–353).

³⁸ Alberto MANFREDI – Lorenzo MARINESE: *Proverbi figurati di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli*, Milano, Cerastico, 1963.

³⁹ Achille BERTARELLI: *Le incisioni di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli: Catalogo critico*, Milano, Comune di Milano, 1940, 422–471.

⁴⁰ Connections between many of Mitelli's figures in his etchings and Croce's *Le piacevoli et ridicolose semplicità di Bertoldino* (1608) and *Le sottilissime astuzie di Bertoldo* (1609) are well known. Furthermore, Mitelli's *Questa è la numerosa compagnia dei ruvinati* (1687) seems to have drawn inspiration from Croce's poetic work, *La compagnia de i repezziati* (1608).

Annibale Carracci had worked a few decades before.⁴¹ One of the founders of the Accademia Clementina in 1711,⁴² he is the author of more than six hundred etchings featuring popular expressions, card games, and tarot cards.⁴³ His *Proverbi figurati* includes forty illustrations of proverbs, each one accompanied by three-lined verses and exploring concepts such as virtue, perseverance, trust, friendship, love, vices, violence, arrogance, and greed (Figure 3).⁴⁴ Much like proverbs are contradictory, Mitelli's visualizations reflect the ambiguous aspects of human personality and present them as characteristic of all humankind.⁴⁵ According to Paolo Bellini, the greatest intent of Mitelli's production was to "proporre soggetti di facile sapienza popolare, connessa con un moralismo laico e scontato, senza scosse, concepito secondo canoni di leggibilità e comprensione adatti a tutte le classi culturali" ("propose subjects embodying the easy popular wisdom, connected with a secular and obvious moralism, without surprises, conceived according to canons of readability and understanding suitable for all cultural classes").⁴⁶ For this reason, Mitelli's work presents an explicit and attractive "pictorial narrative" which runs

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⁴¹ Mitelli realized several copper engravings based on a group of drawings, now lost, by Annibale Carracci. One of them is *Di Bologna. L'Arti per Via d'Anibal Caraci. Disegnate, intagliate, et offerte al grande et alto Nettuno Gigante, Signore della Piazza da Bologna, de Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (1660). Additionally, Mitelli learned the art of caricatures from the two Carracci brothers, especially Agostino. For a discussion of the evolution of the Bolognese style from Annibale Carracci to Mitelli, see WELSH REED – WALLACE: *Italian etchers*, 105–112, 145–147.

⁴² Paolo BELLINI: *Storia dell'incisione italiana. Il Seicento*, Piacenza, Tip. Le. Co., 1992, 113–117.

⁴³ For a list of all of Mitelli's works, see Clelia ALBERICI: *Incontro con la civica raccolta delle stampe Achille Bertarelli*, Milano, Comune di Milano–Ripartizione cultura e spettacolo, 1980. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mitelli's proverb works were described as adorned with "motti in prosa, o in verso di qualche grazia, e di qualche sale" ("mottos in prose, or verse with some grace, and some wittiness"; Giovanni GANDELLINI GORI: *Notizie storiche degli intagliatori di Giovanni Gori Gambellini sanese. [...] e con un doppio indice alfabetico cronologico*, Siena, dai torchi d'Onorato Porri, 1808–1816, vol. 2, 2470). Among them is, for instance, a series of six printings, entitled *Così va il mondo alla rovescia* (post 1685), which evidently establishes a connection with Nelli's *Il mondo alla rovescia*, yet with a completely different structure that resembles the emblematic pattern of Mitelli's own *Proverbi figurati*.

⁴⁴ It seems that Mitelli's brother, Father Giovanni Maria (circa 1640–circa 1675), contributed to Giuseppe Maria's engravings with moral concepts, sentences, and verses. Giovanni was the author of *Vita et opere di Agostino Mitelli* (1665–1667) and was a member of the Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Ministri degli Infermi at the Convento di S. Colombano in Bologna. For further details on this fraternal collaboration, see *Cronica con molte Notizie Pittoresche ricavata dalla originale scritta dal Padre Giovanni Mitelli C.R.M.I. Religioso in S. Gregorio il quale era figlio di Agostino fratello di Giuseppe Mitelli Pittori Bolognesi* (Ms. B. 148 n. 1), a manuscript codex preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio in Bologna (mentioned in Adriana ARFELLI: "Per la bibliografia di Agostino e Giuseppe Maria Mitelli". *Arte antica e moderna*, 1958/3, 295–301, 299, n. 9).

⁴⁵ The repetitive use of objects connected to the different professions and to everyday life in Bologna would create a recognizable and immediately relatable space, especially to those unable to understand all of the references to mythological and classical elements.

⁴⁶ BELLINI: *Storia dell'incisione italiana*, 16.

through all of the illustrations, later collected in a formal volume.⁴⁷ Moreover, much more than in Nelli's and Carracci's examples, Mitelli's illustrations imitate emblems in their organization of the space. The image is the central component, emphasized by its greater dimensions compared to all the other elements. The proverb serves as a motto, printed in capital letters on top of the etching; the verses at the bottom function as an expansion of the message expressed by both the image and the proverb, or as commentary on the subject matter, aiming at both the amusement and education of the work's viewers.⁴⁸

A satirical approach to the representation of people and behaviors also characterizes Piattoli's proverb work. The son of Gaetano Piattoli and Anna Bacherini, both of whom were painters and portrait artists, he was a teacher of drawing at the Florentine Accademia di Belle Arti (1786–1807).⁴⁹ Collaborating with engraver Carlo Lasinio (1759–1838) and editors Giuseppe Bardi and Niccolò Pagni (both active in Florence at the end of the eighteenth century), Piattoli illustrated eighty proverbs in his two series of *Raccolta di quaranta proverbi toscani* (1786–1788) (Figure 4).⁵⁰ These visual proverbs combined his refined artistic skills with his attentive observation of eighteenth-century grand-ducal Tuscan society.⁵¹ As such,

⁴⁷ KUNZLE: *The Early Comic Strip*, 287. Mitelli, however, was influenced by Nelli's choice of subject, as for instance in his *La cucagna nuova, trovata nella Porcolandria* (1703) with its motto *Cbi sempre vive mai more* ("He who always lives never dies"; BERTARELLI: *Le incisioni di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli*, 553). Much like Nelli's print *Cucagna* (1564), Mitelli's illustration of the Land of Cockaigne depicts different pleasures identified with vivacious captions. While Nelli's central point of Cockaigne is a mountain of grated cheese spewing forth macaroni and ravioli, Mitelli's coincides with a palace where all the delights are stored.

⁴⁸ As a moralistic observer of society, Mitelli "è a volte l'educatore, a volte l'informatore, a volte il beffeggiatore di un uso, a volte il puro burlone o caricaturista di piazza" ("he is sometimes the educator, sometimes the informer, sometimes the mocker of a custom, sometimes the pure prankster or street caricaturist"; REZIO BUSCAROLI: *Agostino e Giuseppe Maria Mitelli: Catalogo delle loro stampe nella raccolta Gozzadini nella Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio in Bologna. Con 15 tavole fuori testo*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1931, 13).

⁴⁹ For more information on Piattoli's paintings, see Marco CHIARINI – Barbara BREJON DE LAVERGNÉE: *Bellezze di Firenze: Disegni fiorentini del Seicento e del Settecento dal Museo di belle arti di Lille. Firenze, Sala bianca di Palazzo Pitti, 17 ottobre–1 dicembre 1991*, Milano, Fabbri, 1991, 168, and Barbara BREJON DE LAVERGNÉE – Frédérique LEMERLE: *Catalogue des dessins italiens: Collection du Palais des beaux-arts de Lille*, Lille, Réunion des musées nationaux-Palais des beaux-arts, 1997, 167–168.

⁵⁰ Giuseppe PIATTOLI: *I proverbi di Giuseppe Piattoli*, Roma, W. Appoloni, 2001. Lasinio, a teacher of etching at the Accademia di Belle Arti, was interested in printing folkloristic and educational works, including various series characterized by visual immediacy and perspicacious representations of the Florentine society; among them is *Serie di dodici ritratti di persone facete che servono a divertire il pubblico fiorentino* (1790). For more information about Lasinio's engravings, see Paola CASSINELLI: *Carlo Lasinio: Incisioni*, Firenze, Olschki, 2004.

⁵¹ Although resembling Venetian painters Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770) and Francesco Guardi (1712–1793), Piattoli's art testifies to his fascination with Tuscan habits and customs, as well as the lively humorous attitude of the local vernacular tradition. Other examples of this interest are his illustrations of the comic pranks by Piovano Arlotto, *Lo sposalizio di Marfisa* (inspired by Carlo Gozzi's 1774 *La Marfisa bizzarra*), *Giuochi, trattenimenti e feste annue che si costumano in Toscana e specialmente in Firenze* (1790–1795), and *I contadini della Toscana espressi al naturale secondo le diverse loro vestiture* (1796).

they satisfied the market request for illustrated books, following, on the one side, the Florentine tradition of bizarre representations,⁵² and on the other, infusing it with grotesque style and contradictory juxtapositions.⁵³ Piattoli and Lasinio inserted the selected expressions inside a rectangle between the figure and the bottom margin of the page for the first series and outside of the space of the etching for the second series.⁵⁴ Below the proverbs, a quatrain of hendecasyllables function as a commentary, like in the most traditional emblems. The figures are not fixed in a rather generalized expression or inserted in a seraphic atmosphere, but rather they are always contextualized in an environment, either inside or outside, in the countryside or on a city street, creating a symbolic rendering of the place. According to Giancarlo Savino and Maria Solleciti, Piattoli shares with Mitelli chronological continuity, iconographic coherence, and a popular connotation, which resulted in wide reception.⁵⁵ The two artists' promotion of virtues and castigation of vices is, however, achieved differently. Piattoli illustrates adages and proverbs through the behavior of peasants, the middle-class, and nobles, without any social agenda. At times, he lampoons or satirizes aspects of their life and their attempts to climb the hierarchical ladder, but he never shows more appreciation for one group over the other, as it happens in Mitelli's examples. Additionally, Piattoli does not manifest the impetus toward social transformation and moral castigation that distinguishes Mitelli's works. The Florentine artist appears genuinely interested in the spontaneous depiction of human society, especially in Tuscany, and in the incongruities of life more than in ethical choices and their consequences, which fascinate Mitelli.

A Proverbial Comparison

The illustrations by Nelli, Carracci, Mitelli, and Piattoli can be analyzed in their different contextual applications of a theme, both textually and pictorially. In particular, the topic of gold and money allows for a comparison of the many possible moral and/or immoral implications that the transactional act of paying someone

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⁵² An example is the series *Bizzarrie* (1624), etched by Giovanni Battista Bracelli (1616–1649) in honor of Pietro de' Medici.

⁵³ It is possible that Piattoli's production set the ground for a revival of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century rich tradition of collections of Tuscan proverbs, which Giuseppe Giusti would bring back to glory with his *Raccolta di proverbi toscani* (1853 and 1871; see Giuseppe GIUSTI: *Proverbi*, Elisabetta Benucci (ed.), Firenze, Le lettere, 2011).

⁵⁴ Even though the first series is oriented horizontally and the second series vertically, the contextualization is very similar in the eighty illustrations. The drawings in the first series are realized in pen or pencil and then water-colored, with more rigid figures but very detailed. The second series, instead, is water-colored, with varied and elaborate landscapes in which the figures act harmoniously with the context, losing, however, the physiognomic details that characterize the first series.

⁵⁵ Giancarlo SAVINO – Maria SOLLECITI (eds.): *Giochi mesi proverbi curiosità: Una scelta di acqueforti di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli e Giuseppe Piattoli*, Pistoia, Comune-Assessorato agli istituti culturali, 1980, 7.

may have. Gold and money are represented in the four artists' visualized proverbs as powerful means to obtain an objective, whether it is the satisfaction of an erotic desire vis-à-vis the ability to resist vices and enhance virtues, the achievement of a better afterlife or final reward out of a noble action, or the promise of treacherous complicity because of a crime.

Nelli's *Proverbia* contains a representation of a charitable act. The illustration, on the upper-level row of the engraving, features in the fifth position from the left-hand side and is identified by the expression: *Chi per l'amor de Dio del proprio dona / Nel ciel s'acquista trionfal corona* ("He who gives out something of his own for love of God acquires for himself a triumphant crown in the sky") (Figure 1).⁵⁶ The image presents a wealthy man reaching out with his right hand into his bag, supposedly carrying money, and giving some to a beggar in front of him with his left hand. The poverty of the beggar is evident: his clothes are torn, his beard is long, and he has just one leg. His eyes are intensively staring at the rich man on whom his possibility to eat and survive depends. The rich man's glare, instead, is turned to the viewers, while he has a dynamic posture as if in charge of his own actions and future. The image itself is self-explanatory: those who can, should be proactive and donate to those who possess less. Its combination with the rhymed distich enriches the composition with an added level, i.e., the reward that it is possible to obtain if one maintains a certain lifestyle on earth. As for the proverb's moral instruction, only by donating what one possesses out of love for God, does one deserve a space in the skies after death and is crowned for the value of his actions.

Gold, however, can be employed to obtain sexual favors because it "wins everything," as the afore-mentioned *Ogni cosa vince l'oro* by Carracci proves. In this etching, the connection between text and image is achieved by means of a rebus in the lower part of the etching. Replacing the more traditional rhymed explanatory distich, this rebus served as an intellectual divertissement (Figure 2). If codified correctly, it would reveal the proverb and thus verbalize the content of the illustration. The strip includes two feet with a small detail of a toenail, a thigh, and a knocked-over jug from which wine comes. These are followed by the letter <c>, after which the sequence concludes with the Italian masculine singular article <l'> and several coins. In wording, this succession of text and image is rendered as "ugna coscia vinc l'oro" ("nails thigh wins gold"), which recalls the proverbial expression: *Ogni cosa vince l'oro*.⁵⁷ In the central part of the work, the proverb is visualized through

⁵⁶ It is worth noting that, in this specific copy, the word "Dio" ("God") was inserted later due to a possible *saut du même au même* between "Dio" and "del" ("of"), also testified by the capital letter of the preposition.

⁵⁷ "Ugna," a regional, mostly Tuscan but also more southern, version of "unghia" ("nail"), explains the closure of the first vowel in /o/ that results in "ogna" and therefore "ogni" ("every"). "Coscia" ("thigh") represents the palatalized version of "cosa" ("thing"). The expression seems to come from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, "Aurea sunt vere nunc saecula: plurimus auro / Venit honos: auro conciliatur amor" ("Now truly is the age of gold: for gold is sold many an honour, by gold is affection gained"; vol. 2, vv. 277–278; for more information, see FAIETTI: "Rebus d'artista", 165).

the acts of two figures, whose violent movements and convoluted postures contrast with the quiet and intimate environment of the room identified by the bed, the drapery, and the open window toward the external world. The twisting of the two bodies illustrates the fight between the old man and the young woman, probably a courtesan, who does not want to succumb to his pecuniary offer or at least pretends not to be willing to.⁵⁸ The same gesture described for Nelli's illustrated proverb appears here in the man's hand reaching for money in his bag. Yet, while Nelli's rich man is ostentatiously showing off his good heart and effortless gesture, Carracci's old man has his bag in front of his pudenda, almost to hide the cause of his actions, and shows all the effort necessary to win the woman over. Even though the woman tries to push the old man away with both hands, the presence of an angry Cupid breaking his bow foreshadows that his loving action will not be needed. Moreover, the dog licking its fur, a well-known symbol of marital fidelity, ironically recalls the ephemeral credibility of loyalty.⁵⁹ The meaning of the visual representation aligns with that which is intermedially expressed through the rebus: Money will conquer all, even the strongest one. Hence, the moral message includes an admonition towards women and the necessity for them to be strong and incorruptible because danger is always close.

Another interpretation on the topic of donating gold takes place in Mitelli's thirteenth illustration of his *Proverbi figurati*. In this instance, gold hides the worst oppressions because it guarantees silence, as the proverbial expression evokes: *Dove l'oro parla, ogni lingua tace* ("Where money speaks, every tongue is silent") (Figure 3). In the image, a commoner with a sword in his hand gives a bagful of money to what looks like a magistrate, recognized by his hat and cape; the magistrate brings his index finger to the mouth and, in so doing, expresses his intent to refrain from talking. A man lying dead on the ground identifies the commoner as a criminal and a killer who is ready to pay as long as everyone can be corrupted and keeps silent.⁶⁰ The description below the image reinforces the message that the power of gold is invincible and universal: "Convinta ogni ragion, muto ogni foro / Resta, dove la

⁵⁸ As Carlo Cesare Malvasia describes the illustration in his *Felsina pittrice*, this is "la carta dell'ogni cosa vince l'oro, enigmaticamente scritto sotto a quel vecchio, la di cui vergogna ben esprime quell'amore, che sul letto, per lui si spezza l'arco su un ginocchio [...]" ("the work of the gold wins everything, enigmatically written under that old man, whose shame well expresses that love, for which on the bed he breaks his bow on one knee"; Carlo Cesare MALVASIA: *Felsina Pittrice: Vite de' pittori bolognesi, del conte Carlo Cesare Malvasia, con aggiunte, correzioni e note inedite del medesimo autore, di Giampietro Zanotti e di altri scrittori viventi*, Bologna, Tipografia Guidi all'Ancora, 1841, vol. 1, 80).

⁵⁹ On the literary and artistic inspirations for this etching, as well as for an interpretation of all the figures in the work, see FAIETTI: "Rebus d'artista".

⁶⁰ This message also features in another illustrated proverb that does not belong to the series *Proverbi figurati*, entitled *Chi gli vede, chi non gli vede, chi non gli vuole vedere* (between 1690–1710). The necessity of buying silence is represented here by the image of a woman who engages in an extramarital affair and then pays a man so that he will pretend not to have seen anything; the commentary states: "Tanta gioia l'oro arreca, / Che a l'honor chiude la bocca, / E il suo raggio ogni cor più casto accieca" ("Gold brings such a great joy that it makes honor silent and its power blinds even the most chaste hearts").

borsa apre la bocca, ch'orator non si trova eguale a l'oro" ("Where gold speaks, every mind is convinced and every mouth stays silent, because there is no speaker greater than gold"). As mentioned before, the organization of the visual and textual elements in Mitelli's proverbs, as well as the simplicity and straightforwardness of the composition contribute to the experience and effectiveness of the represented scene. The imbalance between the two vertical figures and the one horizontally lying on the ground guides the viewer's eyes towards the center of the engraving that corresponds to three hands disposed vertically: the commoner's hand holding the bag of money, the magistrate's hand ready to receive the bag, and the magistrate's other hand touching his lips. The proverb on top and the explanation at the bottom of the image provide a focus for the illustration: One should not succumb to those able to pay for the silence of others and should not accept dishonesty and corruption – rather, one should instead speak up and denounce the committed crimes.

In his *Raccolta* of illustrated proverbs, Piattoli represents the same message explored by Carracci by including a different contextual interpretation. The illustration belongs to the first forty visualized proverbs and, much like Carracci's work, presents a very detailed contextualization. Unsurprisingly, the first example of the collection deals with the topic of gold as a means to request sexual favors through the visualization of the expression *Donna che resiste all'oro val più d'un gran tesoro* ("The woman who resists money is worth more than a great treasure") (Figure 4). Featuring two figures who evidently belong to the working class, the scene ridicules a man who proposes to a woman, expecting to win her through money, only to be rejected. The four-rhymed verses at the bottom express the results of the young man's reckless and irreverent act: "In van tenti, o giovanotto audace, / con quell'oro che fulgido risplende. / Donna che solo d'onestà è capace / ricusa il tutto e l'onor suo non vende" ("In vain you try, audacious young man, with that gold that shines brightly. Woman who is only capable of honesty refuses everything and does not sell her honor"). The bodily movement and position of the two figures recall Carracci's engraving, including their facial expressions, their emotions, and the dramatic pathos of the scene. Moreover, contrary to the Bolognese engraver, here the woman is praised for her strength and her perseverance in defending her honor, which requires an effort equal to that of the old man in *Ogni cosa vince l'oro*. Additionally, if in Carracci's engraving the woman touches the old man's head with her hand to distance herself, here the man grabs the woman's hand to draw her nearer, while the woman separates herself from the man moving away diagonally from his body. In the end, neither Carracci's woman nor Piattoli's man succeed in their intent. In *Ogni cosa vince l'oro*, the woman surrenders to the old man's proposition and in Piattoli's *Raccolta*, the man finds himself with just his gold and unsatisfied desires. All of this emphasizes the honesty of Piattoli's woman and her value greater than a treasure, ultimately placing the proverb's moral message in the realm of feminine praise.⁶¹

⁶¹ Note that another illustration in Piattoli's *Raccolta* represents how gold facilitates obtaining sexual favors: *Con le chiavi d'oro s'apre ogni porta* ("Every door is open with golden keys").



Figure 1. Niccolò Nelli, *Proverbia* (1564). Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection and Fund (56.581.9)



Figure 2. Agostino Carracci, *Ogni cosa vince l'oro* (ca. 1584–87), in *Lascivie*. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1927 (27.78.1(402))



Figure 3. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Dove l'oro parla ogni cosa tace*, in *Proverbi figurati* (1677–78). Courtesy of the British Museum, The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 4. Giuseppe Piattoli, *Donna che resiste all'oro val più d'un gran tesoro*, in *Raccolta di quaranta proverbi toscani espressi in figure* (1786–88). Courtesy of The New York Public Library, Print Collection (MEM++ P583pr)

Conclusions

The illustrated proverbs by Nelli, Carracci, Mitelli, and Piattoli speak of the pervasiveness and appeal of visualized expressions in early modern Italy and beyond. They also testify to the many pedagogical applications of proverbs as educational tools, means of amusement, sources of knowledge, and examples of moral authority. Between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the works of proverb artists offered a catalog “of moral transgressions to be rectified, of domestic disorders to be disciplined, of human follies to be avoided”;

in other words, they represented “a collective moral discourse in a highly accessible, iconographic form.”⁶² Contextual interpretation was fundamental to understand how the written words enhanced the message of the images. The actual hybrid product embodied only one of the possible interpretations of the expression’s message and required the viewer’s participation in the meaning making process. This explains how the act of exchanging money, as illustrated by the four artists, finds various actualizations in the fruitful combination of the verbal and the visual. Yet, they all align, on the one hand, with a praise of honesty, charity, and decency and, on the other, with a castigation of weakness and abuse of power. As a result of intermedial practices of code-switching, early modern images of proverbs constituted a powerful example of the text-image relationship and of their cross-fertilization with moral instruction.



⁶² Sara F. MATTHEWS GRIECO: “Pedagogical Prints: Moralizing Broadsheets and Wayward Women in Counter Reformation Italy”. In Geraldine A. Johnson – Sarah F. Matthews Grieco (eds.): *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, 77.

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Abstract

The artistic productions of Niccolò Nelli (1533–1575), Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718), and Giuseppe Piattoli (1743–1823) exemplify combinations of textual and visual sources that perfectly represent intermedial code-switching. The four artists authored collections of illustrated proverbs that they either realized in isolation or included in comic strips and in more organized collections. The expressions in the works of Nelli, Carracci, Mitelli, and Piattoli were selected for their rhetorical structure, pedagogical intent, and social reception. These authors then merged their written texts with visual symbols and allegories that could appeal to the larger public, thus making their meaning more accessible. Such representations guided the readers visually and allowed them to undergo an ethical experience through the symbiotic association of iconic value and moral message.

Keywords: Agostino Carracci, intermediality, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, morality, Niccolò Nelli, Giuseppe Piattoli, proverbs

*Szólások képekben. Intermediális kódváltás szólásokat ábrázoló olasz metszeten
Rezüimé*

Niccolò Nelli (1533–75), Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718), és Giuseppe Piattoli (1743–1823) metszetein a szöveges és vizuális forrásoknak egy olyan kombinációja jelenik meg, amelyek tökéletes példái az intermediális kódváltásnak. A nevéikkel fémjelzett illusztrált szólások vagy egyedi, önálló kiadványban, vagy nagyobb gyűjtemények részeként jelentek meg. Nelli, Carracci, Mitelli és Piattoli a retorikai szerkezet, pedagógiai szándék és társadalmi elvárások alapján választott szólásokat a metszeteikhez, majd a szöveges tartalmat olyan szimbólumokkal és allegóriákkal társították, amelyek egy szélesebb közönség érdeklődésére is igény tarthattak, és így az üzenetük is elérhetőbbé vált. Az ilyen ábrázolásmód vizuálisan utat mutatott az olvasónak, és lehetővé tette, hogy az ikonikus érték és a morális üzenet szimbiotikus asszociációja révén etikai élményben részesüljön.

Kulcsszavak: Agostino Carracci, intermedialitás, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, moralitás, Niccolò Nelli, Giuseppe Piattoli, szólások