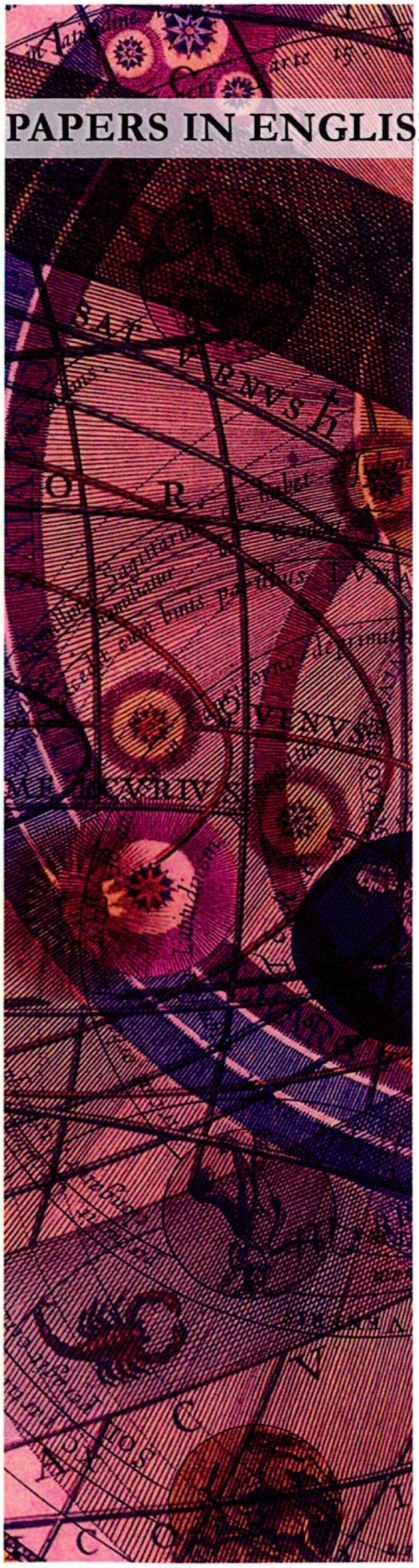

PAPERS IN ENGLISH & AMERICAN STUDIES XXI.

THE ICONOLOGY OF LAW AND ORDER

(Legal and Cosmic)

Edited by
ANNA KÉRCHY
ATTILA KISS
GYÖRGY E. SZÖNYI

JATEPress
SZEGEDI EGYETEMI KIADÓ
Szeged 2012

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Eastern and Western Traditions of European Iconography

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Papers in English & American Studies is published by the
Institute of English & American Studies (IEAS)
of the University of Szeged
www.ieas-szeged.hu

General editor:
GYÖRGY E. SZÖNYI (Director of PEAS)

Publisher's reader:
PATRICK ALEXANDER

Cover design:
ETELKA SZŐNYI
based on *Uranographia XXI* by PÉTER KECSKÉS

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ISSN 0230-2780
ISBN 978-963-315-076-4

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PREFACE

The English department of the University of Szeged (formerly József Attila University) established its five-yearly conferences under the umbrella name "European Iconology East and West" in 1993. The original purpose to bring together East-Central European scholars with Western colleagues was vital in the years after the changing of the state socialist regimes in 1989-90. Since then this series has been established with an average of eighty participants, and the first conference was followed by thematic colloquia on the iconology of the fantastic, gender, and the fourth on law and order, commemorated in this volume. Based on each of these conferences, selected volumes with seventeen to twenty-five essays have been published.

It is my pleasure to offer the selected essays of the Law and Order conference here, and I feel obliged to express my gratitude to my colleagues who have contributed to the creation of this publication. First of all, to Dr. Anna Kérchy, who took a lion's share in corresponding with the authors and shaping up the manuscripts. Then to Dr. Attila Kiss, who was instrumental in organizing the 2008 conference and in selecting the essays for publication. Patrick Alexander carefully read the papers as language editor, Dóra Szauter was tireless to typeset the manuscript and prepare the electronic offprints. Etelka Szőnyi, director of JATEPress gave the final physical shape of the book, which could be published be the financial help of the TÁMOP program with the assistance of the European Union.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank our authors for their high quality contributions, especially those, who have become returning participants of our conferences. Several names could be mentioned; here I would only like to highlight Professor Alison Saunders of Aberdeen, who is the absolute veteran of our events, not having missed one since the establishment of the series in 1993. She was one of the keynote speakers of the conference represented in this volume.

Szeged, June 15, 2012

György E. Szönyi

Endre Hamvas

Time and eternity

Some remarks on the connection between the astral powers and magic in the Hermetic literature

In Corpus Hermeticum XI. the Mind *(Nous)* encourages Hermes to gain knowledge with these remarkable words: *Unless you make yourself equal to god, you cannot understand god; like is understood by like. Make yourself grow to immeasurable immensity, outleap all body, outstrip all time, become eternity* (i.e. Aion in Greek) *and you will understand god. Having conceived that nothing is impossible to you, consider yourself immortal and able to understand everything, all art, all learning, the temper of every living thing. Go higher than every height and lower than every depth. Collect in yourself all the sensations of what has been made, of fire and water, dry and wet; be everywhere at once, on land, in the sea, in heaven; be not yet born, be in the womb, be young, old, dead, beyond death. And when you have understood all these at once – times, places, things, qualities, quantities – than you can understand god.*[1]

As our texts say, disclosing the construction of the universe and representing it individually is much more than discursive knowledge; it is nothing else but to get to know the divine substance and to attain it. Before coming to the point of approaching the iconological aspect of this problem I would like to note that as I far as I am concerned there is no iconology connected specifically to Hermetic literature. (Faivre 1995, 127–180.) The source that has to put the fantasy of the initiated person into operation is the written text and this operation is not impossible. As *R. Reitzenstein* (Reitzenstein 1927, 52, 242–245) pointed out in the case of this literature the adequate term is Lesemysterium, a mode of initiation that is based on the written text. Nevertheless, as I will show, this yields a special kind of iconography in the written text. Briefly it can be said that the text puts the initiate's (the knowing one) fantasy into operation so knowledge can achieve its final aim, i.e. to comprehend the divine. It must be indicated that this kind of mental comprehension means that, as the text cited above shows, after the process of recognition the initiated can represent the structure of the cosmos in a single vision, in a flash. This skill for comprehending the whole cosmos in one vision happens when the initiated reaches the final stage of discursive learning, which can only make progress through a temporal process.[2] It is worth noticing that the final aim of the Hermetic knowledge is this kind of cosmos' timeless representation,[3] that also means to gain domination over the material world that exist in the temporal process of perpetual becoming and over death. For the following demonstration we do not need to elaborate on the theory of Hermetic mental representations in full details, it is enough only to indicate that the Hermetic gnosis means an inner imagination and the representation of the cosmic order too. The text quoted above suggests that this Hermetic treatise has a proper function to start the initiated one's imagination supporting the faculty of mental representation in this way. Consequently, a treatise is not only a written text to read but an aid in the process of learning.[4] In the followings I will demonstrate that the Hermetic epis

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[1] CH. XI. 20. For quotation I used B. P. Copenhaver's translation: Copenhaver 1992, 41.

[2] The distinction between the two types of recognition can be read in CH. X. 9–10.

[3] For detailed discussion of the problem of fantasy and imagination in the context of the spiritual epistemology see: Schmidt–Biggemann 2004, 3–25

[4] Maybe we have to allude to Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia* as a classical text dealing with the function of memory connected to time. In 449 b Aristotle says that it is impossible to think without imagination. In the Greek text Aristotle uses the verb noein for thinking and phantasma for imagination. (449

temology has the intention to assist to get the spiritual vision (ie. a mental representation of the universe), which is a kind of revelation, focusing on some parallel textual and iconographical representations.

* * *

Figure 1: Leontocephaline. Relief, 2nd century A.D. Rome, Musei di Villa Torlonia.

The cosmological principles appearing in the Hermetic texts are not only ontological foundations interpreting the generating causes of the universe but also active divine powers; hypostases. It can also be seen from the quoted text where Nous calls upon Hermes to become Aion i.e. the divine form of eternity. Later we will see how this kind of divination (or as it can be interpreted: becoming a god) will be important for Iamblich when he speaks about the Hermetic way of theurgical operation that is an aid to become a divine person. In this point I would like to allude to the fact that divination also means that the initiated person has to gain victory over the cosmic powers. The attributes referring to reign and the astral symbols show that the cosmic god can have control over the whole universe: the passing time, the astral powers, and the material world. In CH. XIII. the procession of acquiring this power can be followed. Here the Hermetic initiate unites himself with ten divine powers that defeat the rulers of the human material body. This victory means rebirth for immortality.[5] In another Hermetic text, the Asclepius, it can be read that *eternity's lifegiving power stirs the world.*[6] It is possible only if eternity is regarded not only as a philosophical principle but as a divine hypostasis too. This double role of Aion was exhaustively discussed by Festugière[7], so here it is enough only to emphasize the possibility of these readings.

Here it is worth stressing the importance of a parallel text. In one of the Greek magical papyri (PGM. I. 144; 163)[8] the cosmic god to whom the magus conjures, appears as Helios–Horos (Helioros), a lion-headed god holding a globe and a whip in his left, and his body is embraced by a snake

b.) For further details on the Aristotelian text see: Bloch 2007.

I refer to this text because it unambiguously alludes to the connection between knowledge and imagination. For further references see: Yates 1966.

I think that the Hermetic method of using imagination for gaining real – timeless – knowledge is in immediate connection with the classical tradition of learning with the help of pictorial representation. This connection explains the metaphors of seeing to indicate the intuitive knowledge, ie. gnosis.

5 CH. XIII. 7–10. See CH. I. 25–26.

6 Asclepius latinus 30–32.

7 Festugière 1954, 175: *Les textes hermétiques permettent d'entendre αἰών non seulement comme la force opérante de Dieu, mais comme la Sagesse ou l'Intellect de Dieu, bref, comme une hypostase divine, un Second Dieu intermédiaireentre Dieu et le monde.*

8 For the Greek text see: Preisendanz 1973. I used the English edition of Hans Dieter Betz. See Betz 1996.

biting his own tail. (Figure 1)[9] This snake called ouroboros in the Greek text must be refering to eternity, aion, so the god addressed by the magician is the great cosmic deity. The world snake or ouroboros – biting its own tale, as could be read in our text – is a general symbol of eternity. (Rudolph 1988,70, 222) It is interesting that no portrayal can be found in the text, unlike in some other cases in the magical papyrus, only instructions how the god must be depicted. On the other hand we know other portrayals that can be compared to our text. On a Mithraic inscription a lion-headed figure with wings embraced by a snake standing on a globe can be seen. (CIMRM 543) It is certain that the wings refer to eternity, i.e. Aion.

In the magical papyrus we can read: *Hither to me, King, [I call you] God of Gods, mighty, boundless, undefiled, indescribable, firmly established Aion./ Be inseparable from me from this day forth through all the time of my life.* (PGM. I. 164.) Here one can comprehend Aion's same aspect as in the Hermetic text: he is the ruling god of the universe (the globe and the sceptre refer to this as I have alluded to it above), with the help of whom the magus can gain power over the cosmos, so he can become god. The lion-headed god is probably identical with Arimianus known in the cult of Mithras. Another representation shows the god as a young man with similar attributes as in the cases of the lion-headed god. (Figure 2, Figure 2a) Surely, here Aion and the circle of the Zodiac can be seen. The circle of the Zodiac alludes to the god's power over time. (Gundel 1992; Hübner 1995) This parallel is confirmed by another part of CH. XI: *while eternity has stood still in god's presence, the cosmos moves in eternity, time passes in the cosmos, but becoming comes to be in time.* (CH. XI. 2.) In the Hermetic texts referring to astrological conceptions, the Zodiac that is in touch with the Decans plays an important role in the universe's governing. (Barton 1994, 27 et seqq.) The circle of the Zodiac and the dreadful forces, the Decans, rule the material

Figure 2: Phanes. Relief, c. 2nd century A.D. Modena, Museo Civico Archeologico Etnologico.

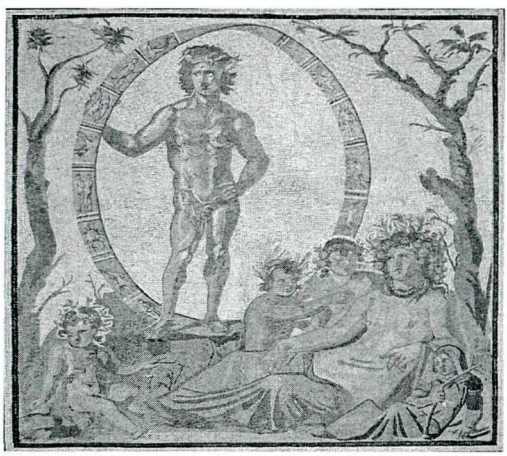

Figure 2a: Aion with the circle of the Zodiac. Mosaic, c. 3rd century A.D. Glyptothek Museum, Munich.

[9] The portrayal has an astrological significance. The domicile of the Sun is in the belt of the Lion. And the God of Lion is Jupiter the greatest of the gods.

world.[10] Later on, I will examine in more details how important the Decan's role is in the astrological representations significant from our viewpoint.[11] Here I would like to draw attention to the fact that in the astrological literature a direct relation to Hermatica is emphasized by some authors, who consider themselves as mediators of the Hermetic art. (Gundel 1966, II. Appendix; Barton 1994, 27) Although maybe the connection between this astrological literature and the philosophical Hermetica is not elucidated in every detail, it could be stated that astrology plays a very important role in Hermetic literature. (see Festugière 1950, Vol. I.) Because of the fact that there are many allusions to astrology, and to the astral powers' rule above human fate in the so-called philosophical Hermetica, I would like to point out that I do not assume such a distinction between astrological literature referring to Hermes and philosophical Hermetica.

At this point a system shown by the mentioned representations and by the Hermetic texts is starting to develop: connecting together God, eternity, time and cosmos in a consistent system that makes comprehensible the ontological structure of the universe, material (ruled by the astral powers) and divine, too. This can be shown by a well explainable iconography and in the texts by philosophical terms too. It is certain that the reader of the Hermetic texts was able to understand the figure of the lion-headed god or Aion, and with the help of such a portrayal he could bring to his mind what Aion means: it is nothing other than accruing power over time to become god and to be immortal. It is sure that the magical papyrus, the Hermetic texts and the above presented portrayal represent the same idea.

In the followings I would like to show how the wicked aspect of time, the destiny compelling human being, and those powers that rule over man submitted to destiny can appear. As I have alluded to it above the final aim of Hermetic revelation is a method for rebirth in mind, a magical procedure of divination that includes the exact cognition of the universe with all of its rulers that have to be defeated. Because of this, the concept about these astral powers sketched briefly above, is a very important part of Hermetic astrology. These astral phenomena indicating time are also known in Egyptian astrology.[12] There they have a special function, to indicate time, as it can be seen from the famous Dendera Zodiac (Figure 3). Later on they abandon gradually this function and – as in the Hermetic texts – they appear as cosmic powers with fearful force, almost losing their genuine astral character. As it can be seen from the above mentioned Hermetic text preserved by Stobaeus[13] they get into connection with the daimons and this change will be obvious in their representations, inasmuch as they gain daimonic character. I will demonstrate this with the help of a Hermetic text. We have to observe that in philosophical treatises the aim of handling over astrological knowledge is not to make certain forecasts and horoscopes, but to develop an astrological doctrine that will concern the cosmos as the mediator of the divine will. The cognition of the astral deities and of their effects deserves that the initiated by the knowledge concerning the Decans and other astral powers can protect his soul from the consequences of their functions. A text ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, the *Hermetis Trismegisti de triginta sex deca-*

---

[10] See SH. VI: – *I told you, my son, that there is a body which encloses all things. You must conceive the shape of that body as circular, for such is the shape of the universe.*

– *I conceive its shape as circular, even as you bid me, father.*

– *And you must understand that below the circle of this body are placed the thirty-six Decans, between the circle of the universe and that of the zodiac, separating the one circle from the other; on the one hand they bear up, as it were, the circle of the universe, and on the other they circumscribe the zodiac, moving in a circle with the planets; they have the same force as the movement of the All, by turns with the Seven.* See Asclepius latinus 19.

I quote from Barton 1994, 28.

[11] For a detailed analysis of the Decans see: Bouché–Loqlerc 1899, 215–235, 476. Gundel 1969.

[12] The contribution of Egypt in the development of astrology is a complicated question. In the context of Hermetic astrology maybe it is proper if we use the term Hellenistic astrology. For a useful summary of the problem see: Barton 1994, 20.

[13] See note 10.

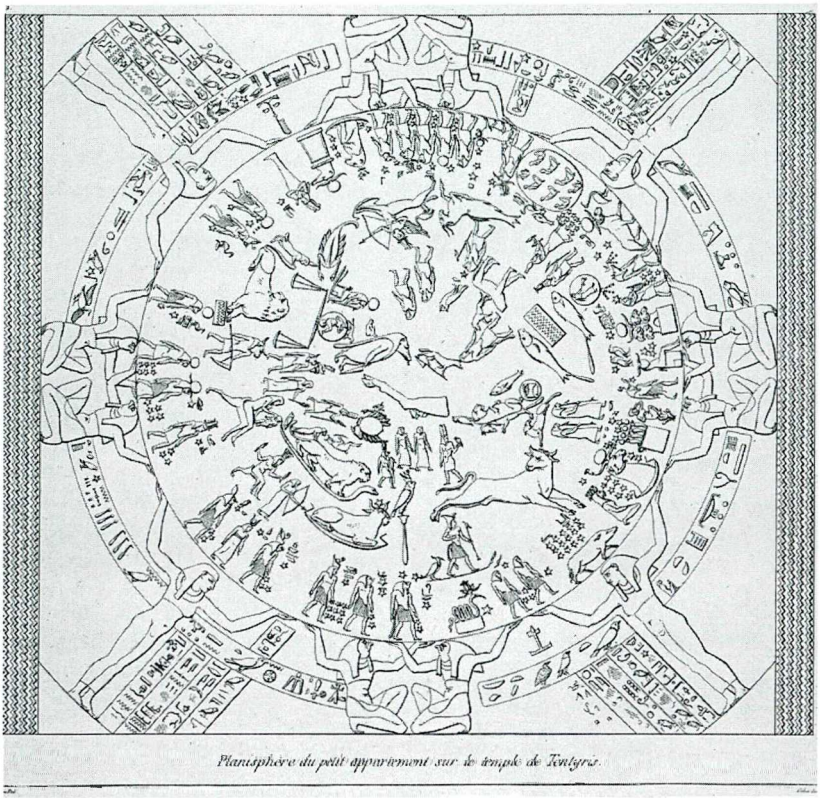

Figure 3: The Zodiac of Dendera. Drawing from Vivant Denon: *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte.* Paris, 1802.

nis (Gundel 1936; Feraboli–Matton 1994) provides the detailed description of the Decans for adding which of them has the power over a single part of the body or of a country. Let us take a glance at this description from an iconographic viewpoint.

To understand the depiction of the decans we have to mention two things in advance. One, that the decans are effective in connection with the zodiac in a way that every ten degrees in the Zodiac-circle has its own ruler Decan. There are altogether thirty-six Decans since there are thirty degrees in every single zone. (In some descriptions – for example by Firmicus Maternus – there are empty degrees, where none of the decans' power prevails.) The other thing worth noting is that the planets define the effect of every single Decan so in the description of a Decan the form of the appearance of the given planet prevails.[14]

Let me illustrate these facts with some examples. For us the first Decan of the Lion is especially interesting. According to the description his face is that of Saturn. His name is Zaloias. He is the lord of the stomach. He is a big snake, a lion in the shape *(serpens est forma leonis habens radios solares in circuitu capitis)* around the head of which there are sunbeams. It is visible that here we have a description that reminds us of the above mentioned, lion-headed god appearing with a snake. We have to emphasize that the text indicates the solar aspect of the decan (there are sun-

[14] The technical term for the idea that a planet manifests itself through a decan is *prosopon* in Greek or *facies* in the Latin texts. For further references see the remark about Tabula Bianchini.

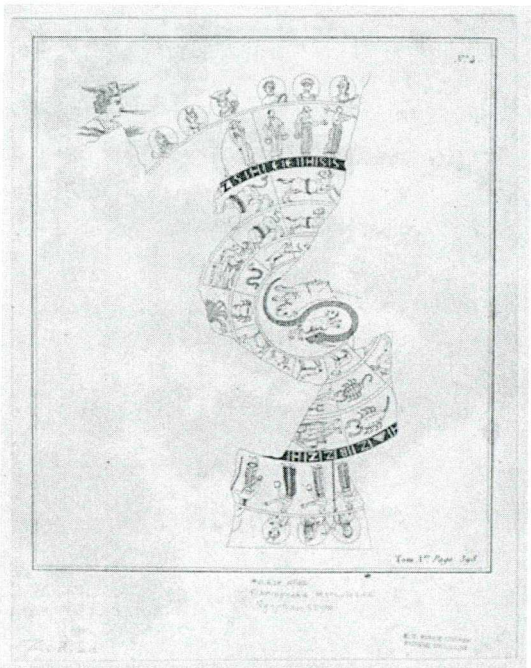

Figure 4: The Planispherium Bianchini. From Charles François Dupuis: *Origine de tous les Cultes, ou la Réligion Universelle.* Paris, 1822.

beams around his head) that certainly can be brought into a parallel with Helios, known already from the magical papyrus. Thus, the Decan-list of the Liber Hermetis provides an interesting parallel with the cosmic deity's depictions seen above. Our ancient sources believe that the authors of these kinds of texts provided depictions of magical amulets beside these lists in order to help to avert the negative effect of the astral deity. It is certain that behind these texts we have to assume pictorial appearances, as the *Planisphaerium Bianchini* (Tabula Bianchini, Figure 4) shows it.[15] A more detailed analysis may show more parallels between the description of the Decans in the above mentioned *Hermetis Trismegisti de triginta sex decanis* and in the Tabula Biachini. For example, the first Decan in the Ram has the same attribute in both of the scrutinized representations that could refer to the same idea behind our various sources.[16] The close connection between the pictorial and textual representations we have mentioned suggests that the same intention lies behind these kinds of portrayals, namely to put in motion human imagination. If we compare the two kinds of portrayals (the images of the Tabula and the written text) we can get an idea about the imaginary conception of these fearful powers. (Boll 1903, 326.) But it is interesting that the Decans can appear in written lists without portrayal. I think this fact points towards the elimination of the astral character of these deities, namely that they become cosmic forces like the daimons whose operations through the cosmical events determine human's fate. A good example in this direction is Firmicus Maternus, who is publishing a Decan-list extending into all the Zodiac, but merely with the deities' names without mentioning the Decans' appearance. The belt of the lion according to this list can be written down as follows:[17]

1	7 degrees	Craumonis
2	4 degrees	Empty
3	3 degrees	Sic
4	6 degrees	Empty
5	10 degrees	Futile

[15] I refer to this because we can assume that the Tabula can be dated to the 2nd century in our era. This means that the Tabula Bianchini can be used as a good example for the illustration of astrological subjects we are dealing with here. For further details see: Boll 1903, 323 et seqq.

[16] The representation of this Decan whose origin can be found in Greaco-Egyptian blending, can be found in more sources. See Boll 1903, 302.

[17] Firm. Mater, IV. 22. 11.

According to Firmicus the teaching concerning the Decans is a secret to which the ancient sages referred only with great fear. They have mighty power over the cosmic and human events, but he does not mention their fearful appearances. He is more interested in the influence they have on the Zodiac than on their representations.[18]

The VI. Hermetic fragment preserved by Stobaios deals definitely with the Decans. This text is a very important source to understand the nature of Hermetic astrology and of the astral powers to be found in it, since it is a systematic exposition of a Decan-theory.[19] But the text does not say anything relevant for our present purposes, namely about the portrayal of these cosmic forces. In this dialogue arises the possibility that these astral powers would be identical with the daimones. Although the dialogue refutes this idea,[20] because Hermes says that the Decans are not identical with the daimones but the latter are the Decans' energies or working power (energeiai). This comment has a special significance, since it leads us to the problem that similar descriptions appear regarding the daimones as in the case of the daimon-lists. We are involved in an interesting contemporary reflection on this place: the author himself signals that the faith in the Decans and daimons is approaching each other.

In what follows I would like to present how this Decan-iconography going back to Egyptian depictions appears in another context. A text known as the Testament of Solomon provides an interesting example to the demonstration of contacts between the ideas about the Decans and the daimons.[21]

Although the text has a framework story which tells us how Solomon built up the Jerusalem church, its larger part deals with a daimon-catalogue that similarly to the above mentioned Decan-lists gives an account of the daimons' appearances, power and their effect on the human life, their astral aspect connected with constellations, and how it is possible to rule over them. (McCown 1922, 43; Torijano 2002, 53–68) The same system is repeated here as in the case of the dekan-lists: the description has magical-practical role since it adds a key to how it is possible to rule over the harmful demons. At one point of the text, for example, astral daimons appear: they are depicted as seven souls tied up with each other, each of whom represents a sin.[22] It is interesting that according to the text, they are beautiful and shapely, which apparently alludes to the tempting nature of the sins they represent.[23] Another power appearing to Solomon is the daimon consisting of thirty-six parts that seem as various animals (dog, bull), man, sphinx, and a dragon in shape.[24] The thirty-six parts, their forms relate unambiguously to the Decans. Here they appear

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[18] Firm, Mater, IV. 22. 1. *Explicaturo mihi nunc doctrinae istius veneranda secreta, quae divini veteres cum maxima trepidatione dixerunt et quae involuta obscuritatis ambagibus reliquerunt ob hoc, ne publicata divina scientia ad profanorum hominum notitiam perveniret, intento ... animo et quieto nec aliis rationibus occupato, ut, quicquid dixerim in hoc tractatu, facillimis rationibus intimetur. Singula signa in libro institutionis ternos habere decanos diximus; sunt autem decani ipsi magni numinis ac potestatis et per ipsos omnia prospera et omnia infortunia decernuntur. Sic et Nechepso, iustissimus Aegypti imperator et astrologus valde bonus, [et] per ipsos decanos omnia vitia valitudinesque collegit ostendens, quam valitudinem qui decanus efficeret, et quia natura alia natura vincitur et quia deum frequenter alius deus vincit, ex contrariis naturis et ex contrariis potestatibus omnium aegritudinum medelas divinae rationis magisteriis invenit.*

[19] For a detailed commentary of the dialogue, see: Scott 1924–1936. III, 363 et seqq, NF. III. XXXVIII et seqq.

[20] SH. VI. 10.

[21] The Greek text was edited with a thorough introduction by McCown 1922. The text in the present form presumably is originated from not later than the 4th century of our time, it seems correct to apply it for our purposes.

[22] Test of Sal. 8.

[23] We may read about the connection of the daimons with celestial bodies and with the cosmic order in CH. XVI. too, where they similarly appear as powers tormenting people. They can really expound their influence together with the celestial bodies. See CH. XVI. 12–16

[24] Test of Sal. 18.

as harmful demons, as the world's darkest powers. According to the text the people are tormented by them incessantly. It is interesting that the author totally neglects the description of the daimons' appearance, despite the fact that he takes one by one all the thirty-six part of it, grants their competence, and describes with the help of which angel it is possible to weaken their strength. This description of the demon shows well how the Decan-lists are connected with the depiction of the daimons. I think this brief sketch shows that a close connection between the above mentioned Hermetic daimonology and the Testament of Salomon can be presumed.[25]

Up to this point I wanted to show how the Decans, originally cosmic powers indicating time transformed to great astral daimons, keep quite a few of the features of their original aspect. Concerning iconology: we may have seen that in Egypt the Decans appear as deities which can be depicted, whose forms will be describable in the written texts. In the Hermetic texts or in the magical papyri it is enough if the author depicts the decan's or daimon's (sometimes dreadful) appearance only verbally, which can achieve the purpose of depiction. Behind these texts (like *Liber Hermetis* and the *Testament of Solomon*) there are reminiscences of pictorial depiction but it is not indispensable that a picture appears in the text. The knowledge of the form of appearance of the astral powers without the actual depiction is enough for the magus to be able to obtain power above them. To represent the great cosmic god (Aion) and the astral powers has the same function. As we have seen, the magus, holding the key of the rule over the universe and above time will be able to gain knowledge of the cosmos and everything which is the indispensable condition of the magical operation.[26] In connection with this I would like to emphasize how conspicuous is the deficiency of the definitely Hermetic depictions. It seems that we confront here what we have alluded to already, namely, that a description of iconographic features may replace the visual representation. The aim of these texts is what has been mentioned already: to grant the given demon's name, the manner of his depiction, his range, that allows the magus to make use of his knowledge in the course of his operations. In the light of this it is significant that the tradition derived the science of the demons' summons from Solomon's magic power.

In this place it is not our subject to present the different forms of appearance of the faith in demons, neither the exploration of its origin. What I wanted to show till now how the faith in the Decans originating from Egypt and its iconography survived in the ideas of demonology in the Western tradition.

It seems proper now to return to our starting point. Can we say that there existed a sort of magic known from the Hermetic literature attributed to the god Hermes Trismegistus? One of the best known Hermetic texts, the Asclepius unambiguously refers to the magical operation of ensouling the sculptures, i.e. to summon demons' souls into an image with the help of a particular magical procedure that results in the reanimated statue's serving the magician's will. (Ascl. lat. 23–24.)

We are not far from the truth if we presuppose that we are involved here in a magical procedure that we could call spiritual magic. The essence of this magic is that there is no need for the magus to make the operation with material appliances, but in a spiritual manner that allows him to understand the function of the universe. We have returned to our starting point here. As in the Hermetic text we read about how we need to become the universe in order to be united with god, so here we get instructions to the acquisition of this universal knowledge. This procedure can be reached by a skill provided by the text, not by the picture. So the aim of the Hermetic magus is not to reach his everyday purposes, but to reach the final source of the nature, the knowledge about the sole god with the help of his knowledge of the all. This can be reached only with

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[25] About the generic relationship between the types of the texts see Torijano, 2002, 88–105. Maybe the different list of decani *rest upon a common tradition*–as McCown states it. (McCown 1922, 59)

[26] For an analysis of a text's function according to noetic understanding in the Hermetic writings see: Sodegard, 2003.

the help of spiritual cognition. I would like to emphasize that this kind of interpretation is not derived from a modern reader of the Hermetic texts, but there is a tradition going back to late antiquity that attributes a special theurgical art to Hermes Trismegistos, as we can read in Iamblich's De mysteriis: *And this is not for them* (viz: the writers of the Hermetic texts) *purely a matter of theorising, but they recommend that we ascend through the practice of sacred theurgy to the regions that are higher, more universal and superior to fate, towards the god who is the creator, without calling in the aid of matter or bringing to bear anything other than the observation of the critical time for action.* (De mysteriis, VIII. 4; Iamblichus. 2003, 317.) At the end of this work Iamblichus explicitly says that the theurgy is the method through which the vision of good (thea tou agathou) could be achieved: *But the sacred and theurgic gift of well-being is called the gateway to the creator of all things, or the place or courtyard of the good. In the first place, it has the power to purify the soul, far more perfect than (the power) to purify the body; afterwards, it prepares the mind for the participation in and vision of the Good, and for a release from everything which opposes it; and, at the last, for a union with the gods who are the givers of all things good.* (De mysteriis, X. 5; Iamblichus. 2003, 351.)

Here we return to our starting point. Iamblich states that the theurgic practices have a function to prepare the mind for a vision of the Good. As I have showed above, some methods concerning the inward visual representation of the universe and of the cosmic phenomena played a significant role in the process to become Aion, a god of eternality.

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Kovács Imre

The Rivals: Romanos I Lekapenos and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos

Fine Arts, Relic cult, and Liturgy in the Service of Byzantine Imperial Legitimacy

I.

The statement that iconographic innovations of Byzantine imperial coins are never by chance does not require any further explanation. Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) – earlier naval commander of the Byzantine fleet – had a coin struck in 921, on the obverse of which Christ himself crowns him emperor (Grierson III. 1973, 534) (Figure 1). On the reverse of the coin there are the two co-emperors: the legitimate heir of the Macedonian dynasty, the future Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and Christopher, the son of Romanos I, who are holding the main item of the imperial regalia of the Byzantine empire, that is the cross, together. This latter motif was one of the usual formulas of depicting imperial legitimacy, however, the iconographic model of Christ crowning the emperor appeared on a coin for the first time here (Corrigan 1978, 410).

Figure 1. Solidus with Christ crowning Romanos I, 921

According to the basic principle of Byzantine worldview, originating from the time of Constantine the Great, the emperor is chosen by God, the hierarchic order of the human world mirrors the heavenly order (Dagron 1995). This dualistic matching of the heavenly and earthly hierarchy offered itself as a fundamental iconographic formula on imperial coins. Since a coin has two sides, its structure, separating subordinated image surfaces, afforded the opportunity of depicting the Byzantine world order.

The majority of coins struck after the iconoclasm took advantage of this opportunity if there were images on both sides, and depicted the representatives of the heavenly and earthly powers on separate sides. Usually a half figure *Pantocrator* appeared opposite the depiction of the emperor, reviving the motif introduced on the coins by Justinian II at the end of the 7th century. Or, there came the new motif of a full figure *Pantocrator* sitting enthroned. This was a reference to the mo-

saic in the Byzantine imperial throne room, the *Chrysotriklinos,* renovated after the iconoclasm, under which the emperor enthroned appeared as the living image of the Christ (Belting 1994, 134–138, 164–167; Restle 1998, 38–39).

There is however, a shift of emphasis in the symmetric relation of earthly and heavenly hierarchy on the depiction of the Romanos I coin: the image of the emperor entered the heavenly sphere. The new iconographic formula placed the emphasis on the heavenly origins of the sovereign by using a clear gesture referring to the narrative of coronation. Recalling the coronation ceremony, the liturgical apex of the legitimacy of the emperor's authority, may take us further in analysing the problem. Byzantine liturgy by that time was a hierarchic structure worked out to the utmost detail and reflecting the divine world order in its symbolic-dramatic language. Our principal source in this respect is the work entitled *De Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* by Constantine VII, in which he describes the coronation ceremony that took place in Hagia Sophia as follows (De Caerimoniis II. 1967, chap. 47; Cameron 1987):

The emperor *(basileus)* enters with the patriarch and lights candles on the silver doors, and entering the nave he proceeds to the raised pathway leading from the ambo *(soleia)* and prays before the holy gates, with lighted candles, and returns into the ambo together with the patriarch. Then the patriarch says a prayer over the imperial purple mantel *(chlamys)*, and when the prayer is complete the [servants] of the bedchamber take it and attire the master *(despotês)*. And again [the patriarch] says a prayer, over the crown *(stemma)* itself, and when that is complete, the patriarch himself takes the crown and places it on the head of the master. And wearing the crown he goes down and enters the *mêtatorion* and sits on the small throne *(sellion)*, and the dignitaries enter, prostrating themselves and kissing both his knees. (Majeska 1997, 1–4)

Let us consider some of the sentences of the acclamations: "Glory to God for appointing you emperor", or "You have been crowned emperor, by his own hand." It is apparent that their content is essentially in agreement with the content of the representation of the Romanos I coin. With Christ performing the coronation symbolically, it is he himself who appointed and enthroned the emperor.

The connection between liturgy and iconography is further emphasised by the fact that a reference to the text of the acclamation appeared in the form of an inscription in a representation that is content–wise similar to the iconography of the Romanos I coin. I am referring to the plaque of the Khakhuli enamel triptych (1076–81) which represents the coronation of Michael

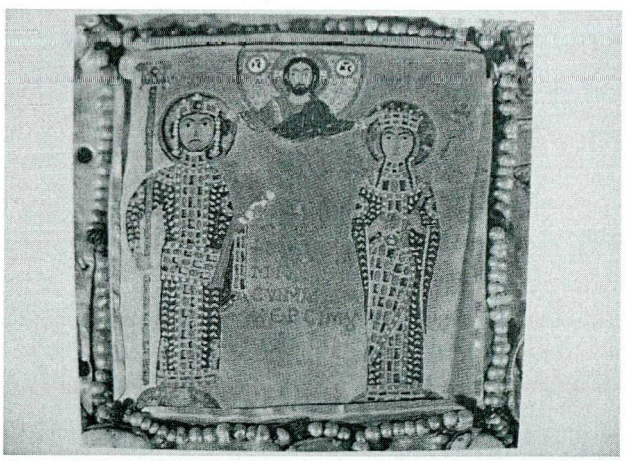

Figure 2. Plaque from the Khakhuli triptych with Christ crowning the Emperor Michael VII Ducas and the Empress Maria, 1076–1081. Tbilisi, Art Museum of Giorgia

VII Ducas and his wife Maria by Christ (Bank 1985, 305) (Figure 2). The iconographic formula that had already become a pictorial topos by then is emphasised by the Greek inscription of the liturgical text given in the mouth of Christ: "I crown Michael and Maria with mine own hands".

II.

The prototype of the representation of the Romanos I coin is the solidus of the Macedonian emperor, Alexander – ruling between 912 and 913 (Jolivet–Lévy 1987, 442–443) (Figure 3). This was the first coin to depict the literary topos of investiture received from the celestial powers in a pictorial form. The compositional type, and the similarity of the form of the two emperor depictions are obvious, with the difference that instead of the Christ figure of the Romanos I coin, here we can see John the Baptist (Kalavrezou 1997, 74–79).

Figure 3. Solidus with Christ crowning Alexander, 912–913

If we substitute the representation of the emperor on the Alexander coin with that of the Christ, we get the old iconographic type of the baptism of Christ, which provided the pictorial framework for the imagery of the coin. The gesture of the baptism-appointment-coronation does not only indicate a formal similarity. The baptism of Christ, that is the revelation of Christ by John the Baptist, and the appointment of the emperor by Christ are in close connection in terms of content. The day of January 6th, that is Epiphany, the holiday celebrating the baptism of Christ, was often chosen by Macedonian emperors as the day of the baptism of their children, or as the day of their coronation. Basil I, the founder of the dynasty, for example, associated his son, Leo VI as co-emperor on 6th January 870, who on his part had his son, the future Constantine VII baptised on that day likewise in 906. When Constantine VII finally managed to depose Romanos I and his sons after being kept in the background for twenty-five years, he chose the very same day of the year 945 as the day of his inauguration as sole emperor.

John the Baptist as the sacred source of imperial investiture was not accidentally chosen by emperor Alexander and his advisors. It was a well understandable reference for the initiated ones. The representation of the coin of Romanos I went even further. Exchanging the figure of John the Baptist for that of Christ meant that the pictorial propaganda of Romanos I broke with the associative reference of the Alexander coin in the interest of the expression of an open religious-political message.

It is obvious that the usurper Romanos I, interrupting the continuity of the Macedonian dynasty and lacking legitimacy, needed the "visible proof" of investiture by Christ, but the formula was not ignored by Constantine VII either after restoring the dynasty. It must be mentioned on

Figure 4. Ivory plaque with Christ crowning Constantin VII, about 945. Moscow, Museum of Fine Art

the side though that the position of Constantine was not unshakable either, since he was born from the fourth marriage of Leo VI, which was not legitimate under Byzantine canon law (Toynbee 1973).

An ivory plaque made in an imperial workshop is witness to the response given by the pictorial propaganda of Constantine VII to the iconographic formula of investiture by Christ (Bank 1985, 292) (Figure 4). The circumstances of its origin tell us a lot. The occasion was Constantine's becoming sole emperor, which is indicated by two things on the plaque. The first one is the inscription: "Constantine, by the will of God, Autocrat, Emperor of the Romans", while the other is that characteristic, longish-bearded faced depiction of the emperor, which is in contrast with the schematic features of the Romanos I coin and the coins depicting his earlier self as co-emperor.

This characteristic image of Constantine VII was distinctly associated with his acquisition of the status of autocrat, and the coins struck for the occasion prove this point well (Wroth II. 1908, 444) (Figure 5). The questions of what the purpose of the introduction of this ancient philosopher type image could have been and how far we can regard it as an individual representation of the 40-year-old emperor arise.

Let us start from the fact that this facial depiction of Constantine VII is strikingly similar to the representations of his father, Leo VI, on coins and the famous mosaic in the Hagia Sophia (Figure 6). And indeed, it must be added that this facial type appeared already in the representations of Basil I, the grandfather of Constantine VII (Restle 1998, 42). Thus, it is more probable that what we have here is an attribute-like facial type used by Constantine VII as a kind of dynastic legitimization device rather than a portrait indicating individual physiognomy. I think that Constantine VII, on becoming sole emperor, wished to emphasize his belonging to the legitimate Macedonian dynasty with this facial type associated both with his father and grandfather. The pictorial message formulated for his contemporaries was something like this: with the fall of the usurper Romanos I the crown received from the heavenly king returned to the legitimate sovereign of the Macedonian dynasty – Constantine VII. The emperor, who wrote the biography of the founder of the dynasty, Basil I, himself, and who – as we shall see – used the propagandistic possibilities in icon- and relic cult fully consciously, was not unfamiliar with this form of dynastic legitimisation.

Figure 5. Solidus of Constantin VII, 945.

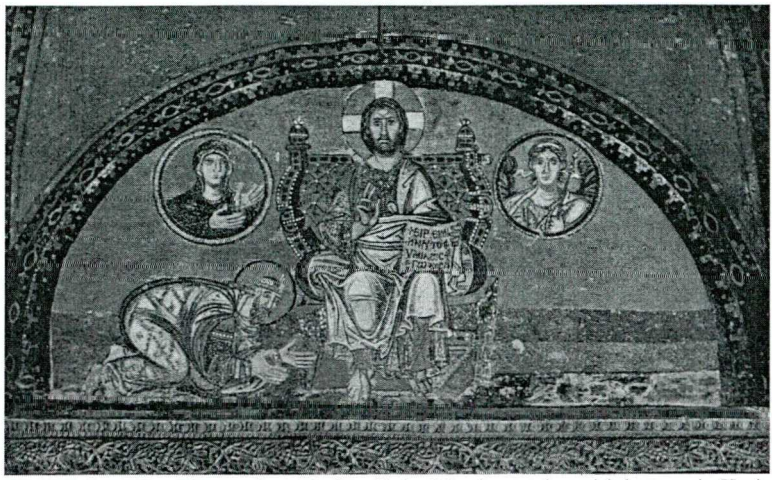

Figure 6. Leo VI making *proskynesis* before Christ. Mosaic over imperial doorway in Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. Late ninth century.

III.

In the background of the pictorial appearance of investiture by Christ is, I believe, the same legitimization strife that was the main motivation behind one of the most important relic acquisitions of the period and its use as a sacred device of legitimization. This relic was the *Mandylion*, the cloth miraculously preserving the imprint of the image of the face of Christ (Cameron 1984). Romanos I spared no effort to acquire it from the scene of its miracles, that is, Edessa in Asia Minor. The translation of the *Mandylion* to Constantinople took place on 15th August 944, the feast-day of the Koimesis. In the chronicle of John Scylitzes illuminated in the fourteenth century there is a miniature which depicts Romanos I receiving the *Mandylion* (Grabar and Manoussacas 1979, 77) (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Romanos I receiving the *Mandylion*, Madrid, Cod. 5.3.N.2. Fol. 131.

Romanos I was, however, dethroned some months after the translation and so the embedding of the cult of the *Mandylion* into the liturgical-dramatic order of the Byzantine court was left to Constantine VII and his advisers. They were quick to realise that beside using the *Mandylion* as an expression of Christian piety on the part of the emperor, it also provided an excellent opportunity for propaganda to emphasise the sacred aspect of the newly acquired autocracy.

Of course, such a utilisation of relics related to Christ was not a new phenomenon in the Byzantine court. I am thinking primarily of the Holy Cross as imperial relic and symbol of power, the renewal of which can be connected in the period under examination to Constantine VII, who had an ornate reliquary made for the relic called by the sources the cross of Constantine the Great (Kalavrezou 1997, 56).

A church holiday was formed around the translation of the *Mandylion,* the homily to which was written by Constantine VII himself, and read out in Hagia Sophia at the celebration of the first anniversary of the translation. Although the festive homily is a document well-known to Byzantologists, its power representational aspect was, strangely enough, rarely considered, so I think, it is worth examining it from such a point of view, too.

The homily described in detail the legend variants concerning the *Mandylion* and its translation to Constantinople, the main events of which were the various manifestations of the magical ability of the relic (Dobschütz 1899, 157–169). It cured people on its way, and being carried around the city walls of Constantinople, it displayed its protecting, *palladium*-function. Finally, it was taken to the imperial palace. Before it was deposited among the most precious relics of the court in the Pharos chapel, it was placed on the imperial throne of the *Chrysotriklinos.* The homily describes the event in the following manner: "They not unreasonably thought that the emperor's throne would be completely hallowed, and all who sat on it would most likely receive a share of justice and goodness" (Migne 1857–66, English translation in Wilson 1978, 251). And it is also worth quoting the final prayer requesting the blessing of Christ through the relic for the emperor, his family and the whole state in full.

> O Holy Image of the Likeness of the Unchanging Father! O likeness of the likeness of the Person of the Father! O sacred and all-praiseworthy token of the archetypal glory of Christ, our Lord! I speak of you in faith just as if you were alive. Save and guard for ever him who piously and mercifully rules us and celebrates in grand manner the memory of your coming; whom by your presence you have raised to his father's and grandfather's throne. Keep his children safe for the succession of the country. Keep this queen of cities impregnable; and grant that we may please your archetype, Christ our Lord, and be admitted into his heavenly kingdom, while we give praise and sing of his glory. For he is worthy of glory and worship for ever and ever. Amen.

Let us start out from the words of the prayer. What appears to us immediately is the evocative power of the relic-image character of the *Mandylion,* to which the line of the prayer "I speak of you in faith just as if you were alive" refers. This qualifies it for the liturgical-dramatic play of placing it on the imperial throne, an act in which the earthly and heavenly spheres are metaphorically connected. The relic, which was a picture at the same time, did not only occupy and consecrate the place of the emperor but it created a perceptible-tangible relationship with the enthroned Christ mosaic of the *Chrysotriklinos.*

It is important to stress that the relic-image character of the *Mandylion* could not mean anything else since the end of the 7th century – the time when the symbolic depiction of Christ was rejected in Byzantium in favour of his *facie ad faciem* depiction –, than the evidence of incarnation. Consequently, the placing of the *Mandylion* on the imperial throne stands in the axis of a cosmic world explanation, which mediates both upwards and downwards. First and foremost it is the image of the Son, who is the image of the Father, but analogically, the ruling Byzantine emperor is the living likeness of the heavenly king whom the relic represents.

The *Mandylion* was not only able to display and protect abstract ideas, but its power was also used to sanctify the actual political aspirations of Constantine VII. The miraculous power of the relic cured a man possessed by the devil during its translation to Constantinople in such a way that he was able to pronounce prophesies concerning the coming takeover of Constantine VII. Since the homily was written after the dethronement of Romanos I, the prophecy becoming fulfilled through the intervention of the *Mandylion* can be nothing else than manipulation serving the interests of the new emperor. Thus the translation of the relic became the commemoration of the triumphant entry ceremony subsequently acknowledging the deposition of the usurper Romanos I.

Figure 8. Panel with King Abgar receiving the *Mandylion*, about 945. Detail of the Mount Sinai icon

An icon from Mount Sinai related to the events of the first anniversary of the translation is of great significance from our aspect (Weitzmann 1960) (Figure 8). The above discussed facts can make a whole lot of difference in the interpretation. The icon must have been the two side wings of a triptych. They are both divided into two parts. The wings refer to the key event of the *Mandylion* legend, that is when the apostle Thaddeus sends the cloth, on which the face of Christ was imprinted, by his envoy to the ill king, Abgar, who then was cured by it. On the left side wing there is the apostle Thaddeus, while on the right side wing there is the envoy handing over the miraculous image to Abgar. In the lower section of both panels there are two monastic saints respectively. According to the reconstruction by Kurt Weitzmann, the line of saints continued in the lower section of the middle, lost, panel, above which there must have been an image representing the Holy Face of Christ (Weitzmann 1960, 168–169). In the depiction of the relic-receiving king Abgar, Weitzmann recognised the hidden portrait of Constantine VII. Such an interpretation is not only supported by the historical circumstances of the translation, but also the use of the characteristic face type, which Constantine introduced – as we have seen earlier – on the occasion of becoming sole emperor.

The narrative depictions that survived in 11th century *menologions* accompanying the homily by Constantine VII might be considered as parallels to the panel painting. The main difference between the miniatures and the panel painting is that while in the miniatures Abgar is receiving the envoy who is bringing him the image of Christ in bed, in a half lying position, in the panel painting he is sitting on his throne. Weitzmann saw the source of this difference in a formal reason. Namely, that the purely vertical form of centrally positioning the sovereign sitting on his throne suits the hieratic structure of the icon better. This is obviously true, however, I believe that the formal difference between the two types of depictions are basically determined by their content.

Let us suppose that the surviving early miniatures did not, while the panel painting did use the means of portrait identification. The panel painting made use of devices other than the *menologions*, as it had a different function – its devotees were most probably monks of a monastery judging from the monastic saints. The intention behind the representation was the spreading of

the cult of the *Mandylion*, but it also wanted to make the devotees of the icon remember the emperor promoting the cult. The painter used the device of portrait identification for this specific reason. It seems that the depiction of the legitimization content through the portrait identification was more important than the healing aspect, and for this reason the painter deviated from the accepted narrative representational pattern. This content – in harmony with the message of the prayer said at the end of the imperial homily – was: with his earthly image venerated as a relic, the heavenly king protects the newly acquired power of the legitimate Macedonian emperor identified by his portrait.

Another relic acquisition, this one by Constantine VII himself, proves how consciously he utilized propaganda possibilities hidden in the relic and image cult to support his power (Kalavrezou 1997, 67). He had been emperor for already ten years when he managed to acquire the arm relic of John the Baptist from Antioch in 956. The translation of the relic to Constantinople was timed to take place on 6th January, that is, Epiphany. The holy day of Epiphany commemorates the baptism of Jesus Christ, and Constantine VII was also baptised on that day and it was also the day of his inauguration as sole.emperor. In the Epiphany liturgy the religious and secular content of the holy day merged. The day of the baptism of Christ was at the same time the day of divine revelation, when the emperor symbolically received the Holy Ghost, thus confirming his legitimate imperial status deriving from God.

The imperial authority was sealed and thus became perceptible and tangible through the power of this relic. This was of central importance to the legitimization of the Macedonian emperors: the hand of the Baptist was the one that baptised the Christ who appointed the emperor and sanctioned his authority.

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Ivan Gerát

The Trials of the Martyrs –

Legal and Cosmic Aspects of Late Mediaeval Visual *Topoi*

Many mediaeval legends contain a sequence, devoted to the process, in which the saint was sentenced, tortured and executed. Some scenes in this sequence can be found in similar or even identical form in different legends. What were the reasons for the repetition of similar compositions? What ideas, narratives and practices have influenced the creation and perception of such images?

Answers to such questions can only be found by means of interdisciplinary historical research transcending the basic problems of iconography in a search for the contexts of images in the history of ideas.[1] The historical development of the images was influenced at least on two different levels by at least two different systems of thought: 1, by legal considerations, standing behind the processes depicted in the images; 2, by theological reasoning, explaining the sense of narratives for Christian viewers.

The first level belongs to the historical background of the legends. The legal framework of the processes, in which the martyrs had been sentenced, was not of great interest for the authors of the legends. In the majority of the cases, this legal context belonged mostly to the old pagan world, which the Christian writers saw as an illegitimate realm, governed by evil forces. In this context, the narratives were not preserving a real memory of the older legal heritage. The new Christian attitude has evaluated its meanings from a new, negative perspective.

For the hagiographers, all the martyrs were by definition witnesses of Christian faith, who sealed their testimonies by their own blood. They were heroes, who offered their earthly lives in the name of what they understood as eternal life (see e.g. Schockenhoff 1999, Grabar 1946).

This paper describes an attempt to explain some examples of such hagiographical narratives from the region in northern Carpathians, a former part of the Hungarian kingdom, today Slovakia. The regional examples were connected with the general history of European civilisation through their visual prototypes, which is an obvious problem of art history. Besides, the history of visual culture should take into account the most important structural elements of the ideological contexts, which were essential for historical functions of the images not created in the region. The real or legendary heroes depicted in the images had lived outside the region on the vast territory of Roman Empire. The repeated historical situations, standing behind the prototypes of this imagery, were influenced by the legal framework of the Empire and by their Christian belief. This is why the roots of the images go back to some principles of Roman law as well as to the most important ideas of early Christian thinkers, not to mention the obvious influence of the Judaic tradition and biblical law. The heterogeneity of this ideological heritage, which was constantly influencing the organisation and practical functioning of the church hierarchy with its centre in Rome, stands behind some contradictory or paradoxical ideas, embodied in the images and propagated by the "hagiographic discourse" around them (more about the concept Uhlíř 2006).

From the methodological point of view, this paper respects the tradition of iconology trying to integrate a research on various levels as a means to illuminate some complex historical connections. That is why it begins with a basic description of typical scenes and their versions, taking into

[1] The long-term research project of the author on the topic is currently supported on the Institute of Art History SAS in Bratislava by the grant VEGA 2/0007/11 "Studies about the poetics of pictorial narrative in the Middle Ages".

account the trials of the martyrs as well as a contrasting sequence, in which the saints are presented as patrons of justice. This set of material offers an opportunity to demonstrate the effects of some paradoxical ways of thinking, typical for mediaeval anthropology (see Zimmermann 2003, 167–188 and Belting 2001). The links between ideas and imaginations were important for influencing the thinking and shaping the sensibility of the viewer. In the social context, they were a necessary presupposition for the historical meanings and functions of the images.

* * *

Images of the trial of a saint were usually modelled on the trial of Jesus as described in the gospels and depicted in the pictorial cycles. The writers and the painters used similar words, phrases and schemata to describe and evaluate the event. As far as they were interested mainly in the issue of sanctity, the legal aspects of the trial remained mostly without any consideration at all. In the most frequent version of the visual representation of these trials, the male or female saint stands before a man of earthly power, who is judging him, sitting on a throne. The legal power and authority *(auctoritas)* of the ruler is challenged by the seriousness and dignity *(gravitas or dignitas)* of the saint (these Latin concepts were frequently synonymous – see Balsdon 1960). The basic difference between these two characters rests in their explication of true devotion *(pietas)*. Similarly to Jesus, the martyr represents a moral authority based on his or her intimate contact with heavenly powers and eternity in Christian understanding, based on the biblical use of the term "martyr", including its legal meanings (see Trites 2004). The martyrs follow the apostolic advise to obey God rather than man (Acts 5:29). The earthly ruler is a contrasting figure – from a Christian perspective, his power is only temporary, because he does not understand the most important secrets of the universe as defined by the teaching of the Church. In his own eyes, he was loyal to other gods and values, which were respected neither by the saint nor by the authors of legends and pictures, working for Christian patrons and audiences.

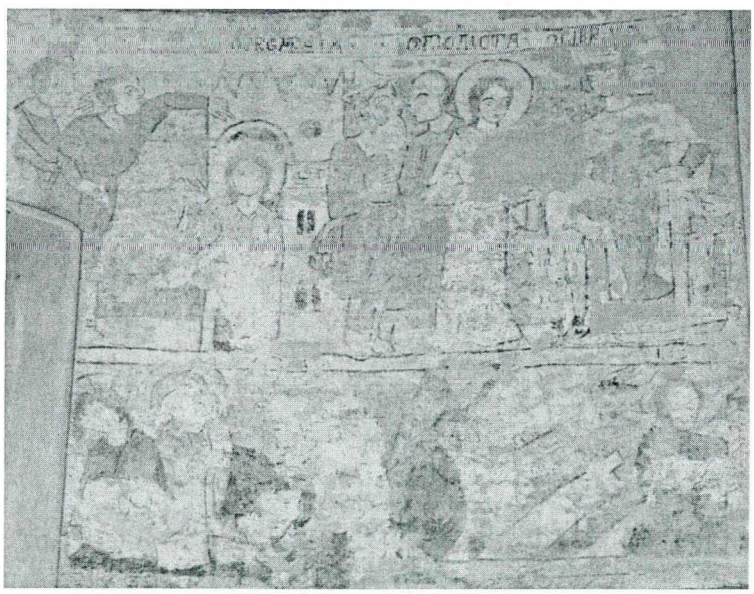

Figure 1: Scenes from the life of
Saint Margaret and Christ, Šivetice /
Süvete (13. c.)

Frequently, a scene similar to the trial describes a dialogue between a Christian virgin and a heathen man, who would like to marry her. The oldest example of such a scene from the region is preserved in Šivetice / Süvete, where it was integrated into a pictorial vita of Saint Margaret of Antiochia (Gerát 2002, Prokopp 2002, 12–14, SNMS 1978, 151–153 (Dvořáková), Togner 1989, 185–186, Tóth 1974, 85–88, 238–239. In this specific case, the similarity of the virgin saint to Christ, her *christoformitas*, one of the leading ideals of mediaeval hagiographers, was made explicitly visible by a direct visual parallel (Figure 1). The life of Christ was painted very closely to the trial of the virgin, in the register below. In the narrative of the legend, Margaret stood several times before Olibrius, who was trying to convert her to pagan religion and to marry her. That is why the scene very similar to the trial is repeated in the pictorial legend, too. In the meantime, Olibrius tried to break the will and belief of Margaret by violence. In one of these scenes, Saint Margaret was tormented on scaffolding. Through its similarity with the Crucifixion, the scene reinforced the basic idea of parallelism between the legend and the passion of Christ. In this pictorial legend, the idea is combined with a visual reference to the feminine character of the martyr – her long brown hair, coiled around the horizontal beam of the scaffolding. In the 13th century, such a pictorial solution was not rare in the Central Europe. Similar motif, based on the text of the legend, is to be found in the stained glass window in Ardagger, Lower Austria (Frodl–Kraft, 1954). Older parallels to this scene of hanging are to be found in the German book illuminations, e.g. in the 12th century in the Stuttgart *passionale* (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cods. bibl., see Boeckler 1923). This artwork seems to be based on the older tradition of similar iconographical scheme, which existed in Germany some centuries ago. Saint Margaret was tortured in a similar way in the passions of Kilian of Würzburg and Margaret of Antioch, produced in Fulda around 970 (Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek MS I 189, fol. 28v., see Hahn 1988). Even this composition could be founded on an older visual prototype – torturing of Barulas, as depicted in Reichenau around 900 (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264, 137, see Hahn 2001, Plate I.).

One of the tormentors in Šivetice has a pointed hat on his head – a usual visual hint identifying the person as a Jew. This detail of the image might gain some importance in connection with the idea of Saint Augustin according to which the "cruelty is the natural state of those who do not enjoy grace – pagans, Manicheans and Jews" (Baraz 1998, 202). Thus, a single sign in the picture could refer to the whole discourse of mediaeval anti-Semitism and intolerance. This discourse was very important for explaining the pictorial narratives. In this context, the small detail in the clothing of one figure could gain real political importance for some practical decisions. Nevertheless, the structure of pictorial narrative about the sentencing of a heroic saint as such could well exist without it. Nevertheless, the intolerant confrontation of different religious perspectives was a necessary condition for establishing the narratives about sentencing martyrs in the form known from the European Middle Ages. The majority of the martyrs lived in the time, when they represented a minority, fighting the norms of temporarily stronger culture around them (see Klausner 1998). Some topical scenes illustrate the confrontation of different ideologies very clearly.

Around 1400, similar case of a holy virgin was painted in the life of Saint Dorothea in Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau (Buran 2002; Krása 1965). Here, the legal reason for sentencing the saint were even more explicitly linked with the problem of idolatry. This happened in a scene, where Dorothea causes a destruction of an idol – a statue of heathen god, depicted in a devil-like form (Figure 2). For Fabricius, the statue represented the religion he had to defend; for Dorothea, it was a simple object of superstitious worship, which deserved to be disrespected or even destroyed. Intolerance in the questions of faith is the prerequisite for the confrontation of the main characters of this sequence. Dorothea and her sisters have lost their lives, but ultimately depicted as stronger and more trustworthy side of the confrontation, because they were supported by cosmic powers. The angels destroying the statue of pagan deity are illustrating the general

Figure 2: The dispute of Saint Dorothea and the sentencing of her sisters, Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau, around 1400

Christian view, according to which the idol should be destroyed, because worshiping him means offense to the single God, Jesus Christ, the creator of the universe. In this pictorial and ideological context, the judged saint represents the eternal transcendental power confronted with the temporary, earthly power. From this perspective, she was the real winner of the confrontation, even if she was sentenced, jailed, tortured and decapitated.

For all these reasons, the scene with a saint destroying an idol became quite popular in context of similar trials. The legal and ideological base of the action against idols reaches back to biblical law, to the second commandment banning the "graven images or any likeness of anything", which were later explained by Maimonides and taken into Christian context by Tertullian, evaluating the idolatry as "the principal crime of the human race, the highest guilt charged upon the world" (according to Douzinas 2000, 814). From this perspective, the destruction of an idol in the context of a trial of the martyr means a paradoxical reversal of the legal situation: in the eyes of the Christians, the real criminal is the judge, prosecuting the martyr because of the refusal of idolatry.

Another, more humanistic variation of the same structure can be found in the painting from the early 16th c. retable in Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya / Neusohl, see Šugár 2005). Saint Barbara discusses with the Roman authority and the idol stands on the column, as usual, too. Nevertheless, the heavenly powers destroying the idol are not visualised. The heroism of her individual action (as well as the educational level of the altar patron) is being stressed also by a small image in the image, where the prototype of female heroism from the Old Testament can be seen – Judith, decapitating Holofernes. The purpose of her heroism was to defend her nation which refused the polytheistic religions of the enemies in the name of one true God. The murder of the pagan leader in the situation of war was seen as excused, but this female hero was hardly a prototype of tolerance.

Otherwise, the case of Saint Barbara represented the intolerant approach of defenders of non-Christian beliefs as the real cause of her martyrdom. In the Central Europe, it was well known at least since the famous retable in Wroclaw (Breslau, see Labuda 1984). The legal consequences of a difference in belief lead to real family tragedy. The dispute of Saint Barbara with

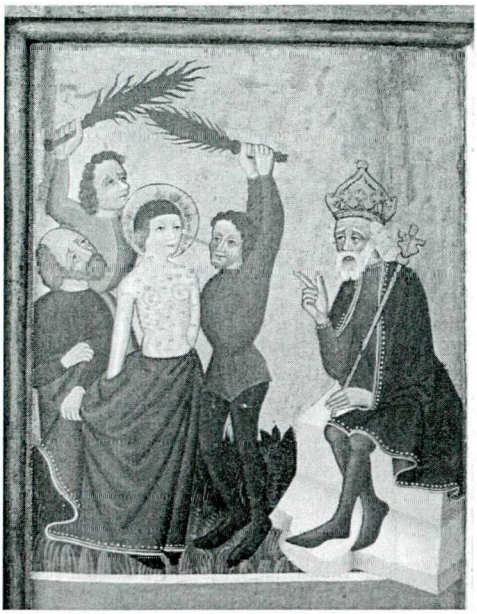

Figure 3: Saint Agatha whipped before Emperor Decius. From the retable of Saint Sophia in Sásová/ Zólyomszászfalva/ Sachsendorf (around 1440)

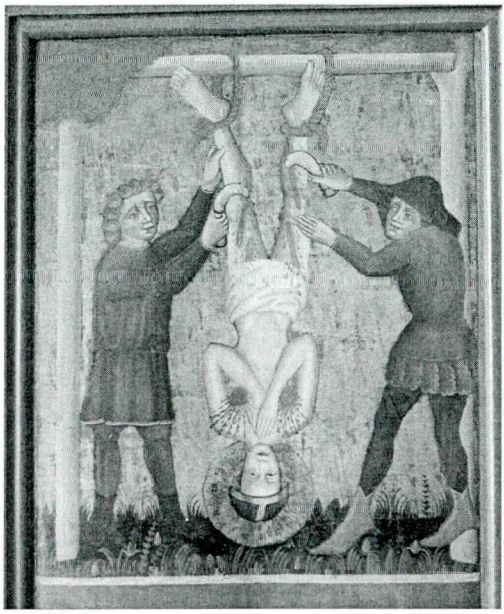

Figure 4: Saint Agatha tormented on the scaffolding. From the retable of Saint Sophia in Sásová/ Zólyomszászfalva/ Sachsendorf (around 1440)

her own father Dioscurus, standing at the very beginning of her martyrdom, sometimes seems to be different from the above described type of a trial. The retable picture from Jazernica (Márk falva, 1517) shows a seemingly innocent, calm conversation of the both in the proximity of a tower with three windows, symbolizing the Holy Trinity. The content of this dispute – the father refuses his daughter in the name of his belief – can be seen as a paradoxical consequence of the sentence in which Jesus instructed his followers to hate their parents and even their life ("Whoever comes to me and does not hate father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters, yes, and even life itself, cannot be my disciple" – Luke 14, 26). In the end, the picture of a confrontation between the father and the daughter, a kind of family trial, served as a support for radical religious claims of some Christians.

The scene with a female virgin standing before the rulers offered also many possibilities to stress some details with a hidden meaning. The painting of half naked Saint Agatha being whip ped before Emperor Decius, from Sásová (Zólyomszászfalva / Sachsendorf, retable of Saint Sophia, around 1440), features her half naked body with traces of torture, similar to Christ after flagellation (Figure 3).[2] In the same picture, there is a man approaching the saint from behind, entering under her clothes in a way, which might bear ambiguous associations. Considering the specific forms of torture, used in the case of Agatha – her breasts were torn with pliers, burned with a torch, and finally cut off – the female aspect of her existence was underlined enough to understand the sexual element of intense psychological tension in the scene.

[2] Radocsay 1955, p. 66. His catalogue on p. 461 identifies the saint as Dorothea. This identification does not falsify our interpretation as far as Agatha with her breast cut off was depicted on the same altar-piece, offering the viewer similar associations even if this would be other virgin saint.

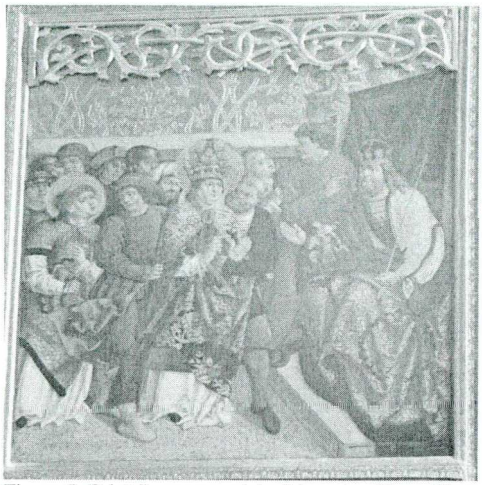

Figure 5: Saint Lawrence advised by pope Sixtus II to distribute the endangered church property during the trial. From the retable in Hrabušice/ Káposztafalva (around 1510-1520)

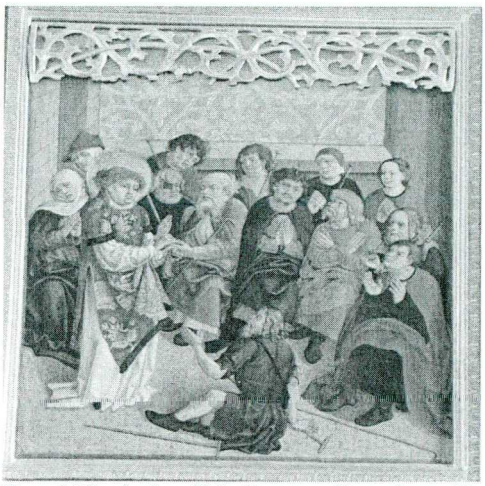

Figure 6: The charity of Saint Lawrence. From the retable in Hrabušice/ Káposztafalva (around 1510–1520)

The tense dialogue between a female virgin and an earthly ruler has been made especially strong in the vita of Saint Catherine from Alexandria. The young princess was able to persuade the philosophers, hired by emperor Maxentius to oppose her ideas. After their conversion to Christianity they were sentenced to death and burned, too. This event was depicted rarely, e.g. on the retable from Bardejov (Bártfa / Bartfeld, 1510). The dispute between Catherine and Maxentius was represented more frequently (e.g. on the retables from Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau, 1469 and Turany, before 1500). These compositions follow in some respects the prototype of the learned conversation of twelve years old Christ with Jewish scholars in the temple, as depicted e.g. in Spišské Podhradie (Szepesváralja, 1480–90).

In their confrontation with the powers of evil, the saints were sometimes helped by a miracle. Nevertheless, this help could become a source for their future problems, including the subsequent trial. Such a story of Saint Peter and Paul was depicted on their altar retable in Levoča (Lőcse/ Leutschau, before 1500). The kneeling apostles pray to prevent a magician Simon from the flying with the help of demons. Their prayer caused a deadly fall of the magician, who was favoured by the emperor Nero. The Emperor was allegedly so sorry about the loss of his beloved magician that he sentenced the apostles to death penalty.

The basic prototype of the saint standing before an earthly judge has many variations with different meanings. The individual narratives used similar compositions for specific purposes. One more variation of the scene was included in the story of saint Lawrence as depicted in Hrabušice (Káposztafalva, around 1510–1520). According to the Golden Legend, the pope Sixtus II, when arrested, instructed Saint Lawrence to give away to the poor the treasures of the church (Figure 4). The saint followed this instruction, which saved the ecclesiastic possessions from being confiscated by the state authorities (Figure 5). Thereafter, he declared that the poor and sick themselves were the real treasures of the Church. In this short story, at least two transformations took place. Firstly, the meaning of the word "treasure" has been shifted from literal to metaphorical sense, which has some obvious consequences for their exchange value. Secondly, the helper of the accused pope acted in a way, which made him a criminal from the temporary earthly perspective but – in the religious explanation aiming at eternal values – a saintly person defying authorities on a way to his own trial and martyrdom.

As we have seen in some of the previous examples (Margaret in Šivetice / Süvete; Dorothea in Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau) the martyrs were often mocked and put into prison in course of their trial. In some of such cases, the supernatural consolation in the prison was depicted – the saint was visited by Christ. Such a scene can be found in the vita of Saint Dorothea in the murals of the parish church in Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau (around 1400) as well as in the legend of Saint George, painted on the closed wings of his retable in Spišská Sobota (Mons Sancti Georgii; Szepesszombat; Georgenberg, 1516. See Fajt–Suckale 2003, Gerát 2006, Riches 2000, 36–67). Somewhat surprisingly for our modern logic, Dorothea stands in the doors of the prison, which are opened and George is sitting behind the opened door, too. It is clear that the pictures did not aim at a depiction of real situations in which the door of the prison would be closed. Instead, the paintings were narrating about the spiritual consolation of the prisoner which might resemble the famous Consolation from philosophy by Boethius. Nevertheless, the consolation in the version with Jesus instead of Philosophy has more symbolical and religious and less philosophical and allegorical meanings. The saints welcome the Saviour as if he was an ordinary visitor or a pilgrim; the visual references to his extraordinary status are limited to the halo and the gesture of blessing. Similar compositions could be seen in the cycles depicting the works of mercy (see Bühren 1998).

Occasionally, a consolation of saintly prisoner was provided not by Jesus but by another saint. On the above mentioned retable of Saint Peter and Paul in Levoča (Lőcse/ Leutschau, before 1500) Paul brought some meal to his imprisoned fellow Peter. Nevertheless, Peter had been starving for so long that he was not able to open his mouth. A similar scene was depicted already in the so called Angevin legendary (Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 9r. See Levárdy 1975, 27 and Szakács, 2006, p. 230). But the stay of the saint in the prison could be represented even more dramatically. Saint Margaret of Antioch had to fight with a demon in form of a dragon during her stay in the prison (Figure 6). On her retable in Mlynica (Malompatak/ Mühlenbach, around 1515–1520), the dragon is trying to bite her. She stands calmly with a large cross in her hand – a reference to the sign, which – according to the legend – was strong enough to overcome the supernatural beast.

Figure 7: Saint Margaret in the prison, Mlynica/ Malompatak/ Mühlenbach (around 1515-1520)

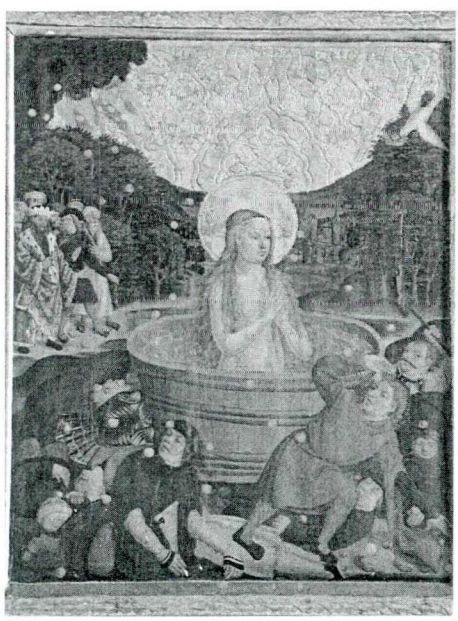

Figure 8: Saint Margaret boiled in a cauldron, Mlynica/ Malompatak/ Mühlenbach (around 1515 – 1520)

Obviously, imprisonment was neither a typical nor a final punishment for the martyrs – more important was torture and execution. Some scenes of torture were repeated in several legends of different saints. The typical example is tormenting of the saint on scaffolding, which we have seen in the pictorial life of St. Margaret in Šivetice (Süvete, 13th c.). The extraordinary relevance of this scene in the ideological framework of hagiography, based on the idea of emulating Christ *(imitatio Christi)* might be a reason why this scene became a part of several pictorial legends of holy virgins, who were tortured in similar way – burned, cut or torn by special instruments. The examples can be found in the vitae of Saint Dorothea and Saint Catherine in Levoča (Lőcse/ Leutschau, 1469) and on the retable of Saint Catherine in Turany (before 1500). Such scenes were not gender specific – they can be found in the legends of some male martyrs, too. In our region, the male saints tormented on scaffolding are represented by Saint George in Spišská Sobota (Mons Sancti Georgii / Szepesszombat/ Georgenberg, 1516) or by Saint Lawrence in Hrabušice (Káposztafalva, around 1510 – 1520).

Occasionally – as in the tormenting of Saint Agatha from Sásová (Zólyomszászfalva/ Sachsendorf (around 1440) – the original form of the scene was substantially changed to stress the individual form of martyrdom. The shearing of Agatha's breasts is extremely cruel example (Figure 7). The unusual upside-down position of her body might slightly remember the crucifixion of St. Peter in our region visualized on the retable in Levoča (Lőcse / Leutschau, before 1500).

The scene where Saint Lawrence was roasted on gridiron (on the retable from Hrabušice / Káposztafalva, around 1510 – 1520) is one more example of very individualized form of torment. Since the gridiron as the instrument of torture was used only in the connection with this saint, it acquired a specific function as a sign and became an individual attribute in many iconic images of the saint.

One more popular, not individual way of torture was boiling in a cauldron. The basic visual structure of the scene with a saint in the middle, praying calmly in a pot over a fire was independent from the kind of liquids in which the saint was boiled; oil, lead or water, the scene was always similar. There are two such scenes to be found in the church of Saint James Levoča / Lőcse/ Leutschau: the painting in the vita of Saint Dorothea (around 1400) and the carving on the main altar retable of the martyrdom of Saint John the Evangelist, who according to legend was cooked in boiling hot oil and survived (1508–1517). One of the central points of such scenes was the manifestation of the ability of the saint to preserve the piece of mind in spite of the cruel attack on his body. Typically, the legends explain this not by the heroism of the saintly character, but by Divine grace, causing a miracle. This extraordinary event either prevented any pain or at least saved the body from injury or destruction. The idea was developed by Tertullian, promising that the body will not suffer during the torture, if the mind is in Heaven (*Ad martyras* II, 10).

In the image of Saint Margaret from Mlynica (Malompatak/ Mühlenbach, around 1515–1520), a supernatural consolation was symbolized by a dove of the Holy Spirit flying down to the saint (Figure 8). One more miracle of a different type is represented in the same image – the stones are falling down on her tormentors. This is a punitive miracle aimed at the persecutors of the saint. Similar miraculous punishment was depicted in the life of Saint George in Spišská Sobota (Mons Sancti Georgii / Szepesszombat/ Georgenberg, 1516). The scene marks the triumphal end of the cycle as a manifestation of the final victory of heavenly justice over the temporary earthly justice or rather injustice.

One more type of miracle has helped a saint by the destruction of the torture instruments. This is the case of wheels, on which Saint Catharine ought to be tormented (depicted on the retable from Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau, 1469, and the one from Turany, before 1500). Again, similar scene occurs in the life of Saint George, e.g. on his retable in Spišská Sobota (Mons Sancti Georgii / Georgenberg / Szepesszombat, 1516).

These corrections of the human "justice" by a miraculous intervention manifested higher, divine, universal or cosmic dimensions of justice. This phenomenon leads to more substantial questions about the theory of justice, on which the legends were based. To open such questions, one more group of iconographical evidence should be briefly considered: the scenes, in which the saints successfully intervened in the name of justice. These scenes sharply contrast with the ones, in which a saint became a victim of injustice.

* * *

The earthly life of many saints was brought to its end by a decapitation. Historically, Saint Paul was among the first followers of Christ executed in this way, reserved for citizens of Roman Empire. In the classical Roman perspective, the beheading as privileged way of execution contrasted with a crucifixion, which was more painful and perceived as humiliating, too. The example of Saint Paul was followed by many other martyrs in the centuries to come. The paintings from our region depicted not only the beheading of Saint Paul (Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau, before 1500), but the decapitation of Saint Catherine (Turany, before 1500), Saint Barbara, (Banská Bystrica / Besztercebánya / Neusohl, after 1500; Jazernica / Márkfalva, 1517), Saint James (Jakub / Szentjakabfalva, around 1500, today in Ostrihom/ Esztergom, Christian Museum).

In case of Saint Dorothea (Levoča/ Lőcse/ Leutschau, around 1400), a miracle happened during such an execution. The saint was mocked on her way by a scribe Theophilus, who asked her to send him roses from the garden of her heavenly bridegroom. After the execution, a boy appeared, bringing a basket with roses, in February 303. Subsequently, Theophilus was converted to Christianity and executed, too. The miracle was used to persuade one more person, not to save the young saint for a life on this planet.

It is strange that the miracles caused by saints could sometimes prevent precisely beheading. The story about Saint Nicolaus saving the three innocent soldiers or boys from decapitation was very popular in the later Middle Ages. It was featured on the altar retable from Kremnica (Körmöczbánya / Kremnitz, around 1476, today in Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery) and the one in Veľká Lomnica (Kakaslomnic / Lomnitz, after 1500). It is a paradox, that a bishop saint was able to prevent the decapitation of not saintly persons, while God "allowed" a similar execution of his saintly fellows. This paradox is only explainable by the Christian explanation of martyrdom as the best end to earthly life.

The pictorial propaganda of extraordinary abilities of the saintly bishop served other purposes. One story narrated how Saint Nicolaus restituted stolen property, which had previously been put under the patronage of his statue (the retables of Saint Nicholas from Kremnica/ Körmöczbánya/ Kremnitz, around 1476, today in Budapest, MNG; Veľká Lomnica/ Kakaslomnic/ Gross-Lomnitz, around 1500; Prešov/ Eperjes/ Preschau, around 1500). In Kremnica, he was even shown as intervening after a trial, where a cheater won by seemingly returning the borrowed money.

The restitution of justice was not something exclusive to this 4th century bishop, who was not martyred. Even James the Greater, apostle of Christ and martyr, sentenced and executed for his belief was believed to have corrected the deformed human justice in the case of a pilgrim unjustly executed on his way to the grave of James in Santiago da Compostella. But he was – similar to Christ, who felt abandoned by his Father several times during the passion – not able to help himself in his trial. These events were depicted on the retable of Saint James from Jakub (Szentjakabfalva, around 1500, today in Ostrihom/ Esztergom, Christian Museum). The contrasting way of intervening into the execution of justice is understandable only when taking into account the religious explanation.

One more answer to the hard question of why the miracles functioned in the stories of martyrs in such a paradoxical way is based on the theory of narration (see Lewis 2006). The torture and execution could not be prevented, because this would negate the very substance and the

most important historical functions of the whole story. The narratives about suffering heroes of faith were deeply needed in mediaeval society. The saints were not able to help themselves in their own case, because they had to suffer and to die to become saints. They had to lose their earthly life for in eternal life. That is why the day of their martyrdom was celebrated as their birthday *(dies natalis)*. The belief in the extremely unpleasant price paid for an eternal life offered an effective psychological help for people whose medical, social and economical problems were not solvable by secular methods of that time.

* * *

The functions of the stories of martyrs in mediaeval society were very complex. At least since the researches of Michel Foucault, deep links between the martyrdom and rituals of penance in Christian society are known. Martyrdom manifested the will of an individual to accept his or her own death, to reject his or her self, to leave his or her past identity. The man chooses death rather than offending or leaving the belief. This radical, even paradoxical example of self-manipulation is unthinkable without a radical understanding of reality, in which the spiritual world possesses greater authority and influence than the physical reality of the world, including the physical reality of human body. In the trials of the martyrs, the human body was sentenced and declared unimportant not only by the judge, but by the martyr, prepared to give up the physical life of their own body in favour of a supernatural perspective. This radical structure of thinking, reflected in the images of the martyrs, played very important role not only for the self-reflection of a mediaeval individual, but also for the ways in which the social order was organized. The cruelty of the images indirectly supported mediaeval ways of executing human justice in this world, too.

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Georges Martyn

Inspiring Images for Judges

Late Medieval Court Room Decorations in the Southern Netherlands

I. Places of justice: from a tree to a court hall

Throughout the Middle Ages, artistic creation was first and foremost inspired by religion and ordered by ecclesiastical institutions. Secularization of art has been, on the one hand, a product of the growing wealth of late medieval noblemen and rich merchants and bankers. On the other hand, however, also the 'booming' civil institutions, responsible for administration and justice, became important commissioners of works of art. In this article, a short, thematic and chronological, overview is given of the different representations of the idea of justice, as these were painted for the city and central magistrates of the Low Countries in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.[1] It will be made clear that the religious influences on these images still were enormous, a fact that cannot surprise anyone studying the 'Christian' Middle Ages.

We are very poorly informed on the places and rituals of administering justice in the first centuries of our era in what today is Belgium and the Netherlands. Just a few remarks are given by Romans, like Caesar and Tacitus. They describe that the local old and wise men gathered on the highest hill in the neighbourhood, near a spring or under a huge tree, whenever having to decide important matters. The 'holy' character of these places is obvious. For a community worshiping lightning and thunder, especially the strength of an age old tree is an important symbol. While generation after generation old fathers die and new sons are born, while seasons come and go and human constructions get fit but fall again to pieces, the 'divine' tree always keeps on standing upright, the 'divine' spring keeps on flowing... Legal anthropologists inform us on the role (gatherings under) big trees still play today in many less developed regions. No wonder the South African Constitutional Court chose the tree for its institutional logo.[2] And also the French holy king, Louis IX, has been depicted commonly rendering justice, seated under a tree (see also Jacob 1994, 40–44).[3]

Once Christianised, the local decision makers moved to the church, or at least to the porch or entrance hall of the house of God. And after having judged here for centuries, eventually, the higher courts of justice and the aldermen in the prosperous towns of the late Middle Ages (i.e. not earlier than the late thirteenth century[4]), carried out their functions in courtrooms and town halls. At least, administrative acts were done and judicial deliberations were held inside the buildings. In many towns though, until the end of the ancient regime, the actual condemnations, especially in criminal matters, continued to be pronounced outdours. A very similar public aspect of criminal justice was that, in witch trials for instance, confessions after (secret) torture had to be repeated at day time in the open, so that God could see it all from heaven.

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1 For a more elaborate version, see Martyn 2006b.

2 <www.constitutionalcourt.org.za>

3 One can admire a statue still today in the French Court of Cassation (available via Google Images 'Saint Louis Cassation').

4 Rivière (1990) states that there are no '*tableaux de justice*' before 1400. Panel painting is indeed a tradition that only starts around that time, but there certainly existed Last Judgements painted on the walls before!

But God was not only outside! Most town halls had a chapel, and even in the other rooms God and his saints were all around. The walls of the aldermen's chambers were decorated with inspiring representations, at first all religious themes. Only by the end of the fifteenth century were secular stories told by these decorations.

II. Painted *exempla iustitiae*

The subject of the visual representation of good justice in the late medieval Low Countries already has been studied extensively by at least one Flemish researcher, an art historian (De Ridder 1989), and has been treated in a more succinct but international comparison by several foreign scholars (Jacob 1994, Meier 1996, Pleister and Schild 1988, Schild 1995, Sellert 1993, Simon 1948).

What is an '*exemplum iustitiae*' or 'example of justice'? As the name already points out, it is, firstly, all about learning, about showing how things should be, about giving examples, not only good examples to be inspired by, but also examples of bad or unjust judicial decisions, warning the spectators not to follow these. They are '*Tendenzbilde*' (Fehr 1923, 23). The *exempla* always concern, secondly, judicial decisions. Although they date from an era in which separation of powers was unknown and the same institutions were at the same time judges and administrators, good or bad administration is not the depicted subject, neither was law making. What is focused on, is the deciding of individual cases. A third and most important element is that a painted *exemplum* tells a story. It is not a symbol of justice (the sword, the balance...) nor an allegoric person (Lady Justice, the Good King, Saint Yves...) we are confronted with, but a narrative, giving a recital of a series of events, featuring several actors. Just like in comics today, we often discover various scenes in one and the same painting. Finally, this kind of representation is only to be considered a judicial example if commissioned by an institution with judiciary power in order to be hung in or around its official building, used for the administration of justice. Thus, we choose for a rather narrow signification, not enclosing allegories, symbols, heraldry, etc.

Whereas these *exempla* as a form of art-work is a new phenomenon in the late Middle Ages, the represented stories themselves are old. *Exempla*, not only in judicial, but more general in political and moral matters, are a literary type with a long tradition. Cicero for instance used them in his rhetorical works. And in the Middle Ages anthologies and alphabetical lists of them were made. Lots of examples were cited in many prince's mirrors *(Miroirs des princes, Fürstenspiegel).*

It is obvious that not earlier than the thirteenth to fourteenth century painted *exempla iustitiae* can be found in the Southern Netherlands. It is only at that moment that the magistrates of the upcoming towns, enjoying the wealth of the boosting economy and international trade, start to construct stone buildings for their administration.[5] In the fifteenth century, building and decorating the city hall becomes tradition and is even an element of intercity competition. Jan Matthijssen, author of the *Rechtsboek van Den Briel*, a description of the local customary law of the small town Den Briel (today in The Netherlands) in the beginning of the fifteenth century, states: "*...die raetcamer sal binnen suverlic gemaect wesen ende besait van poortraturen ende bescreven mit goeden ouden wyser leeren, dairmen verder wijsheit ende vroetscip uut verstaen sal moghen*".[6] From this citation we may conclude that having the town hall decorated with examples was a tradition. When in 1588, the

[5] The aldermen of Aalst moved into a stone house in 1225 (<http://www.belgiumview.com/belgiumview/tl1/view0000817.php4>), those of Malines in the beginning of the fourteenth century (<http://inventaris.vioe.be/dibe/relict/212715>). The first stone of the Bruges city magistrate's house was laid in 1376 (<http://www.brugge.be/internet/nl/musea/bruggemuseum/stadhuis/index.htm>).

[6] "The deliberation room must be clean and decorated with portraits and old wise lessons, to be inspired by with wisdom and knowledge".

Ghent aldermen of the Keure[7] ordered a Last Judgement, the contract stipulated that the picture was meant to hang above the fire place of the aldermen "*naer oude costume*", i.e. according to the old custom.

Some other historical coincidences help declare the boom of painted examples in the fifteenth century. With the marriage of Margret of Male, daughter of the last Flemish count, and Philip the Bold, Flanders, and in the following decades the rest of the Netherlands, entered the Burgundian era. Under the dukes of Burgundy the arts took a high flight, and the institutions were centralised and modernised. In every territory (Flanders, Brabant, Namur, Holland…) councils of justice were established and in 1473 an overall supreme court, the *Parlement*, later Great Council, of Malines was erected. It was also around this time that artistic techniques improved. The 'Flemish Primitives' became internationally known for the introduction of oil painting on panel, for modernising the iconology and for putting perspective in their painted scenes.

Looking at the list of *exempla* made by these (and later) artists, one can easily subdivide them in three generations. First of all, there is the representation of the Last Judgment. A second category is formed by examples from the Holy Bible. Finally, there are different stories of historical, and even legendary, origin.

III. The Last Judgment

If we look at the quantity, it is beyond any doubt that the most important, and probably also historically speaking the first, example is the Last Judgment (Smits 1933, 220–225; Tröscher 1939). It is clearly an example of good justice. According to the apocalyptic gospel of Saint John, on the last day God will judge the resurrected, let the good enter heaven and send the bad to hell. Following the text, most representations of the final judgment show Jesus as the divine judge, most often sitting on a rainbow, flanked by his mother Mary and John the Baptist. Very often we also see the twelve apostles and the archangel Michael, weighing the souls of the resurrected. Near the head of Jesus we find the lily of charity and the sword of justice.

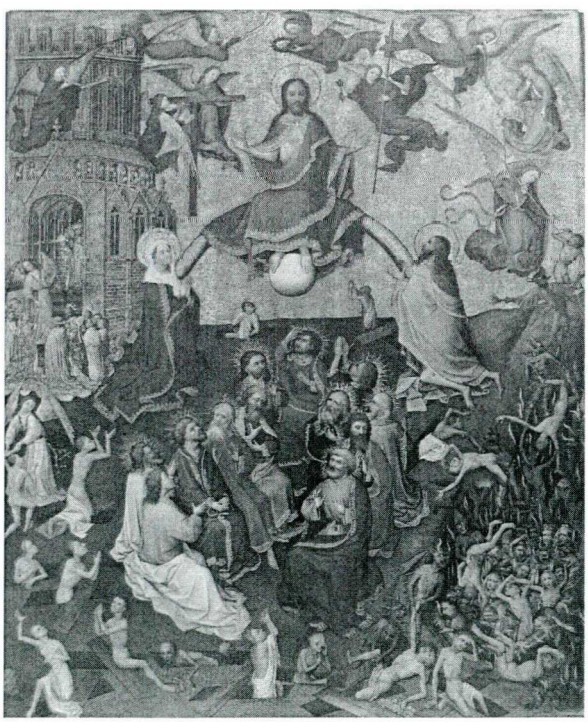

Figure 1: Last Judgment by Lieven van den Clite

Nothing changed in the (religious) iconology of the Last Judgment, when it was ordered for judicial (temporal) purposes, the theme itself being widespread since centuries. We can find the same iconology in mini-

[7] The city of Ghent had two benches, the aldermen of the Keure, dealing with criminal justice and most administrative matters, and those "*van Ghedeele*", competent for pupils and successions.

atures in medieval manuscripts, in stained glass in gothic cathedrals, and it was especially popular in church porches. This last fact (Jacob 1994, 46) explains to a great extent the importance of Last Judgments in the court buildings. The Last Judgement being a traditional carving of the church porches where judges sat in judgment[8], the town magistrates already had them, so to speak, 'in their court room' even before they moved into stone buildings.

The fifteenth century Flemish Primitives left us some splendid panels of the Last Judgment. Famous are those of Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling, the first one painted for the funerary chapel of Nicholas Rolin, chancellor of the Burgundian duke (now in Beaune, France), the latter one for the grave of the Italian bankers Tani and Tanagli (now in Gdansk, Poland). In these cases the representation of the Last Judgment had clearly a religious sense. The oldest still conserved panel, with certainty made to be hung in the secular part (not in the chapel) of a magistrate's building, was painted in 1413. Lieven van den Clite (Figure 1) painted it for a room of the Council of Flanders, established in the Flemish count's castle in Ghent in 1406. But even a couple of decades earlier the Bruges town magistrate must have had a Last Judgment, made by a painter called Coene (1388). And there were Last Judgment paintings in Brussels, Ghent, Leuven and many other towns. Our list[9] of fifteenth and sixteenth century representations of the

[8] In Valencia (Spain), still today the customary *Tribunal de las aguas* hears cases in one of the porches of the cathedral (<http://www.tribunaldelasaguas.com>).

[9] The town hall of Brussels had a Last Judgment, by an unknown artist, before 1422, but it burned in 1695, following the bombing of the city by Louis XIV. In 1456 a Last Judgment is painted by Willem Westvalinc for the magistrate of Geraardsbergen. The original was lost, but a copy of 1525 still exists *in situ*. In 1468 a Last Judgment was made by Dirk Bouts for Leuven. The order was given May 20th 1468 and the painting was restored in 1543. Although in the seventeenth century it was still in place, all traces were lost since. In 1475 a Last Judgment was made by Gilbert Wallinc for the "Vrije" of Bruges (the 'Liberty' or 'Free' of Bruges was, as an important administrative district, together with the towns of Bruges, Ghent and Ypres, one of the 'Four Members', i.e the representative states, of the Flemish county). Jan van Brussel painted a Last Judgment for the Maastricht *Dinghuis* in 1475–76. In 1481 a (now lost) Last Judgment was made by Jan van Battel in the Malines town hall (where also the Great Council of Malines resided). In the years 1487–88, Gerard David painted one for the town magistrate of Bruges. Jan Provoost delivered a Last Judgment in Mons in 1494. In 1496–98 Cornelis van der Goes worked for the aldermen of the Keure of Ghent (the painting disappeared in 1566). Around 1504, the Last Judgment with Philip the Fair, we will comment on further, was made by the so-called Master of the History of Saint Joseph, for the town hall of Zierikzee. It is today conserved in the Brussels museum. In 1525, the Last Judgment of Geraardsbergen, originally from Willem Westvalinc, was copied by Adriaan Moreels and Pieter van Boven. In the same year Jan Provoost painted a representation of the Last Judgment for the Bruges town magistrate, to be hung "*in scepencamere*". In the frame one can read a Latin text, addressed to the judges: "*videte quid faciatis no(n) eni(m) ho(min)is exercetis iudiciu(m) sed D(omi)ni parati*". September 23th 1525 a new order for a Last Judgment is given by the magistrate of the Liberty of Bruges. In 1526 a Last Judgment is painted by Frans Sanders for the palace of the Great Council of Malines. In stead of the twelve apostles, we see the 24 old men of the Apocalypse. The archangel is holding the text "*iudicium time*" and at the bottom stands some kind of devil, threatening with a flash the members of the council, who are reflected in a convex mirror. In 1550 Peter Pourbus 'rectifies' the already mentioned Last Judgment of Provoost. And in 1551 the same Pourbus paints the Last Judgment for the Liberty of Bruges, now in the Groeningemuseum of the same town. Also in the 1550's a Last Judgment is realised by Pieter Huys for the town hall of Furnes (Veurne). It is still *in situ*. For a Last Judgment, dated 1565, by Frans Floris De Vriendt, it is not clear for which town it was made. An inscription clearly calls upon the duty to give just sentences. It contains some lines that were taken from the *Liber Sapientiae Salomonis*, but the phrases are a little bit changed, in order to put the words *iustitia* (in stead of *iusta*) and *iudicare* (in stead of *iustificare*), what certainly refers to the judicial function the panel might have had. In 1576 two paintings of the Last Judgment are made by Jacob van den Coornhuuse for the *Proosdij* (deanery) of Saint-Donate, an independent enclave in Bruges, one for the (public) "*vierschare*" and one for the 'chamber'. Interesting here is that we read in the accounts that the Last Judgment was to be hung in the place where until that moment a painting of the Epiphany used to hang. In 1588 Gaspard

Last Judgment ordered by judicial institutions is certainly not exhaustive. Some references to lost works were found just occasionally and almost all cited paintings were executed on panel, by famous artists, paid by wealthy magistrates. Very probably many representations painted directly onto the wall and by less known artists, disappeared together with the walls they were painted on. The Last Judgment is really the 'classic' judicial example in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[10] And the iconology of almost all of them is traditionally very similar. We point out just a few 'strange' examples.

The De Vriendt panel (1565) contains written text, directly referring to the task of the judges. It proves explicitly what the function of this and all other painted examples was: it is all about exhorting the members of the court, much more than it is about appealing to the audience or the parties in the court room. In the same sense must be read the Latin words in the frame of the Provoost panel (1525). That the example is directed to the judges, is finally best made clear by the Maastricht panel (1475). In this case the actual Last Judgment is represented in the upper register. In the lower one we see a bench at the left hand side and two parties, a rich and a poor one, appearing before it. A devil is whispering in the ears of the aldermen. A written text on the panel explains that the figure from hell tries to convince the bench to give a good sentence in favour of the rich party so that they will become rich themselves. An angel, probably the archangel Michael, at the right hand side warns that corrupt judges will go to hell, and that only the just ones will enter heaven.

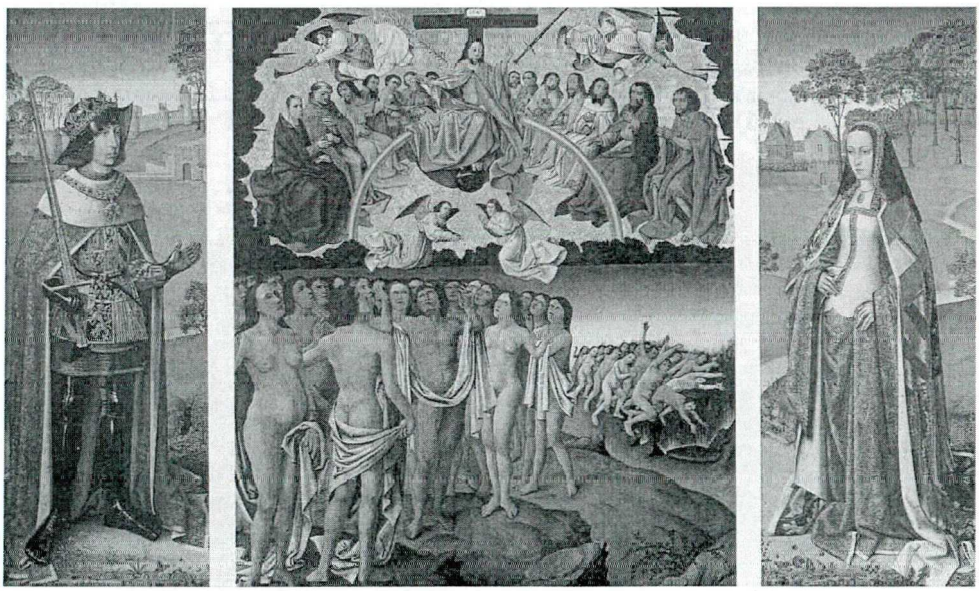

Figure 2: Last Judgment of Zierikzee (with Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile)

Heuvick painted a Last Judgment for the magistrate of Oudenaarde. And in the same year a representation of the Judgment is realised by Rafael Cocxie for the Ghent aldermen of the *Keure*, to hang above the fire place of the aldermen "*naer oude costume*", as was mentioned above. We are also documented on this work of art by a procedure between the magistrate of Ghent and the painter on the price of the painting, which was decided by the Council of Flanders on the 12th of July 1597.

[10] And it continued to be ordered by town magistrates in the seventeenth century, e.g. the one painted by Jacob Jordaens for the town hall of Veurne, today in the *Musée du Louvre* (Paris).

A very interesting evolution in the representation of the Last Judgment is finally illustrated in a triptych made for the town hall of Zierikzee, but now conserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels (Figure 2). It dates from around 1505 and is attributed to the so called Master of the Joseph Legend, who worked in Brussels. The central panel is a Last Judgment of the 'classical' type, but the two wings deserve our special attention. On the one hand we see Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Netherlands, in full armour, and on the other his wife, Juana of Castile or 'Joan the Mad'. Special to remark is the uplifted sword in Philip's right hand. It is the sword of justice, a symbol no longer exclusively reserved for the divine judge (like in the Provoost panel, where it is not pointed at the mouth of Christ, but where it is held by Jesus himself), but also for the secular sovereign. Only one generation later, the Emperor Charles V is represented exactly in the same way, holding the sword of justice in his hand. He is standing on the mantelpiece of the chimney of the aldermen of the Liberty of Bruges (still *in situ*), exactly in the place where a Last Judgment – according to the old custom – should be hung. The judgment itself disappeared, but the king became an allegoric figure of justice to replace it. How could 'absolutism' better be represented? The tradition of having the portrait of the king in the court room still stands today in Belgium, although the monarch, in a state with separation of powers, has become the head of the executive power, not longer having the right to interfere in judicial matters.[11]

As Jacob already pointed out, the tradition of hanging a Last Judgment in the courtrooms is common to Germany and the Low Countries and makes a difference with France, where the representation of the crucified Christ is more important (Jacob 1994, 48–64). The Netherlands lying on the commercial crossroads between Germany and France, it would be strange not to find influences of both traditions here. Indeed, we do find them. A wall painting in the palace of the Great Council of Malines (the old city hall), dated around 1383–1384, represents the crucifixion, with Mary and John standing beside. Just like the king's portrait continued to cover the walls of the Belgian courtrooms, also the crosses were not removed before the 1990s, when the Minister of Justice decided that crosses, unless they had an intrinsic cultural or artistic value, were not at their right place in court.

The apocalyptic Last Judgments themselves disappeared too. They were criticised and removed during the religious wars and the iconoclastic violence of the second half of the sixteenth century, but in most places replaced immediately afterwards and kept there during the Counter-Reformation. It is not quite clear why new orders ceased after 1600. Maybe there was no need to replace the existing panels, maybe secular justice lost its mystical or even divine character, maybe justice became to much a task for purely rational lay men, maybe the medieval examples were at last interpreted as old fashioned and overruled by the new allegoric representation of justice by Lady Justice. This Justitia, although, inherited the sword of justice and the balance, formerly in the hands of the archangel Michael. Both also became general and independent symbols of justice.

IV. Other biblical examples

The book of revelation is decisive for the representation of the Last Judgment, but the Bible has more inspiring examples of good justice. The judgment of Solomon (Martyn 2010), king of Israel, relates the wisdom of the monarch, deciding the case of two women appearing before him with a living and a dead child, claiming both of them to be the mother of the first one. When the king orders the executioner to split the child and to give one half to each woman, one mother relinquishes her claim. Preferring to let her child live with another family, rather than having it killed, this

[11] Article 162 of the Constitution of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815) said: "*La justice est rendue au nom du roi.*" No such article in the Belgian Constitution of 1831...

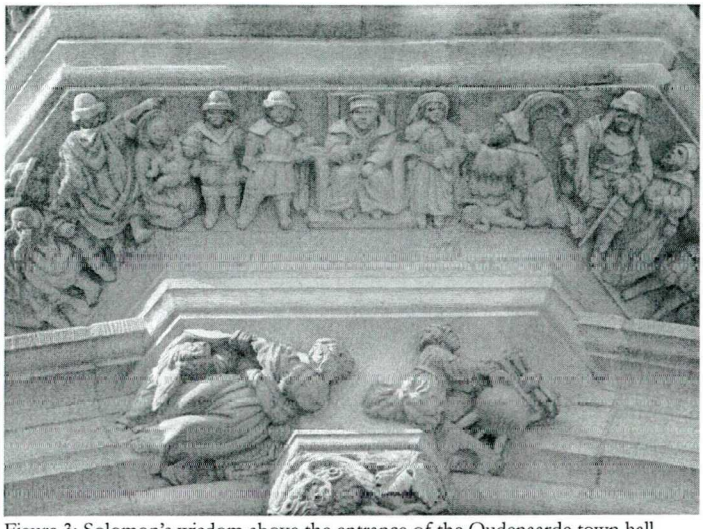

Figure 3: Solomon's wisdom above the entrance of the Oudenaarde town hall

woman, Solomon decides, should take the child home as her own. The example of Solomon's decision is widespread in the western world. The Jewish king became a classic figure in the *Fürstenspiegel.* As a judicial example we do not know of any representations from the fifteenth century, and some dating from the sixteenth century or actually not 'painted' but 'sculptured' examples. In 1536 a judgment of Solomon is carved, under supervision of architect Hendrik van Pede, above the entrance of the Oudenaarde town hall (De Ridder 1989, 89–90; Figure 3). That this was nothing new to do, is attested by a painting by Hans Memling. In his Panorama with the Passion (dated around 1470), Jesus is brought to Pilate. The judge's throne stands in a porch, with, above the bench, the sculpted figures of Solomon's judgment. At least two representations decorated the Brussels town hall, that was bombed in 1695. Michiel (I) Cocxie (1499–1592) painted one in the sixteenth century and Peter Paul Rubens delivered another one around 1622. Antwerp, another Brabant city, received its Solomon in 1583. The painting by Frans Floris De Vriendt (now in the Antwerp Museum of Fine Arts), had been executed between 1547 and 1556, but it was donated to the town by Jan van Asseliers, the town *audiëncier* (an officer with financial functions), some three decades later. In 1622 a Solomon's judgment was painted by Gaspar de Crayer for the magistrate of the Ghent Oudburg (Martyn 2010).

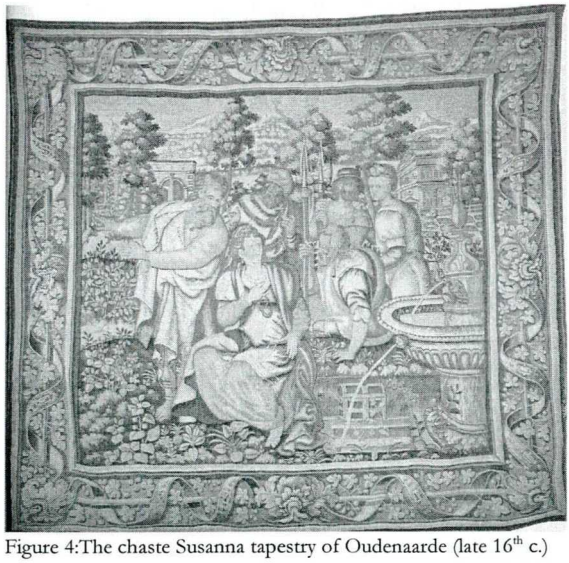

Figure 4:The chaste Susanna tapestry of Oudenaarde (late 16th c.)

Another classical biblical example is the well-known story of the chaste Susanna (Kocher 1985). Taking a bath in her garden, two lusty elders, judges, see her and demand her favours. When she cries for help, the old men tell her to calm down and threaten her to accuse her of infidelity. And so they do, saying they saw her with a young man under a tree. After Susanna is sentenced to death, Daniel stops the executors and suggests the elders to be interrogated separately. They are asked to show the tree under which they had spied Susanna with her lover. The elders indicating different trees, Susanna is justified. Her accusers are stoned. The story is more than just a moral example on the impartial wisdom of each judge, it contains also a very concrete rule to hear witnesses and parties separately and confront them with specific details. In 1530 an alabaster representation of Daniel's justice is fixed to the mantelpiece of the aldermen of the Liberty of Bruges. The story is told in four scenes, each of them containing a short citation from the Bible, referring to the act of judging. The Oudenaarde town magistrate had a tapestry of the chaste Susanna around 1600 (Figure 4).

Both Solomon's wisdom and the chaste Susanna became very popular examples of justice in the Netherlands. Pretty soon, however, they were accompanied by non-biblical ones.

V. Historical and legendary examples

One of the earliest examples of this 'third generation' was painted in 1439 by Rogier van der Weyden, when he realised the enormous panels for the 'Golden Chamber' of the Brussels town hall. They represented actually two *exempla:* the justice of Emperor Trajanus and Pope Gregory on the one hand and the justice of duke Herkinbald on the other (Jacob 1994, 66–70). The story of Trajanus (53–117) was described by his biographer Paul Waernefrid (around 739–800) and repeated by John of Salisbury (around 1115–1180). A young man was trampled down by the horse of a roman soldier. Asked for justice by the mother, a widow, the Emperor stopped his troops and immediately sentenced his own soldier to death. Five centuries later, the emperor's skull is excavated and brought to Pope Gregory the Great (around 540–604). It has the tongue totally intact, which is interpreted as a divine sign that the judicial decision of the highest magistrate, although very severe, was a just one. Van der Weyden 'told' the story in two panels, each of them containing two scenes. This 2x2-iconology was repeated by several other *exempla*, as we shall see. Below the painting, texts explained explicitly what was represented. They informed the spectator also on the second *example*, telling about the legendary figure of Herkinbald de Burban. The story stems from the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach (around 1180–around 1240) and it was recapitulated by the Flemish Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré (1201–around 1270) in his *Book of the Bees.* According to the legend, Herkinbald beheaded his nephew, because he had violated a woman. When the duke is almost dying, the bishop refuses him the Holy Communion for not having confessed this 'sin'. That the execution was not a sin, however, but a just condemnation, is revealed by divine intervention. Without any help, the host flies from the ciborium into Herkinbald's mouth. Here again, some kind of titles, a brief explanation accompanying the illustration, explicitly tell the story. Although the original paintings were burned during the 1695 bombings of Brussels by Louis XIV, we are informed of their splendour by the written testimonies of historians and travellers, and because a copy – or at least a highly inspired version – was woven in a tapestry (around 1450), commanded by Giorgio di Saluzzo, bishop of Lausanne and secular prince, to be hung in his court. The tapestry is now conserved in the Berner *Historisches Museum.*

A second great exemplary judgment is made some three decades later by Dirk Bouts. Around 1475[12] he created the two panels (four scenes) of the justice of emperor Otto III for the newly-

[12] Bouts died in 1475, and his pupils finalised the work.

built (1459) town hall of Leuven (Verhaegen 1958). Very probably, the aldermen were inspired by their colleagues in Brussels. Both cities are situated only some thirty kilometres from each other and were competing around that time to be the first town of the Duchy of Brabant. This work of art is very well documented, as the original contract is still in the archives. The town magistrate gave the order to create an image of justice on the 20th of May 1468 and stipulated that the artist should be advised by Janne van Haeght, professor of theology at the local university, a fact that once again underlines the close relationship between religion and civil justice.

The original story about Otto is taken from the *Pantheon*, the world history by the German chronicler Godfred, bishop of Viterbo (around 1120–1191). The third German emperor with this name really existed, but the example about his justice is legendary. Whereas under the van der Weyden paintings in Brussels Latin texts explained the stories of Trajanus and Herkinbald, in Leuven copper plates gave comments in Dutch on what was shown. The emperor's wife had – falsely!, as later would become clear – accused (first scene) an officer of trying to seduce her, which lead to his beheading (second scene). The wife of the victim of this wrong condemnation however still managed to prove that her husband was not guilty. In the third scene of the painting she is depicted with her man's head in her arm, holding a glowing iron in her hands. By swearing the oath and withstanding the irrational proof of the hot iron, it becomes clear that the empress herself is guilty of making a false accusation. In the fourth and final scene we see her burning at the stake.

Both close family relations and the idea of impartiality are also the subject of the next example. Probably the most famous, or at least abhorring, *exemplum iustitiae* one can admire in a Flemish museum (the Bruges *Groeningemuseum*), is the Judgment of Cambyses, painted by Gerard David (Van der Velden 1995). Just like the paintings by Bouts and van der Weyden, it consists of two panels, each containing two scenes. Although the story of Persian king Cambyses was originally told by Herodotus (fifth century B.C.), the painted story refers more to the version by Valerius Maximus in his *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (first century), as it was known in Western Europe in the Middle Ages. If we look at the four scenes, we can easily 'read' the narrative. In the first one, someone calls at the door of judge Sisamnes and gives him money. For this corrupt dealing – Cambyses expresses his decision by counting on his fingers –, the King decides that Sisamnes can no longer be a judge and he condemns him to be skinned. The skinning is depicted in the third scene. Finally, in the last scene, we see a new judge, Otanes, son of Sisamnes. He is sitting on the bench, which is now covered with his father's skin. Sitting on his father's skin, he is reminded not to be corrupt himself. The *exemplum* was commanded by the municipal magistrate of Bruges (in the background one can recognise some city buildings) and was painted in 1498. Radiographic analyses have shown that the faces of the public depicted in the two panels were changed; this could prove that these were portraits of the aldermen, as the magistrate was changed in 1497. A judgment of Cambyses by Antoon Claeissens at the end of the sixteenth century certainly contains the portraits of that time.

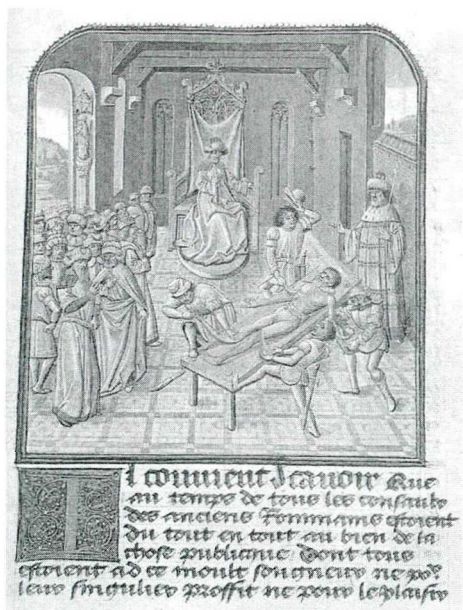

Figure 5: Judgment of Cambyses (Brussels, Royal Library, MS 9287–88, f° 132).

In that same year of 1498, a representation of the story of Cambyses was also bought by the city magistrate of Mons and in the sixteenth century a copy of the David panels was put in the aldermen's chamber of the Liberty of Bruges (De Ridder, 1989, 61–62). The example is also on one side of two panels of a triptych painted by Jean Le Saive (I) in 1597 for the city of Namur. On the other side are double portraits, each of four city aldermen. Peter Paul Rubens also painted the Cambyses (together with the Solomon) judgment for the *vierschaar* (the public room where criminal matters were heard) of the Brussels town hall around 1622. The work was unfortunately destroyed. So, the representation of the Cambyses judgment was popular, and not only in the stone town halls. Clearly related to the painting of David is a miniature by Loyset Liédet, dated shortly after 1461 and made in Bruges, inserted in *La Salle*, a didactic work by Antoine de la Sale, written for the sons of Louis of Luxemburg (Figure 5). The book describes an allegoric building, each room containing scenes and *exempla* of virtues and vices. That David had been inspired by this miniature is made very clear by the detail of the executioner with a knife between his teeth.

VI. Common features of the *exempla iustitiae*

As remarked above, the painted examples for the decoration of the town halls are, as far as their content and iconology are concerned, based on medieval traditions. Predecessors are found in medieval miniatures and gothic buildings. Just like these manuscripts and buildings, they have a very religious character. The Last Judgment is of course an ecclesiastical representation as such, but divine intervention is also displayed in the other examples: Daniel falsifying the first judgment by godly inspiration, Holy Gregory finding the skull with the well-preserved tongue of Trajanus, the host flying all by itself into the mouth of Herkinbald, etc. Divine intervention appears to be crucial. It helps explain why in the Leuven panel by Bouts the irrational ordeal, although prohibited for more than two centuries, was still depicted in the fifteenth century. It seems that the judges, the councillors of the provincial councils as well as the aldermen in the towns, did not manage to leave behind the mystic inspiration they experienced in the church porches or under the high tree.

In the meantime this illustrates the strong influence of the church on secular administration and justice. No wonder then, that when the iconoclasts revolted against the Catholic church in the second half of the sixteenth century, the religiously decorated town buildings suffered too. The Last Judgment by Cornelis van der Goes in the aldermen's chamber of Ghent was removed in 1566, during the first wave of iconoclasm. The Last Judgment of van den Clite was taken from the Council of Flanders in 1578. The Last Judgment by van den Coornhuuse was also transferred from the Bruges deanery to a councillor's private house during the religious troubles. Once the iconoclasm was over, some examples were returned, others were substituted. The Last Judgment in Oudenaarde, for instance, was commanded by the town magistrate immediately after the Catholic restoration, as was also the case for the new Ghent painting of 1588.

As the names of these images of justice already indicate, they have an exemplary function (the same as the exemplary function severe punishments and public executions had in the penal law of the same period). As all of the painted *exempla* are about life and death, one might wonder if these images were only meant for judicial institutions with powers of high justice. Without being able to prove it, we think the link with high justice is rather a coincidence. All the works of art mentioned were ordered by town magistrates, all of whom had powers of high justice anyway, just like the councils of justice. But in the depicted scenes we also meet problems of low or middle justice. The procedure between a rich and a poor party, represented in the Last Judgment in Maastricht, for instance, seems to be a civil action, not a criminal one. The judgment of Solomon is on family law.

This brings us to another common feature of some of the examples, although it may be a risky hypothesis. Solomon's judgment is on a problem of motherhood, Herkinbald's nephew had violated a woman, in Otto's example the empress did not get into the adulterous relation she was looking for, in Susanna's case the chaste woman defended herself against an adulterous request... all problems in the sector of moral and religiously inspired rules, pertaining to the family law written in canonical books and judged by church institutions. It is precisely in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the secular courts and legislatures set foot upon this domain of law, driving back the Catholic Church. Can we see in the painting of these themes some kind of justification for this usurpation? Are the judges legitimating their own power in this iconographic way?

It is indeed to the judges, not – or at least not as much – to the broader public that the examples speak. A line under the Otto III panels of Dirk Bouts explicitly speaks of the mirror for judges (De Ridder 1989, 49, note 4). And we refer to the previously mentioned explicit texts in the Maastricht Last Judgment and in the frame of the Provoost one in Bruges. More precisely, the judges are reminded not to be corrupt, either by accepting money for a good sentence, or by being partial towards a member of their close family. This is particularly stressed by the fact that some stories are a little bit changed, in order to be still more exemplary. For example, in the judgment of Trajanus told by de Voragine in his Golden Legend, the murderer is the emperor's own son (Jacob 1994, 68).

Being exclusively addressed to the judges, this explains why many of the examples were not displayed in a room used for public hearing, but in the deliberation room, where the public normally was not allowed. Actually, public justice, especially criminal justice, was still an open-air activity. In smaller seigniories parties were heard and sentenced and penalties were executed outside, until the end of the ancient regime. But also in the richer cities, even when they had stone town halls available, criminal justice was still administered in the open air in the fifteenth century, in some cities probably till late in the sixteenth or even the seventeenth century. That Flemish judges in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries still sat in open porches is shown by the paintings of David, Memling, the Master of the Legend of Saint Joseph (see the shed behind Philip the Fair) and others. So, when the aldermen bought a judicial example, it was for their 'private' room(s) in the town hall, not for the place where criminal justice was done. In 1516, the Liberty of Bruges decided to use certain tax incomes for the construction of three rooms: "*een scepene camere ende een vertrec camere*" ("an aldermen chamber and a deliberation chamber") and a new "*vierschare*" (Devliegher 1987, 18–35). On the 16th of December 1525 the same aldermen decided to put tapestries in the room where parties were heard and they explicitly choose not to put figures in them. According to the records in the archives, the Last Judgment by Pieter Huys in Veurne was hung in the "*secrete*" chamber, David's Cambyses was painted for "*de scepencamere*" (the aldermen's room) and the 1599 painting in Oudenaarde was also "*hanghende in scepenen camere*". In the Dutch translation of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi* it is said that the four examples by Rogier van der Weyden hung in the room where the cases were deliberated, not where the parties were heard, nor where the sentences were pronounced.

That the moralising works of art were especially made for the judges and to be hung in their chambers means that most of them were commissioned and paid by the magistrate itself, with the income of the public offices and taxes. Almost all of the paintings mentioned in this article are nothing less than masterpieces of 'Belgian' art history. They were means of pomp and ostentation and were probably too expensive to be executed by second-rate artists. The Last Judgment by Pourbus for the Liberty of Bruges was paid with the income of the so-called prison-fund, the money raised by collecting penalties from prisoners who had transgressed the penitentiary rules. Only exceptionally, like the conviction of Jean de Corioulle by the Council of Namur in 1475,

was a condemned criminal ordered to pay for an exemplum.[13] The Last Judgment by van den Clite was partly paid for by the bailiff of Hulst and Axel, sentenced by the Council of Flanders on the 25th of August 1411, because of disobedience to the count (De Ridder 1989, 24).

VII. Conclusion

Painted, but also sculptured and woven, *exempla iustitiae* are a rising phenomenon in the fifteenth century, first in the wealthiest towns of Flanders and Brabant, later in the other parts of the Low Countries. The Last judgment is the most popular one. Its iconology is typically medieval. Inspiration was found in medieval manuscripts and gothic buildings. In the second half of the fifteenth century, other examples were painted, taken from the Bible as well as from national history and antiquity, clearly a humanistic influence. The very narrow bonds with the divine order, again typically medieval, was first criticised by the iconoclasts and finally faded away at the end of the ancient regime. Meanwhile the allegory of Lady Justice and symbols like the sword, the scales and the portrait of the king had taken over the role of representing justice.

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[13] It happened more often, at least since the fourteenth century, that, mostly together with the public penalty of the *amende honorable*, people were obliged to finance an inscription referring to their sentence, a bronze or silver hand, arm or head, stained glass or a religious sculpture for the parish church, wax figures, a pillory, etc.

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Péter Bokody

Justice, Love and Rape

Giotto's Allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* in the Arena Chapel, Padua*

The allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* in the Arena chapel, Padua, are important landmarks both in the history of realistic representation and political thought. The aim of the present study is evaluate the interference between these two tendencies: how visual innovations can contribute to the development of a new iconography and vice versa. Compared to the decoration of the Upper Church at Assisi, the decoration of the Arena chapel in Padua provides a relatively firm ground in terms of dating and attribution. Enrico Scrovegni purchased the land of the ancient Roman Arena on 6 February 1300. (Jacobus 2008, 350–353) The chapel was part of a larger project also comprising the building of a new palace for the Scrovegni family. (Jacobus 2008, 13–35) According to a now lost dedicatory inscription, the chapel was consecrated in 1303 "when March joined with Palm Sunday on the feast of the Virgin," referring presumably to 25 March 1303. (Jacobus 2008, 382–385 and Bellinati 2003, 32–36) Another consecration took place 25 March 1305, again on the feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin. (Jacobus 2008, 32–33 and Bellinati 2003, 36) The reason for the second consecration may have been the addition of the presbytery and the fresco decoration. (Bellinati 2003, 19) In his *Compilatio chronologica* written before 1313, Riccobaldo di Ferrara named Giotto as the painter of the Arena chapel in Padua: "Giotto is acknowledged to be the outstanding Florentine painter. The works executed by him in the churches of the Friars Minor at Assisi, Rimini and Padua and in the church of the Arena at Padua testify to what he was in his art." (Gnudi 1959, 28 and Smart 1971, 60) The authorship of Giotto is generally accepted with regard to the pictorial decoration, however, the extent to which he was involved in the planning of the building itself and to what extent he delegated the pictorial execution to his workshop is still debated. (Jacobus 2008, 101–152) In the row of allegories, *Justice* and its counterpart *Injustice* received the central place in the middle of the wall. Their importance is also highlighted by the fact that only they have additional narrative representations below each allegory. An important difference between them has been noted but remained hitherto unexplored: the image under *Justice* is displayed as a relief while the other image beneath *Injustice* is a "proper" spatial representation. (Pfeiffenberger 1966, II:2:12, II:2:18, V:31–32 and Frugoni 2008, 307) The present study focuses on this difference.

There is a complex visual relationship between the socle level and the other parts of the pictorial decoration in the Arena chapel. The lowest bands of the nave's two walls were covered with seven representations of the virtues and vices painted in monochrome gray with segments of pseudo-marble between them. The unified pseudo-stone effect of this monochrome socle level appears in strong contrast with the upper parts of the pictorial decoration containing the colored narrative paintings of the life of the Virgin and Christ. (Cole 1998, 369–375; Didi-Huberman 1995, 63–66; Krieger 1995, 54–67; Romano 2008, 213–249; Luisi 2008, 377–397) Giotto distinguished between two pictorial idioms: between the colored storytelling frescoes as windows onto the narrative and the monochrome gray images of the allegories appearing as sta-

* Earlier version of this paper was also presented at the Courtauld Institute of Art during the "Framing the Middle Ages" workshop in 2009, I benefited enormously from the discussion that followed. I also thank Laura Jacobus and Joseph Spooner for their help in interpreting the Latin inscription under the Allegory of Justice.

Figure 1: Allegory of Justice. Giotto di Bondone, 1303–1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Drawing: P. Selvatico. Engraving: A. Bernati.

Figure 2: Allegory of Injustice. Giotto di Bondone, 1303–1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Drawing: P. Selvatico. Engraving: A. Bernati.

tues and stepping, in fact, into the space of the viewer. The contrast functions on at least three levels. The polychrome is set against the monochrome gray, deep or absorbing space against tactile or aggressive space, *historia* against *imago*. As a result of this juxtaposition of these two artistic idioms, the pseudo-marble allegories of the socle zone present themselves as having a different claim to reality than the narrative paintings. (Wölfflin 1899, 56)

I believe that similar pictorial considerations marked the predellas of the allegory for *Justice* and *Injustice* in the Arena chapel. The southern wall was dedicated to the four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice) and the three theological virtues (Faith, Charity and Hope). What are usually called vices was allocated for the northern wall, although these do not correspond to the seven deadly sins, of which only *Anger* and *Envy* are present. (Pfeiffenberger 1966, IV:1:1 – IV:3:19; Pisani 2004, 61–97) The choice of vices was determined by the virtues, since they represent the counterparts to each other. This suggests that the guiding principal of the cycle was to show how the virtues overcame their counterparts and not to display a proper catalog of the seven deadly sins. (Pisani 2008, 181–183) This idea of the virtues overcoming vices was already generally stated in the dedicatory inscription of the first consecration: "SUCCESSIT VITIIS VIRTUS DIVINA PROPHANIS / CAELICA TERRENIS QUAE PRAESTANT GAUDIA VANIS / CUM LOCUS ISTE DEO SOLEMNI MORE DICATUR." (Bellinati 2003, 33) [Divine virtue replaced the profane vices [and] heavenly joys, which are superior to vain ones [replaced] earthly ones, when this place was dedicated to God in solemn manner.] (Jacobus 2008, 384–385, tr. Joseph Spooner) In the row of allegories, *Justice* and its counterpart *Injustice* received the central place in the middle of the wall. (Figures 1–2.)

The principal idea of these two representations was to display the allegory of *Justice* and *Injustice* and further enrich their meaning with a narrative scene on the predella. (Riess 1984, 73; Romano 2008, 218–219) Therefore, the representations constructed from the combination of an *imago* and a *historia* resulted in a reduced and reconsidered profane version of a *vita* icon. In both cases, the connection between the allegory and the narrative lay in the display of the practical effects and consequences (as *historia*) of the allegory (of the *imago*). In the case of *Justice*, the allegory was further complemented with two scenes staged in two pans on both her right and left sides displaying two of her functions: reward and punishment. The concept of justice conformed to that of *justitia distributiva* ignoring the aspect of *justitia commutativa*, as outlined by St. Thomas Aquinas. (Panofsky 1972, 152, note 2 and Frojmovič 1996, 38–39, 45) The punishment was conceived as a decapitation in which a male figure raises his sword above a kneeling figure with his hands tied behind his back. The reward scene is damaged but it can be asserted that a winged female figure is shown about to crown someone sitting behind a bench, whose identity is unclear, the identifications vary from scholar, to merchant, to artisan and to goldsmith. (Banzato 2005, 222) Both the rewarding and the punishing figure display a Classical influence. (Panofsky 1972, 152)

The opposition of *Justice* and *Injustice* achieve their visual formulation within a pictorial-iconographic strategy contrasting almost every single element within the two representations. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona highlighted that the use of contrast was one of the basic visual-rhetorical tools adopted by Giotto in the decoration of the chapel. (Derbes and Sandona 2008, 7–12) In the case of the allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* this principle was apparently pushed to extremes. In this respect the frontal representation of *Justice* contrasts with the profile display of *Injustice*; the feminine gender contrasts with the masculine; her blue background contrasts with the red of his; her fine Gothic baldachin contrasts with his fortified Romanesque rock-castle. (Pfeiffenberger 1966, II:2:11–19 and V:19–37; Bongiorno 1968, 19; Frugoni 2008, 309) The contrast between the colors and the buildings can be regarded as the sign of the opposition between paradise and hell. (Frugoni 2008, 309) Also the frontal-profile opposition can be regarded as an established language of the visual arts in Italy. (Meiss 1951, 24) In my view these references target an immediate visual layer of experience. In this sense, even if they had a symbolic meaning rooted in color iconography or symbolic architecture, this meaning is conveyed primarily though pictorial means in which they are shown in opposition to each other.

There is a further contrast between the two predellas, which is the contrast of two pictorial idioms. The narrative scene complementing *Justice* is conceived of as a framed relief separated from the *imago*, while the other scene under *Injustice* coheres to the space of the allegory, as signaled by the trees and the terrain shown on it. The difference between the framed relief and the non-relief is further emphasized by the importance given to planar values and the lack of spatial regression on *Justice* and the pronounced three-dimensionality of the scene under *Injustice*. This distinction between the two is not a contrast like the one between the male and female figure, or between the blue and the red backgrounds which are differences within the same visual language. The two predellas differ in the manner they represent themselves. The two scenes belong to two different pictorial idioms. As the adoption of monochrome gray signifying pseudo-marble for the entire socle zone of the chapel was the result of a meta-pictorial reflection on the expressive potentials of representing, similarly this contrast of relief and non-relief bears the mark of pictorial reflexivity where Giotto distinguished between various visual idioms he recognized as being different.

On a general level, it was always clear that these scenes are opposed to each other in the sense that *Justice* is complemented with a peaceful scene while *Injustice* is provided with a violent representation. Nevertheless, further connections between the scenes have been difficult to grasp. (Banzato 2005, 222–223) A source of the problem is that the inscription of *Injustice* is lost and the one under *Justice*, is only partially preserved. It reads:

EQUA LANCE CUNCTA LIBRAT PERFECTA IUSTICIA / CORONANDO BONOS VIBRAT ENSEM CONTRA VICIA / CUNCTA GAUDENT LIBERTATE IPSA SI REGNAVERIT / AGIT CUM IOCUNDITATE QUISQUE QUIDQUID VOLUERIT / MILES [PROPTER H]ANC VENATUR C[AN]TATUR ET LUDITUR / MERCAT[ORI ... ATUR] ... ITUR. (Gianola 2006, 48–51)
A tentative translation, which is based on the one by Joseph Spooner reads:

Perfect Justice weighs everything with balanced scales / And it being her duty to crown goodness, she wields her sword against vices / All things rejoice in freedom if she herself reigns / whoever acts with consideration acts with delight. / On account of Justice, the knight goes hunting, they sing and play. / The merchant does something. (Jacobus 2008, 362)

It is unsettled how this inscription, and all the inscriptions under the allegories, relate to the frescoes. No conclusive evidence has been presented so far with regard to this issue. Giuliano Pisani argued that they differ from the titles of the allegories in terms of execution (they are only painted and not carved like the titles) and in terms of the layout of the script itself; therefore they were later additions in the second half of the 14th century. (Pisani 2004, 95) A slightly modified argument highlighting the discrepancies between the allegory of Charity and its inscription was restated. (Pisani 2008, 174–175) Giovanna M. Gianola did not accept Pisani's conclusions and on the basis of a metrical analysis of the inscription she concluded that they predate the chapel. (Gianola 2006, 29, note 10; 58, note 58; and 64–65) Serena Romano accepted Gianola's partial conclusions but argued for the independence of Giotto's design. (Romano 2008, 220–221, and 235, note 101) Laura Jacobus straightforwardly postdated the inscriptions (but still placed them in the 14th century). However, her argument that the inscription under Infidelity misinterpreted the allegory does not hold, since "YDOLATRA" presumably did not stand for "idols" but for "idolater." (Jacobus 2008, 360 and 363; Gianola 2006, 45–48) At least two positions can be taken with regard to this issue. First, the inscriptions represent the program on the basis of which Giotto worked. Or second, the inscription actually postdates the frescoes and they are in fact versified interpretations of the allegories. The versifier was no more than a "first reader" of Giotto's achievement and did not have access to the "original" idea only to the pictorial outcome. Here, I will offer an iconographic reading of the two narrative scenes which does not take the remaining inscription as its starting point. The core argument of this reading is that instead of being simply a generic opposition of peaceful and violent activities, the two representations contrast two possible understandings of love in the conduct of men towards women: fine love is contrasted to brutal rape.

In case of the scene under *Injustice* the actors shown in it are on the left a murdered rider lying on the ground, his horse is held by a soldier, in the center two soldiers violently ripping the clothes from a lady, on the right two approaching soldiers. (The lady is perhaps pregnant, but it is hard to be sure. For the rest of my argument I will leave aside this question of pregnancy; I will consider the scene to be a rape scene. However, if one wished to pursue the implications of pregnancy, there is certainly a possibility of regarding the gesture of the male figure as a preparation to cut out the fetus, thus an abortion. In my view this would bring us back yet again to the problem of love and marriage on a more radical level.) The main focus of the scene is undoubtedly the preparation for the rape in the center. The man holding the horse on the left stares directly towards the middle of the scene and the two approaching soldiers on the right almost touch the bending figure with their halberds. The terrified horse on the left is trying to break away, its front right leg is lifted in the effort. The dense, remote forest where the scene takes place intensifies the terror of the scene further. These are not three distinct moments within a story or even three different stories, but a single snapshot from the same narrative.

The predella of the allegory of *Justice* is divided into three parts by two trees. The question is whether these parts should be regarded as independent units, or the predella should be regarded

Figure 3: Predella. Detail of Allegory of Justice. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Giacomo Brogi.

as whole. The result of separating the predella into three is that the specific opposition to the violent rape scene is marginalized, since a tripartite scene is contrasted to a single one. Furthermore, the focus shifts from the opposition between the predellas to the possible connections between the main allegory of *Justice* and the three distinct pictorial units shown beneath it. I believe that the three seemingly separate scenes are in fact parts of a single unit under the allegory of *Justice* and not three distinct elements. This representation displays scenes related to profane love and some details on the predella are derivations of models which can be found in the context of love and courtly amusements at the beginning of the 14th century. Frederick Antal already noted the general connection between the hunting and dancing scenes on the one hand and courtly illuminations on the other. (Antal 1975, 239)

On the left, a woman and a man approach on horses. (Figure 3) Two dogs sniff the path in front of them and the woman holds a falcon on her left hand. The woman wears a cloak, and with her right hand holds its ribbon, perhaps a distinctive element of queens and princesses in France. (Seidel 2007, 74–75) Here, it might allude to the high status of the riding lady. Furthermore, perhaps her dress is girdled underneath the breast. In a Sienese context around 1340 this could imply prostitution. (Seidel 2003, 294–296) Here the implication of prostitution is rather unlikely. The scene displays the usual falconry motif found on ivory mirror cases which may have been part of a longer love series. (Koechlin 1924, 383–386) Ivory products, among them mirror cases, became fashionable and widespread by the end of the 13th century in Europe. (Randall, Jr. 1985, 178) It was suggested that this specific falconry iconography was borrowed from

Figure 5: Mirror case. First half of the 14th century. Ivory. No. 222–1867, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum.

the depiction of May in the calendar series and might have been associated with the month of Love. (Randall, Jr. 1985, 226, and Randall, Jr. 1997, 75) On an ivory from the Louvre a man carries the falcon and straightforwardly caresses the lady while between the legs of the horses a dog is shown chasing a hare. (Gaborit-Chopin 2003, 414, no. 171) A comparable scene appears on a piece dated to the first half of the 14th century (Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 222–1867) where two servants accompany the couple. (Longhurst 1929, 46) (Figure 5) Although these two examples may postdate the Arena chapel, the basic motif of the riding couple was already in circulation around 1300, as an example from the Louvre shows. (Gaborit-Chopin 2003, 353, no. 128) A somewhat comparable example to falconry as a symbol of May appears on the *Fountain of Perugia* as well, though it is divided into two reliefs.

The dancing couple together with a second woman playing on a tambourine can be interpreted within the framework of courtly life. (Figure 4) The motif of playing on a tambourine and dancing appears as marginal decoration beside each other in folio 181v and 182r in the *Queen Mary's Psalter* (was presumably illuminated in London, between 1310 and 1320), in the section which displays scenes dedicated to courtly life, among them the hare hunt and falconry as well. (Freeman Sandler 1986, 64–66; Stanton 2001, 47–49) Similarly, in the *Italian Model Book* of the Morgan Library on leaf twenty one there is a dancer and on leaf twenty two a tambourine player appears. (Murray 1910, plates 21 and 22) The leaves are dedicated to profane subjects. (Watson 1979, 40–41) They date to around 1360 and an Italian provenience is hypothesized. (Scheller 1995, 256–264)

On the right side, the two men on horses have been regarded on the basis of the inscription and their baggage behind the saddles as merchants able to travel freely under the reign of Justice. (Jacobus 2008, 201; Frugoni 2008, 304) The part of the inscription which could explain their activity is now lost. They clearly approach the dancers in the middle. There is a rod (perhaps blossoming, but definitely covered with leaves) in the right hand of the first merchant. It is not a staff or part of a whip and therefore it is presumably not related to horse riding. Quentin Skinner identified it as an olive branch and regarded it as a sign of peace. (Skinner 1999, 25) Alternatively, I would propose that this rod might also be interpreted in the visual context of the *Espousal of the Virgin* in the Arena chapel. Altogether three scenes *(The Calling of Suitors, The Vigil of the Suitors,*

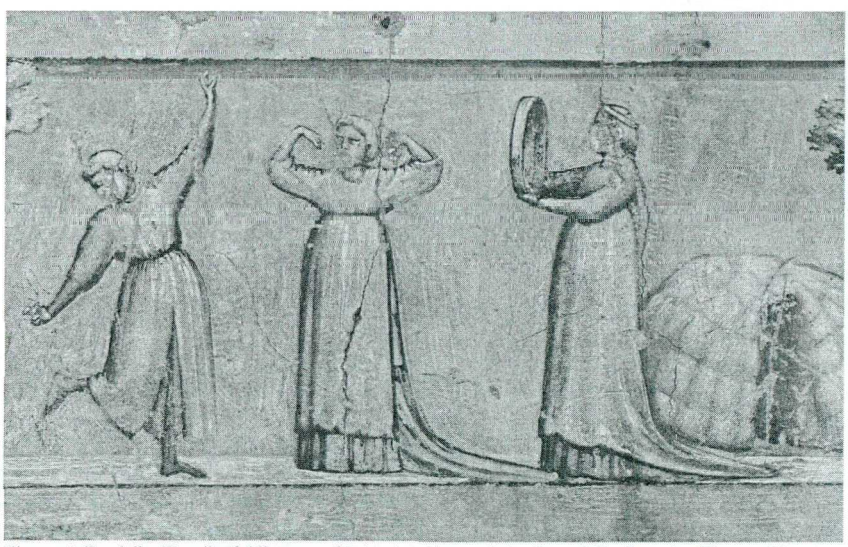

Figure 4: Predella. Detail of Allegory of Injustice. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Giacomo Brogi.

and *The Espousal of the Virgin)* were dedicated to the selection of the groom and the marriage of the Virgin, where a flowering rod played a central role. Here the leaves on the rod can be interpreted as a sign of fecundity and thus, of divine grace. (Derbes and Sandona 2008, 56) On the *Virgin's wedding procession* a somewhat larger leafy branch appears, perhaps as the sign of the Virgin's forthcoming pregnancy. (Cole 1993, 65; Derbes and Sandona 2008, 92–93) On the predella, given the context of the chapel, the rider carrying the rod might connect to this visual discourse on election, love and marriage.

The predella appears to include elements related to the profane iconography of love around the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Michael Camille in the chapter entitled *Love's Sign* of his monograph on *The medieval art of love* interpreted falconry in symbolical terms denoting relations between lovers. (Camille 1998, 95–106) Camille did not discuss the Arena chapel. Though there might be a possibility to develop the interpretation of the predella scene under *Justice* in the same direction and give it even a complex narrative formulation, I would just restate here that Camille's basic conclusion supports the argument that the three scenes should be regarded as interconnected, and interpreted in the context of the visual discourse on love at the beginning of the 14th century. Max Seidel suggested that the motif of falconry stood for "amorous hunt" in Italy in the fourteenth century and was part of a visual discourse on profane love appearing also on official wedding gifts like chests *(cassoni)* and caskets *(goffani)*. (Seidel 2003, 430–436) In the light of this it may be plausible to interpret the predella as a discourse on profane love, as a display of the amorous enjoyments under the reign of Justice. If accepted, then the scene under *Injustice*, where wandering soldiers undress and prepare to rape a lady, appears to be the genuine contrast to it. Diane Wolfthal discussed the phenomenon of soldiers and mercenaries raping women in the Middle Ages. (Wolfthal 1999, 60–99, esp. 71–73) Though the raping scene in the Arena Chapel was not mentioned, it should be regarded as a pictorial response to the same phenomenon. Furthermore, since rape destroys the bloodline and undermines nuptial alliances as well, the act might have had wider social implications. (Jacobus 2008, 201–202) The preparation for the rape is manifest in how the soldier holds the wrists of the lady, tying them together with her robe pulled over her head. (Figure 6) The scene clearly does not represent a murder or a robbery on the first place, but it is a sexual offense committed against the woman. This identification did not receive its due place in previous research: Antal's hesitation of not

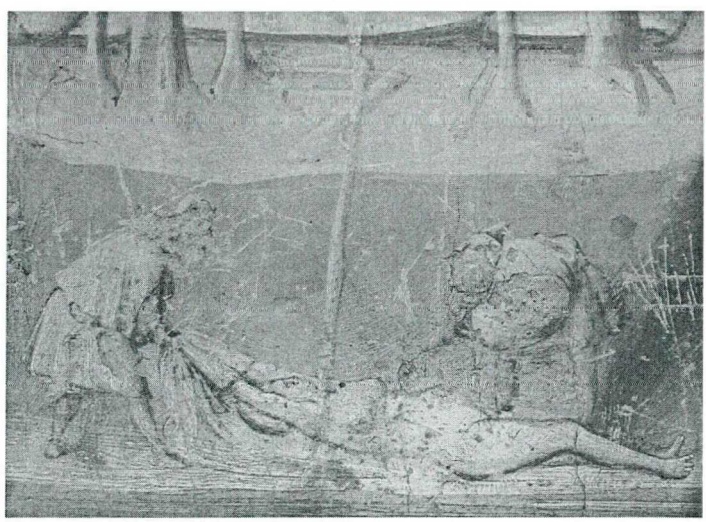

Figure 6: Rape. Detail of Allegory of Injustice. Artwork in the Public Domain. Photo: Giacomo Brogi.

identifying the scene as rape but calling it "robbery, murder and warfare," is paradigmatic in this respect. (Antal 1975, 239) Her entire body is uncovered – the brutal eroticism of the act is unparalleled in Medieval Art, and its "crude realism" at the "limits of the vulgar" recalls the episodes of the *Last Judgment* in the Arena chapel. (Boskovits 2000, 84; Pace 2009, 42–46) On the predellas the opposition of fine love and rape is shown as the opposing effects of Justice and Injustice and thus contrasting strongly virtue and vice.

Furthermore, in medieval political thought strong connection appears between love *(amor)* and the well-being of the society. In the thirteenth century pre-humanist treatises on city government appeared in Italy, among them guidebooks for the *podesta*. (Skinner 2002, 17–30) The earliest example dating around 1220, the *Oculus Pastoralis* opened with a model speech for magistrates, which promised "peace, tranquility and perfect love [pacem tranquilam et amorem perfectum]" to the city. (Skinner 2002, 19 and 43) The importance of love in this political context resided in the idea that the well-being of the city can be assured only if its citizens rank the love for the common good *(bonum commune)* before their self-love. (Rubinstein 2004, 105–110) The love for the common good became a central concept in thirteenth century political thought encompassing the reception of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* together with scholastic political theology. (Kempshall 1999, 102–105, 145–147, 159–160, 297–301, and 312–313)

The connection between common good, love and peace is also manifest in the festivities of "Love's court" celebrating communal peace. (Campbell 1997, 44–106) Giovanni Villani in his *Chronicle* described such festivities in Florence, among them one which began on the day of St. John, June 1283.

> In the year 1283, in the month of June on the feast of San Giovanni, the city of Florence, being in a healthy state of rest, a state of tranquility and quiet [*pacifico*], which was good for the merchants and artisans, and especially for the Guelphs who ruled the land, there was constituted, in the *contrada* of Santa Felicita *oltrarno*, where the Rossi family dominated, a company and *brigata* of a thousand or more men, all dressed in white with a lord called Love [*l'Amore*]. This *brigata* did nothing other than occupy itself with games and amusements and dances of ladies and knights and other *popolani*, going through the district playing trumpets and a variety of instruments, with joy and happiness, gathering together for meals, dinners, and suppers. This court [*corte*] lasted two months and was the most noble and distinguished that that ever took place in the city of Florence or in Tuscany. (Villani 1880, vii: 89; Campbell 1997, 79–80)

Villani's report connects the festivities with the quiet or peaceful state of Florence: the peace makes possible the ceremonies and the ceremonies in turn rejoice peace. The use of the word "court" and the election of a lord called "Love" suggest that the gathering was in fact Love's court, defined and remembered by Villani as such. His account indicates that the connection between peace and the amusements of love was a widely shared experience, and it represented a suspension of everyday activities for celebration. In view of Giotto's Florentine origin it is unlikely that he had been unfamiliar with them. Such a festival is reported to have taken place in Padua when the *podesta* thanked the restoration of peace in the city in the year 1310. (Skinner 1999, 25)

The mainstream interpretation of the two predellas has regarded them as the display of the effects of Justice and Injustice, and, more remotely, of Good and Bad Government, and thus as the introduction of the single most important political topic in fourteenth-century Italy. (Romano 2008, 162–163) The present proposition to regard them as a contrast between love and rape is harmonious with this interpretation, and it aims to understand the genesis of this new iconography. It is important to point out, however, that this interpretation of the predella under Justice is not entirely harmonious with the widely shared understanding of this work as a portrait of the medieval society. The predella has been interpreted as a display of the tripartite structure of medieval society (those who pray, fight and work – *oratores, milites, laboratores*) with mention also of the traders *(mercatores)*. (Frugoni 2008, 304–306; Jacobus 2008, 201) Truly, the *MILES* (knight) in the

inscription can refer to the *milites*. The inscription also mentions the merchants *(MERCAT[ORI ... ATUR] ... ITUR)*, and this refers to the two riders on the left. (Antal 1975, 239) On the other hand the *oratores* definitely, and in my view also the *laboratores* are missing from the predella. There were attempts to identify the dancing scene as displaying the life of peasants (even the feast after the harvest). (Jacobus 2008, 201) The single element connecting it to harvest or work on the fields is the unidentified "structure" behind the tambourine player, which could be a bivouac. There is no hay, tools or baskets full of fruits or grains lying around. The dresses of the two female figures are to a large extent similar to the dress of the lady riding with the falcon: they wear a tunic *(tunica, sottana* or *gonnella)* and above it a long robe or cloak *(guarnacca),* which is open at the side *(finestrelle);* these items are part of the usual clothing worn by upper class women in the 13th and 14th century. (Levi Pisetzky 1964, vol. 1. 269–276 and vol. 2. 93–93, 100–108) The *C[AN]TATUR ET LUDITUR* (sing and play) referring to the dancers yet again does not connect them to the life of peasants. Instead of regarding the predellas as a portrait of medieval society, I suggest that the key element of the allegory of *Justice* is the visualization of its effect through the iconography of mundane love. This proposition allows that the two leading social classes mentioned in the inscription, the nobility (knights) and the non-noble bourgeoisie (the merchants – the *popolani grassi*) can be brought together in the theme of love, but the emphasis is not on their everyday activity or occupation (like warfare or trading), but their enjoyment. This is also stated in the inscription: "All things rejoice in freedom if she herself reigns / whoever acts with consideration acts with delight." The wording *CUM IOCUNDITATE*, with delight or pleasantly, denotes the agreeableness of life under the rule of Justice. The contrast between the delights of love and the horror of rape offers itself as a genuine visual expression of this idea.

At this point, I would like to return to the problem of the different visual idioms adopted for the two scenes, since complementing the problems of iconography, this pictorial distinction might add to our understanding of the allegories. The rape scene was depicted in a three-dimensional space with a forceful realism. The love scene was displayed as a relief emphasizing the planar values of the image. While the overt realism of the rape scene clearly contributes to the intended brutality-effect of the representation, at first sight the flat style of the love scene appears to lack motivation. I propose that the style of the predella may have had its origin in the same artifacts which provided the source for the iconography. This is best seen in the falconry motif. The riding couple appearing on ivory mirror cases displays the same planar values as the one in the Arena chapel. In the medium of the ivory this flatness and linearity is not a deliberate choice, it is imposed on the master by the material itself. In fact, the aim is to give certain depth to the representation by putting one rider behind the other. Giotto, in contrast, was not interested in the promotion of spatial values (for which he would otherwise have had the necessary skills), but he was perhaps impressed by the linearity of the ivory and decided to adopt not only the iconography but the pictorial idiom as well. As a result of this decision not only does the content of the predellas contrast with each other but also their visual languages.

The frieze-like organization of the motifs together with the theme of love appears on ivory combs in the period, although they were smaller scale pieces (No. 229–1867 and no. A.560–1910, Victoria and Albert Museum, London). (Figure 7) The two trees separating the scenes on the comb and the two trees on the predella are similar both in terms of their outlook and function. Furthermore, the edge framing the scenes on the comb is also comparable to the relief-like organization of the predella. The falconry motif appears as a central scene on an ivory casket displaying other courting scenes. (Koechlin 1924, vol. 2, 440–441, no. 1261) Alternatively, wedding chests *(cassoni),* with their elongated rectangular shape, can also be taken into account. One of the earliest examples from around 1330, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 317–1894), shows in a repetitive manner a lady with a scourge and a knight with a falcon, both of them on horseback, meeting in the Garden of Love. (Seidel 2003, 430 and 441, note 99) (Figure 8) Although it seems that the center for *cassoni* production was Florence, Giotto's Florentine origin,

the mobile nature of the object itself, the involvement of Enrico Scrovegni in international trade would all suggest that such objects would have been available in Padua around the time Giotto painted the Arena chapel.

In the context of these objects and their availability to Giotto there is yet another matter that might be considered. Perhaps the single most important question related to the genesis of the chapel is what was Enrico Scrovegni's main intention with it. A largely accepted answer is that Enrico wished to show his repentance for his own and his father Rainaldo's sins as usurers by founding the chapel. This explanation was based on the fact that in the *Divine Comedy* Dante placed Rainaldo Scrovegni in the seventh circle of Hell, among the group of usurers with sumptuously decorated purses. The building of the chapel and its pictorial decoration was understood therefore in the context of repentance for the father's sins, as Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona have forcefully restated it recently. (Derbes and Sandona 2008, 13–17) At the same time, the validity or at least the monocausal nature of this answer has been questioned, especially by Laura Jacobus although Serena Romano, Chiara Frugoni and Eva Frojmovič have expressed similar opinions. (Jacobus 2008, 7–10; Romano 2008, 160–165; Frugoni 2008, 15–18; Frojmovič 2007, 195–197) The main arguments against the usury-explanation are: 1) Dante's statement postdated the decoration of the chapel, thus, the chapel cannot be regarded as a response to the charges in the Divine Comedy; 2) as Rainaldo died in 1289, the generous foundation of the St. Ursula convent on the behalf of Enrico in 1294 was already supposed to secure the family's salvation. Jacobus further pointed out that the Arena chapel was presumably conceived to function in multiple contexts: a family oratory, a confraternal oratory of the *Cavalieri Gaudenti*, and a place of the civic worship serving the Marian cult. (Jacobus 2008, 17–35) These other contexts do not necessarily discredit the role of usury or money handling as one of the constituting themes in the iconography of the chapel. However, they do signal that the Arena chapel was a multilateral project, envisaged to function in multiple contexts.

In that respect the second marriage of Enrico Scrovegni can be important. His first wife was sister to Ubertino of Carrara, her first name is unknown. (Frugoni 2008, 19) Upon her death Enrico remarried. His second wife was Jacopina d'Este. The *ante quem* of the second marriage is September 1319 when Jacopina is named wife of Enrico in a charter. (Frugoni 2008, 20 and 27, note 48) However, in his account, which is highly unfavorable towards Enrico, Giovanni of Nono connected the marriage with the building of the church: "Henricus de Scruffegnis, mortua sua prima uxore, desponsavit Johanam filiam nobilis Francesci marchionis Hestensis, et fecit etiam fieri ecclesiam Sancte Mariae a Caritate in loco Arene." "Enrico Scrovegni, on the death of his first wife, married Johanna, daughter of the noble Francesco, Marquess of Este, and

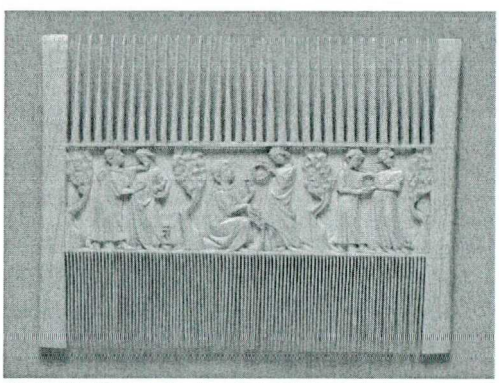

Figure 7: Comb. Ivory. No. A.560–1910, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

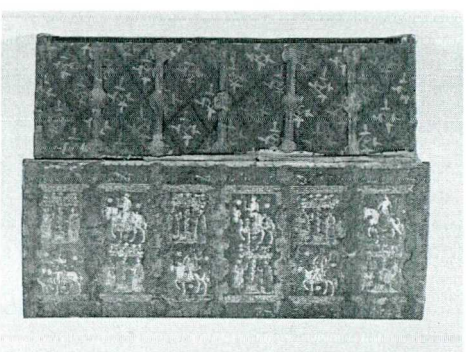

Figure 8: Wedding chest. Around 1330. No. 317–1894, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

furthermore had the church of S. Maria della Caritŕ built at the site of the Arena." (Jacobus 2008, 377–378, ed. Benjamin G. Kohl, tr. Laura Jacobus and Joseph Spooner) There is no reason why Nono would have modified the chronology; he called Jacopina Johanna in his text but the reason for this is unclear. (Jacobus 2008, 21) This could mean that Enrico's second marriage took place shortly before or at the time of the construction and decoration of the chapel. It has been pointed out that by giving a central role to the *domumductio* (the rite of transferring the bride from her father's house to the house of the bridegroom) on the *Virgin's wedding procession* Giotto introduced contemporary ceremonial elements to the biblical narrative. (Seidel 2003, 409–424) As Jacopina d'Este was coming from one of the most well established aristocratic families in Italy, both her dowry and Enrico's aspirations to meet the standards of his second wife created a favorable context for the presence of luxurious ivory objects and of *cassoni* in their household. The possession of valuable artifacts *(çoias et ornamenta)* and the fact that that Enrico presented such things to Jacopina, can be deduced from his last will dating to 12 March 1336. (Frugoni 2008, 510 and Langeli 2008, 431–433)

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Zenón Luis-Martínez

The Law of Genre and the Order of Discourse:

Two Instances of Regicide in Tudor Historical Drama*

> Historians have always impressed upon us that speech is no mere verbalisation of conflicts and systems of domination, but that it is the very object of man's conflicts.
> (Foucault 1972, 216)

Order is as much an aesthetic category as it is political, legal or moral. As a matter of fact, order's aesthetic dimension is frequently a measure of all the others. The extent to which this marriage of order and beauty depends upon the discipline of encoded signs was an enduring preoccupation of early modern writers. The *order of discourse* – a phrase whose Foucauldian resonances are inevitable – is understood here as a primarily rhetorical undertaking, a principle whose foundation relies on a conception of language as a disciplinary system of signs.[1] Tudor historical drama is a particularly appealing case for studying the fabrication of aesthetic and political order: bound as they were to unite the not always companionable tasks of poetry and history, history plays faced various challenges derived from their mixed nature. As live dramatic performances of historical actions, these plays entrusted their affective and intellectual potentials to their capability of adapting past meanings to present preoccupations.[2] The aesthetic filters of word and image became powerful tools for embodying complex issues of power, order and transgression.

The present paper tackles two examples of the dramatic construction of regicide as a symptomatic case of the aesthetic sophistication of Tudor dramatic discourse when confronting issues that pushed the logic of political order to its limits. In consequence, this is not an essay in legal

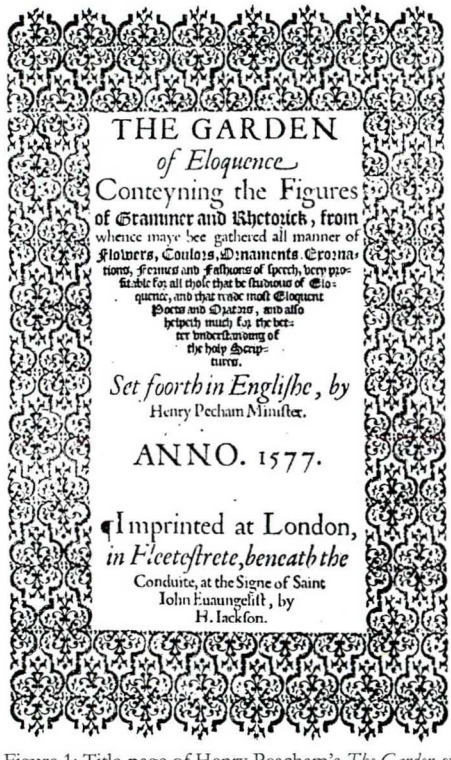
THE GARDEN
of Eloquence
Conteyning the Figures
of Grammer and Rhetorick, from
whence maye bee gathered all manner of
Flowers, Coulors, Ornaments, Coronations, Formes and Fashions of speech, very profitable for all those that be studious of Eloquence, and that made most Eloquent
Poems and Orators, and also helpeth much for the better understanding of the holy Scriptures.
Set foorth in Englishe, by
Henry Peacham Minister.
ANNO. 1577.
¶Imprinted at London,
in Fleetestrete, beneath the
Conduite, at the Signe of Saint
Iohn Euangelist, by
H. Iackson.

Figure 1: Title-page of Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577).

* This paper is part of the Research Project "English Poetic and Rhetorical Treatises of the Tudor Period" (FFI2010–19279, Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation).

1 The obvious reference is Michel Foucault's 1970 lecture at the Collège de France, published a year later as *L'ordre du discours*.

2 A seminal study of the mixed nature of the history play is Lindenberger, who argues that the essence of the genre is the "historical continuity between past and present" (1975, 7).

or political theory but in dramatic rhetoric – more specifically in its emblematic mode. My argument is grounded on an account of the poetics of the Renaissance history play, against which several scenes from two plays are analyzed – Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc* (1561–2) and Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592). I contend that, in the endeavour to represent the violent death of kings, these plays' production of a certain discursive order worked against the written laws of the Tudor history play as they were formulated by poetic theory.

The Law of Genre

Disciplining knowledge by means of eloquence was a major concern of Renaissance letters. The ascendancy of rhetoric was grounded upon such preoccupation, one that presupposed, as Marion Trousdale has shown, that "the disjunction between words and things" presided over any notion of rhetorical language (1982, 24). If a primordial conception of language relies on the principle that words name things, that is, that words provide a transparent means toward the knowledge of the outer world, the laws of Renaissance rhetoric endorsed a *thing-independent* view that saw language as "not only an artificial instrument but a fluid, and, insofar as reference is concerned, a redundant one as well" (29). A word does not guarantee the real existence of the object it names, and thus the arts of language must be regarded as systems generating intellectual structures, and not as mere filters of the real (24). The title-page of Henry Peacham's well-known treatise, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), exemplifies at least one side of this principle (Figure 1): disposed on the page to represent a descending pyramid, the book's title is surrounded by a patterned illustration suggesting the garden that gathers the flowers, colours, shapes, and ornaments of which the rhetorical art consists. Rhetoric, Peacham argues in the prefatory letter of the 1593 reissue, bestows upon wisdom the harmonious order that gardening imposes on an otherwise chaotic nature:

> [t]his then is the vertue which the Orator in his praise before mentioned calleth eloquence, & the brightnesse of wisedome, for that by the mean hereof, as well the rare inventions & pleasant devises, as the deepe understanding, the secret counselles, & politick considerations of wisedome, are most effectually expressed, and most comely beautified, for even as by the power of the Sun beames, the nature of the roote is shewed in the blossome, & the goodnesse of the sap tasted in the sweetnesse of the frute, even so the precious nature, and wonderfull power of wisedome, is by the commendable Art and use of eloquence, produced and brought into open light. So that hereby plainlie appeareth, both the great necessitie & singular utilitie of their conjunction before commended, for the one without the other, do finde both great want, and shew great imperfection, for to possesse great knowledge without apt utterance, is, as to possesse great treasure without use ... (1593, AB3r)

From Peacham's allegory we derive a general aesthetic principle: in ordering human knowledge, rhetorical discourse guarantees its proper "use." This utilitarian conception of the aesthetic lies behind any Renaissance account of the didactic intent of the arts of poetry.

A practical application of this principle was the transformation of raw historical knowledge by the arts of the historian and the poet. In the first book of *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) George Puttenham devoted a chapter to "historicall Poesie," a genre committed to the reporting of "the famous acts of Princes and the uertuous and worthy liues of our forefathers" (1936, 39). If, as Puttenham conceded, the historical kind was to be considered one of the worthiest kinds of poetry, this was because of its status as a "glasse:" historical poetry acquaints the readers with the best of a past which, once in its rhetorical clothing, had ceased to match the criterion of mere historical truth. The historical poet, as Puttenham puts it, distances his art from that of other sorts of poet, but also from the craft of the historian:

> These historical men neuertheless vsed not the matter so precisely to wish that al they wrote should be accounted true, for that was not needefull or expedient to the purpose, namely to be vsed either for example or for pleasure: considering that many times it is seene as a fained matter or altogether fabulous, besides that it maketh more mirth than any other, works no lesse good conclusions for example then the most true and veritable: but often times more, because the Poet hath the handling of them to fashion at his pleasure, but not so of th'other which must go according to their veritie & none otherwise without the writers great blame. (40)

In Puttenham's argument, poetry becomes an apt purveyor of knowledge insofar as it succeeds in finding forms of mediation between history and truth. An extreme version of this principle is utopia: exemplified in the work of Plato and Sir Thomas More, utopia, Puttenham averred, "deuise[s] many historicall matters of no veritie at all, but with the purpose to do good and no hurt, as vsing them for a maner of discipline and president of commendable life" (41). Between utopia and the wholly true report of historians Puttenham placed the "fabulous or mixt report" of poets who, by omitting anything base or low in subject, dignity, or character, confined their historical fictions simply to "matters of great and excellent persons & things," which "by irritation of good courages (such as emulation causeth) might worke more effectually, which occasioned the story writer to chose a higher stile for his subiect" (40).

In Puttenam's definition of the laws of historical poetry, the refinements of literary style were ultimately responsible for the reorientations of history in the direction of utopia. Following the trails of Puttenham's *Arte*, Thomas Heywood epitomized in the first decade of the seventeenth century the aesthetic, epistemological and political agenda of the earlier history play. In his *Apology for Actors* (1607, published 1612), Heywood wrote about the stirring of courage achieved by the emulation of those historical deeds which spectators beheld in staged history plays. His instance was the ancient world, and his subject Hercules:

> In the first of the Olympiads, amongst many other actiue exercises in which Hercules euer triumphed as victor, there was in his nonage presented vnto him by his Tutor in the fashion of a History, acted by the choyse of the nobility of Greece, the worthy and memorable acts of his father *Iupiter*, which being personated with a liuely and well-spirited action, wrought such impression in his noble thoughts, that in mere emulation of his fathers valor (not at the behest of his Stepdame *Iuno*) he perform'd his twelue labours: Him valiant *Theseus* followed, and *Achilles*, *Theseus*. Which bred in them such hawty and magnanimous attempts, that euery succeeding age hath recorded their worths, vnto fresh admirations ... (Heywood 1612, B3r)

Emulation, a principle in which Puttenham and Heywood clearly coincided, is said to be inspired by *personation*, that is, the dramatic principle that transforms a past deed into "liuely and well-spirited action".[3] In Heywood, theatrical conventions fulfil the very role that Puttenham and Peacham imagined for rhetorical styles. As a matter of fact, Heywood privileges the integral powers of the theatre over the exclusively verbal craft of rhetoric in order finally to endorse the supremacy of the former:

> Why should not the liues of these worthyes, presented in these our dayes, effect the like wonders in the princes of our times, which can no way bee so exquisitely demonstrated, nor so liuely portrayed as by action: Oratory is a kind of speaking picture, therefore may some say, is it not sufficient to discourse to the eares of princes the fame of these conquerors: Painting likewise, is a dumbe oratory, therefore may we not as well by some curious *Pigmalion*, drawe their conquests to worke the like loue in Princes towards these Worthyes by shewing them their pictures drawne to the life, as it wrought on the poore painter inamoured of his owne shadow? ... A description is only a shadow receiued by the eare but not perceiued by the eye; so liuely portrature is merely a forme seene by the eye, but can neither shew action, passion, motion, or any other gesture, to

[3] On definitions of "personation" see Thomson (1997, 329).

> mooue the spirit of the beholder to admiration: but to see a souldier shap'd like a souldier, walke, speake, act like a souldier: to see a *Hector* all besmered in blood ... [a] *Troylus* returning from the field ... [t]o see as I haue seene, *Hercules* in his owne shape... Oh these were sights to make an *Alexander* (Heywood 1612, B3v-B4r)

As we compare similar formulations of the laws of historical fiction in Puttenham and Heywood, we can conclude that they pursued the common aim of distancing poetic word from real thing by reorienting the representation of historical deed and fact, only through different methods –Heywood's being a further turn of the screw: the former relies on the word to replace historical fact with memorable fiction; the latter endorses a theatricality that, by going beyond the representational limitations of poetry's "speaking picture" and painting's "dumbe oratory," can translate pastness into presence, and summon memory to the immediacy of eye and ear.

And yet, these theoretical reflections on the genre had to minimize the consequences of a flagrant paradox: by concealing fact or by feigning presence, the history play must turn history against itself. Favouring an epic or utopian idea of the past or fostering identification between hero and spectator were strategies placing history in the orbit of epic and romance.[4] Early modern dramatic practice seems however to confirm the entanglements of history and tragedy a much more productive link. But the history play's bent for the tragic is hardly contained in the poetics of the genre. The descent from the heights of power to the miseries of death as the consequence of reversals of fortune or abuses of authority was a major argument for dramatists to look into the historical archive, but hardly a subject for extolling the uses and benefits of historical drama. When the problem was to acquaint the audience with the crudest aspects of history, a twisted, allegorical, and heavily emblematic rhetoric stood between history's raw material and the spectators' experience. Representations of the political trauma of regicide in the Tudor history play instantiate the role of poetic artifice in veiling the theorist's endorsement of neat factuality, affective immediacy or transparent signification as main aesthetic and didactic laws of the genre.

The Order of Discourse I: *Gorboduc*

Emphasis on topicality has frequently deflected attention from the aesthetic achievement of early Elizabethan tragedy, and more specifically, from the import of dramatic form as a site of ideological contest. Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *Gorboduc*, published in 1565 and 1570, though performed in 1561/1562, continues to be a paradigmatic case for ascertaining straightforward connections between drama and Tudor politics. Although attention has been frequently paid to its forensic rhetoric and the emblematic nature of its dumb shows, critical assessments of *Gorboduc* mainly subordinate the play's innovative aesthetic stance to the nature of the political message behind its diction and emblems, namely, its admonition that the young Queen accept the Parliament's counsel in matters of electing a successor.[5] However, *Gorboduc*'s handling of pressing political matters through its uses of ancient British history is far from transparent. In this sense, its elaborate forensic rhetoric and its dense emblematic nature must be seen as self-aware strategies for embodying multiple political interpretations. Cueing on Trousdale, one should argue

[4] Alison Thorne has affirmed that Heywood's extracting his examples from the poetics of the history play relied on his trust of this genre's "ability to impart a living presence to the dead" and to "make the audiences experience in themselves the full immediacy of the emotions enacted on stage" (2002, 170). However, she stresses the distance between such poetics of identification and its practical application in plays whose heroic appeal was taken for granted. Her work on Shakespeare's "heroic" *Henry V* has inspired my analysis of instances of tragic histories.

[5] For different views of the relation of the play to royal marriage politics, see Jones and Whitfield White (1996), and Pincombe (2003).

that *Gorboduc*'s *words* and *images* do not simply convey the *thing* of early Elizabethan politics. They rather edify a complex intellectual structure that can accommodate contending, sometimes contradictory, messages.

An analysis of the fourth dumb show, an instance of the play's solid emblematic scaffolding, intends to prove here that the rhetoric of admonition is blurred by the opacity of the pantomime's allegories. This precedes the play's fourth act, which presents the death of king Gorboduc and his wife at the hands of their enraged subjects as the consequence of two former acts of parricide: younger brother kills elder brother and mother kills younger son. These acts of violence within the family, in accordance with Aristotle's account of tragic subjects, are on their part presented as the disastrous consequence of the king's mistaken decision to abdicate, divide his kingdom in two parts, and allot them to his sons Ferrex and Porrex. Regicide is thus the fourth of five nodes in the play's tragic action, each of them signified by one of the five dumb shows preceding the play's five acts: 1) division of the kingdom, presented as the consequence of 2) ill advice, leads first to 3) fratricide, then 4) parricide and regicide, and finally to 5) utter destruction through civil war. The concatenation of these five motifs compresses emblematically the political logic of humanist tragedy and its didactic intent: the threat of political collapse, the politics of counsel as a remedy for tyranny, political rivalry and ambition, and the legitimacy of rebellion against tyrants are openly discussed in the text of *Gorboduc* as relevant subjects of early modern political philosophy, even beyond its topical meanings.[6] The case of regicide, presented both as tragic trauma and as moral lesson, poses one of those complex questions for the Tudor political mind: on the one hand, the people's rebellion that ends in regicide can be construed as a natural move chastising the king's disastrous policy and tyrannical act; on the other, the assassination of the legitimate monarch undermines the political logic sustaining Renaissance absolutism.

In consonance with Senecan methods, the play avoided overt stage killings, but this not implied the avoidance of rhetorical or emblematic violence. The act of regicide is not therefore shown but, in accordance with the rhetoric of the play's dumb shows, *ordered* and *signified*:

> The order and signification of the dome shewe before the fourth Acte.
> First the Musick of Howeboies began to plaie, duringe whiche there came forth from vnder the Stage, as thoughe out of Hell three Furies. Alecto, Megera & Tisiphone clad in blacke garments sprinkled with bloud & flames, their bodies girt with snakes, their heds spread with Serpents in steade of heare, the one bearinge in her hande a Snake, the other a whip, & the thirde a burning Firebrande: eche driuynge before them a kynge and a Queene, whiche moued by Furies vnnaturallye had slaine their owne Children. The names of the kings & Queenes were these. Tantalus, Medea, Athamas, Ino, Cambises, Althea, after that the Furies and these had passed aboute the Stage thrise, they departed & than the Musicke ceased: hereby was signified the vnnaturall Murders to followe, that is to saie. Porrex slaine by his owne Mother. And of king Gorboduc and Queene Viden, killed by their owne Subiectes. (1565, C5r)

This is the 1565 printed literary report of a theatrical dumb show, and as such it must be treated with care. As Eric Rasmussen has shown, the use of past tense here argues for non-authorial reports rather than for performance directions, a possibility supported by the 1570 editor's address to the reader, which speaks of the unauthorized character of the first edition (1986, 417–418). If the first copy-text lacked these reports, that is, if they were added by the non-

[6] In Joel Altman's words, "Sackville and Norton were using the drama as neutral ground for the examination of complex problems" (1978, 255). Altman's account sets a precedent for enlightening views of the play in light of its complex politics of counsel (Dunn: 2003, Cavanagh: 2004), its use of iconicity and the emblem (Breitenberg: 1988, Gómez Lara and Jiménez Barrientos: 1996), or the politics of mooting at the Inns of Court (Cunningham: 2007).

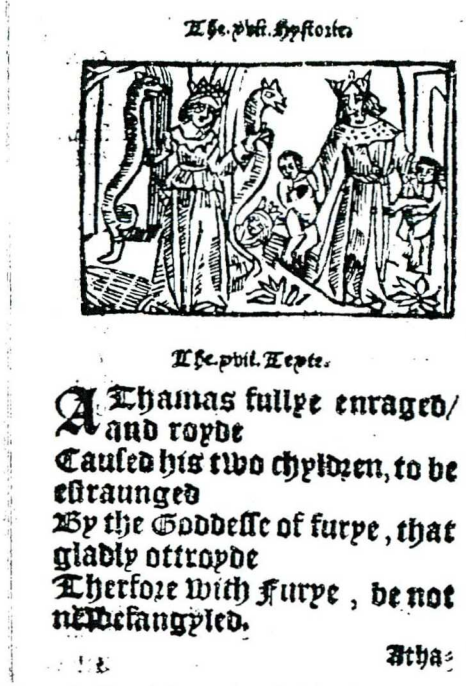

Figure 2: King Athamas impelled by the Fury, from Christine de Pisan, *The C. Hystoryes of Troye* (1549, E3v).

authorial hand of a spectator or player at Inner Temple, then the problem will be to determine first to what extent the *order* of this report reproduces the performance's own order, and second how we infer a particular *signification* from that very order. The report's emblematic logic proceeds from a descriptive act of verbal *enargeia* to an exegetical account of its stage icons. As James E. Berg has argued, the play's dumb shows are structured "in the archetypal manner of [Aesop's] *Fables*: 'order,' as the printed text calls it, is separated from 'signification,' just as tale is separated from moral in the Latin version to which the printer would have had access" (2000, 215). Dieter Mehl, in his seminal study on the Elizabethan dumb show, had envisaged this separation as "division between the sphere of the pantomimes and that of the play" (1965, 37). The tradition of the dumb show initiated by *Gorboduc* inaugurates several sorts of separation of sign from thing represented, which nevertheless proves their structural inseparability: the severing of order from signification, or of fable from moral, or of emblematic *pictura* from verbal *subscriptio*, speak simultaneously to the play's aspiration to consistent meaning and to the rhetorical unfeasibility of such consistency.

The fact that the extant written version is an actor's or spectator's report and not an authorial direction proves the audience's high degree of acquaintance with the literary meaning of the dumb show's stage icons. The literary training of Inns of Court members guaranteed an informed spectator, familiar with the literary references displayed on stage. Thus, the rage of King Athamas and Queen Ino, impelled by a snake-holding Fury, was represented emblematically in Robert Wyer's 1549 English edition of Christine de Pisan's *Cent histoires de Troie* (Figure 2), a possible source for the dumb show in *Gorboduc*, not only for the coincidence in motif but also for its tripartite structure of "texte" (emblematic *pictura* and *subscriptio*), "glose," and "allegorie." On its part, the firebrand would mark the Erinyes's command that Althea burn the coal that had preserved Meleager's life –as told in contemporary English sources like John Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes*.[7] The emblematic order would lead through analogy to dramatic signification – unleashed passion leading to unnatural infanticide in "Porrex slaine by his owne Mother." And yet, the move from infanticide to regicide –"And of king Gorboduc and Queene Viden, killed by their owne Subiectes"– is far from straightforward. Norton and Sackville defer the speech glossing the dumb show until the next act, more specifically until the Duke of Cornwall's opening words of act 5:

[7] The "allegorie" of Pisan's XVII history warns that "[b]y Athamas whiche was so full of Ire we shall vnderstande proprely the synne of wrath, wherof the good soule ought to be voyde" (1549, E5r). Althea's lament after throwing the brand to the fire in Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio is addressed to the three Furies – "parce frowarde susters thre" (1554, E4v).

Did euer age bring forth such Tirants hartes
The Brother hath bereft the Brothers lyfe,
The Mother she hath died her cruell handes
In bloud of her owne sonne, and nowe at last
The people loe forgettyng trouthe and loue,
Contemnynge quite both Lawe and loyall harte
Euen they haue slayne their soueraigne Lord and Quene. (1565, D4v)

The show of family violence, visualized in the dumb show by the Furies' urging of the infanticidal monarchs, finds its indirect analogue in an act of political violence that is said to be carried out against "truth and loue", and against "Lawe and loyall harte." The people's act is performed against a political order whose main sustenance is said to be the natural law of kinship: regicide is therefore presented as part of the unnatural logic of previous acts involving brother killing brother and mother killing son. As the counsellor Eubulus declares:

Eke fullie with the Duke my minde agrees
That no cause serues, wherby the Subiect maye
Call to accompt the doynges of his Prince,
Muche lesse in bloode by sworde to worke reuenge
No more then maye the hande cut of the heade:
In Acte nor speache, no: not in secrete thoughte
The Subiect maye rebell against his Lorde
Or Iudge of him that sittes in Ceasars Seate,
With grudging mind do damne those he mislikes.
Though kinges forget to gouerne as they ought,
Yet Subiectes must obey as they are bounde. (1565, D5r-Dv)

The point that should be emphasized here is less the political commonplace derived from the Elizabethan theories of obedience and rebellion than the expressive vehicle that it finds in *Gorboduc*. First, the emblem derived from the figurative *pictura* of regicide in the dumb show finds in its deferred dramatic *subscriptio* a predicate of the emotional and political dangers of rebellion. Second, the conveyance of tragic signification through allegorical order avoids explicit presentation of the violent act. Third, the allegory itself is conveyed in an indirect, crooked manner: acts of infanticide –as a matter of fact, ancient royal couples killing their children– become allegorical vehicles of the play's historical of regicide, that is, subjects killing their monarchs, and, by analogy, of present political dangers. However, from commonplace formulations of the family/state analogy one should have expected the opposite, that is, the legitimate king should have been cast as the *parens patriae* and the subjects as their children –whereby regicide should have been logically embodied as children killing a father and not as parents killing a son.[8] The show's emblematic logic is thus one of separation and deferral, whereby the act of killing the king can be simultaneously presented and left off stage. It can also depict Gorboduc both as a legitimate but irresponsible father-king, and as an innocent child killed by unnatural parents. Through the aesthetic solution of consigning regicide to stage invisibility, and of demeaning the King's role to that of an innocent child, Norton and Sackville position themselves politically against the act, in the line of Tudor orthodox political thought, but without refusing to analyze the historical and political inevitability ensuing after the disastrous decisions made by a tyrant. By inscribing Gorboduc's assassination into the emblematic logic of symbolic absence, the authors solve the

[8] On the development of the family/state analogy from classical writings to the English Renaissance see Jordan (1993). As Raber states, "[a]t the heart of the analogy is the king/father link" (2000, 302). Raber understands the apparition of the Erinyes in the fourth dumb show of *Gorboduc* as representing "the primal nature of Videna's crime" (312). However, their part in the pantomime transcends mere feminine passion, and becomes symbolic of the indivisibility of the familial and political nature of the play's crimes.

history play's practical problem of acquainting its viewers with the admonitory usefulness of a distasteful historical truth –namely, that tragic consequences ensued from Gorboduc's disastrous policy– without compromising the play's political orthodoxy –the condemnation of revolt against legitimate monarchs. Emblematic encoding grants that the play's admonitory rhetoric may function in the direction of monarch and subject alike.

The Order of Discourse II: *Edward II*

The relation between dumb show and dramatized speech in *Gorboduc* institutes a principle of discursive order in early Tudor drama. Dieter Mehl expressed its bare essentials by affirming that "two spheres, dialogue without action and action without dialogue, are kept entirely separate" in the origin of Elizabethan tragedy, and that only in later drama does "an organic relation" between these two levels crystallize (1965, 30). A consequence of this principle is that aesthetic order will function as container of complex political signification, thus distancing dramatic effect from the affective immediacy and the edifying purpose that theorists ascribed to the use of historical plots. The late Tudor history play learned from its Inns of Court predecessors the advantages of the emblematic mode when the presentation of dangerous political matter advised affective distance and conceptual density. Marlowe's *Edward II*, not just another Tudor history play dramatizing regicide but arguably the most astounding study of the subject in Renaissance drama, exemplifies the uses that Elizabethan public dramatists made of these aesthetic procedures.[9]

Marlowe's history shares with Norton and Sackville's the moral framework of the *de casibus* tradition, the political interest in problems of legitimacy and rebellion, and the aesthetic reliance on emblematic expression. Critical disagreement on the interpretation of *Edward II* has arisen around the question of its political orthodoxy, namely the extent to which Marlowe made use of Renaissance theories of monarchy in order to defend a more private cause –the king's homosexuality. It is my contention that any account of these questions must take into consideration the play's commitment to emblematic expression in its treatment of the king's death. Marlowe updated a former tradition of emblematic drama by inserting the logic of the emblematic dumb show in the play's action.

The fall of Edward II is prefigured from the play's original title, which binds "troublesome raigne" to "lamentable death" in a cause-effect relation (1598, A1r).[10] The opening scene encodes this relation emblematically, as Gaveston declares, after Edward I's death, his intention to live in pleasure with the new king:

> I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
> Musicians, that with touching of a string
> May draw the pliant king which way I please:
> Music and poetry is his delight;
> Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night,
> Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows;
> And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,

[9] See Thomas P. Anderson's chapter on *Edward II* (2006, 93–121). My late notice of this study, and the limits of space here, prevents further engagement with an analysis of Marlowe's play that touches on most of the issues treated here: regicide as allegory, the myth of Actaeon and the theory of the king's two bodies. Anderson's main argument is regicide as trauma, and Marlowe's treatment of this event in light of the play's resistance to memorialization. My account differs from Anderson's in my conviction that the play's use of rhetoric and the emblem favours a complex encoding of history rather than a reflection on its limits.

[10] On competing views of Marlowe's uses of history and tragedy see Ribner (1955) and Parks (1999).

Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad;
My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay;
Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
To hide those parts which men delight to see,
Shall bathe him in a spring; and there, hard by,
One like Actæon, peeping through the grove,
Shall by the angry goddess be transform'd,
And running in the likeness of an hart,
By yelping hounds pull'd down, shall seem to die:
Such things as these best please his majesty. (1967, 1.1.50–70)

Gaveston's meticulous account of future courtly sports acquires the form of an emblematic pageant whose moral, political and sexual undertones have been pointed out by several critics. Among them, Wessmann has cogently argued for the structural importance of core motifs in the the Actaeon myth (namely, peering and dismembering) in Marlowe's reshaping of history into personal and political tragedy (1999–2000); more recently Gómez Lara has identified the speech's major iconic sources in two emblems by Alciatus and Whitney, and has briefly sketched the interpretative lines that each emblem opens: "[i]n a very economic way, Marlowe warns the audience about the selfishness of flatterers but also about the troublesome situation for the whole community when the head of the state is ruled by private passions" (2005, 106).

Both readings rely silently on ascribing to the favourite's speech the expressive power of the dumb show: Gaveston's relation functions as pantomime's *order* that conceals its *signification*. In this sense, attribution of structural importance or emblematic meaning demands an act of interpretative reconstruction that must take account of the text's verbal and iconic texture, as well as its intertextual relations. Andreas Alciatus's emblem *In receptatores sicariorum* ("Of those who give shelter to cut-throats") shows the *pictura* of Actaeon transformed into a hart being devoured by his own dogs (Figure 3). Marlowe's likely use of this source would then cast the king as a political Actaeon who subverts hierarchy in order to advance a flattering plebeian. Whitney's use of the same image to depict *Voluptas Aerumnosa* ("Shameful pleasure") reminds those in pursuit of "fancies fonde, and thinges vnlawfull" that their fates will be that of Actaeon's: its use by Marlowe would position either the ambitious Gaveston or the wanton King as shameful pleasure-seekers devoured by their vain desires (Whitney 1586, 16).

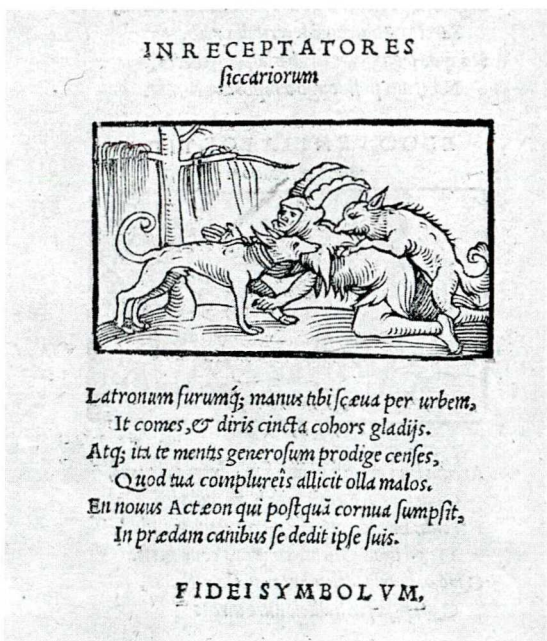

Figure 3: *In Receptatores Sicariorum*, from Andreas Alciatus, *Emblematorum Liber* (1531, E6v). Reproduced by kind permission of Glasgow University Library.

Moreover, the account is presented as belonging to the realm of a character's private fantasy, thus lacking the framing function and moral authority of the dumb show. Emblematic ambivalence is reinforced by the psychological effect of casting a speaker whose very words address their estrangement from signification. Gaveston's emblematic fantasy, while overtly promising pastoral bliss, unwittingly projects a tragic course of historical action in excess of its own words. Moreover, two specific themes of Gaveston's fantasy exceed the textual order of previous Actaeon emblems, as well as the symbolic signification behind them. One is the obsessive focus on the physical, sexualized body: boys dressed "like sylvan nymphs", and especially one "in Dian's shape," expose in their androgynous nakedness the male gaze, that of a royal Actaeon whose later fall and dismemberment will advance the destruction of natural and political body. The other is the royal context that presides over Gaveston's Actaeonesque fantasy, since neither Alciatus nor Whitney devised their emblems as cautionary mirrors for princes: in Marlowe's rewriting, the interplay of the natural and political body of the king is thus made the fulcrum of Edward's unhappy history. Marlowe made deliberate use of the mystical theory of the king's two bodies and its signification for Renaissance absolute monarchy. As the Elizabethan lawyer Edmund Plowden argued in his *Reports*:

> [...] the King has in him two Bodies ... a Body natural, and a Body politic. His Body natural (if it be considered in itself) is a Body mortal, subject to all Infirmities that come by Nature or Accident, to the Imbecility of infancy or old Age, and to the like Defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other People. But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal, and this Body is utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to, and for this Cause, what the King does in his Body politic, cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any Disability in his natural Body. (Quoted in Kantorowicz 1957, 7)

The dialectic relation of the fallible and infallible bodies of the king presides over Marlowe's play. The play opens and closes with acts of royal succession (from Edward I to Edward II, and from Edward II to Edward III) that echo the mystic perfection of the body politic despite the malfunctions occurring in the body natural. On his way to meeting Edward, Gaveston reads a letter by the king whose words open the play: "My father is deceased; come Gaveston, / And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend" (1967, 1.1.1–2). Edward's command annihilates political order by preferring his unnatural love for a plebeian before the natural hierarchy of English peers.[11] And yet, his legitimacy as right heir to the crown is not put to the question unless by acts of political rebellion. On its part, the end of the play stages an act of regicide which, in spite of its intimations of retribution for the sexual crime of Edward –the weakness of his body natural– does not convey the obliteration of monarchical order but, on the contrary, the destruction of its transgressors –both the sodomitical king and the rebellious peers.

Christopher Wessmann has seen in the myth of Actaeon informing the history of Edward II the brutality of an absolute power that destroys all forms of transgression: "[f]rom the viewpoint of Marlowe's 'Actaeonesque history,' cyclical retributive dismemberment accompanies power, as both forceful tool and a means of display" (1999–2000, 28). In one point only I disagree with Wessmann, but in one that seems to me crucial for the aesthetics and politics of the play: for all of Marlowe's intimations of dismemberment, this never impinges on the king's body. The Actaeonesque allegory advanced at the beginning of the play materializes neither in Edward's natural body nor in a body politic that legitimately migrates through three Edwards along the play. The king's assassination, for all its brutality, is performed in accordance with an aesthetic

[11] On the relations between sodomy and the politics of favour and access in Marlowe's play and English Renaissance monarchy see Perry (2000).

logic that, far from suggesting dismemberment, fosters a perverse version of corporeal integrity. In this sense, the paradox of staged regicide in Marlowe's *Edward II* is that, far from signifying the dismemberment of the state through a traumatic event, it sanctions its perpetuity and integrity.[12]

Marlowe made the king's death a direct consequence of the failures in his body natural not only in its moral dimension, but also in its very physical materialization –the moral logic whereby punishment must fit the crime.[13] In this, Marlowe counted on the written evidence of chronicle history, which explicitly narrated Edward's death in its very Dantesque moral dimension. Holinshed tells that Edward's murderers

> came intentlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed asleepe, and with heavie featherbeds on a table (as some write) being caste upon him, they kept him down and withal put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust up into his bodie an hot spit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which passing into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceived (1587, 341)

The dramatist decided to rewrite the episode into a theatrical scene that simultaneously hides and displays the details concerning the authorship, the technique and the consequences of Edward's brutal impalement. First, Marlowe invented the allegorical Lightborn, the hellish emissary to whom the rebel Mortimer commissions the act:[14]

> LIGHTBORN
> You shall not need to give instructions;
> 'Tis not the first time I have killed a man;
> I learned in Naples how to poison flowers,
> To pierce the windpipe with a needle's point,
> Or whilst one is asleep, to take a quill
> And blow a little powder in his ears,
> Or open his mouth and pour quicksilver down,
> But yet I have a braver way than these.
> Mortimer Junior
> What's that?
> LIGHTBORN
> Nay, you shall pardon me, none shall know my tricks. (1967, 5.4.29–39)

Lightborn's literary indebtedness to an infernal universe, his sophisticated murdering skills, and his concealment of the "braver way" to kill the king cast a strange veil on the act, diluting agency into a conglomerate of allegorical circumstances.[15] This is hardly the way a proper historian should deal with agency, subjectivity and responsibility, and it is certainly not the way in which Holinshed proceeded. The same technique applies to the murder scene:

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[12] For a different reading of the play in light of the theory of the king's two bodies see Anderson (2006, 110–112)

[13] On Edward's murder as instance of "punitive sodomy" see Crewe (2009, 393).

[14] On Lightborn's status as allegorical of the tortures of the damned, see Levin (1964, 101). Anderson stresses the allegorical, ahistorical character of Lightborn as a reflection on allegory itself, namely the play's own "'braver way' of reading the past" (2006, 98).

[15] For a similar reading see Parks: "[c]rucially, the appearance of the state's orderly progression –not coincidentally the persistent subject of the chronicle– is only made possible by means of the artifice through which Lightborn, skilled in elaborate, Italian ways to kill, has concealed the unnatural means of Edward's death" (1999, 289).

LIGHTBORN
Run for the table.
EDWARD
O spare me, or despatch me in a trice.
LIGHTBORN
So, lay the table down, and stamp on it,
But not too hard, lest that you bruise his body.
MATREVIS
I fear me that this cry will raise the town,
And therefore, let us take horse and away.
LIGHTBORN
Tell me, sirs, was it not bravely done? (1967, 5.6.109–115)

Edward's death as a homosexual Actaeon is staged in accordance with a method that again foregrounds emblematic division of order from signification, and therefore suggests a semantic obliqueness reminiscent of the representation of regicide in *Gorboduc*: the anatomical mapping of the king's sin of the flesh, the dilution of responsibilities in his murder, the attribution of brutality to an external, allegorical force that somehow spares Edward's political enemies of all responsibility, the violent punishment of the sodomite which nevertheless leaves an unbruised body onstage –that of a flawed king transgressing in his body natural the symbolic law of the father, but transmitting a spotless legacy to his heir. Marlowe's play transforms the historical act of Edward's regicide into an extraordinary political fantasia: the emblematic encoding of regicide allows the dramatist to expose the historical tragedy leading from sinful desire to violent death within an aesthetic framework that keeps the body natural in apparent integrity, and thus leaves the body politic miraculously untouched.

Conclusion

In a foreparent volume to the present collection, Michele Stanco argued that the dramatic encoding of history was in the late Elizabethan period a complex procedure encompassing divergent generic possibilities as tragedy, comedy, pastoral or epic:

> Encoding a historical event into a historiographical discourse implies overcoding it within ideological evaluations. Adapting the historiographical discourse to a tragic or comic pattern (and poetics of closure) implies further ideologically charging it. The tragic or comic theatricalisation of the historiographical discourse, besides, complying with aesthetic rules, also plays an evident ideologico-political role. Thus, genre conventions emblematically cooperate in structuring power discourse. (2000, 131)

The argument somehow denies a genuine poetics to the history play, a genre that relies on various dramatic patterns of closure to accomplish its complex task of adapting history into drama. This paper has proceeded somehow differently by acknowledging that Tudor poetic theory generated a set of specific laws and principles for historical poetry and historical drama. And yet, my analysis of two cases of regicide in Tudor history plays endorses Stanco's argument in detecting that the laws of the history play fell short of its own dramatic practice precisely when the situations it dramatized demanded ideological overcoding. In this sense, my reading of *Gorboduc* and *Edward II* has emphasized the persistence of an emblematic mode whose main aim is estrangement of sign from referent. Either through scenic absence *(Gorboduc)* or presence *(Edward II)*, regicide becomes, through its emblematic encodings, disentangled from the historical trauma inherent to such action. The effect is a complex process of detachment and mediation which in both cases reinstates this act in the orthodox political logic of Tudor absolute monarchy. And

yet, ideological reinstatement requires an aesthetic reordering that contradicts the genre's genuine aspirations to a dramaturgy of presence based on affective identification with past heroes. The choice of a highly emblematic rhetoric is certainly a move away from a dramaturgy of emotional response and toward intellectual decoding. In order to assimilate political trauma into the discourse of order, Tudor historical playwrights had to change the order of discourse.

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Erzsébet Stróbl

Lunar Imagery and Royal Panegyric in John Lyly's Plays

On the second of February of the "wondrous year" of 1588 John Lyly's play *Endimion, The Man in the Moon* was presented in front of the queen. It was a great success and the playwright's ambitions were rewarded by the queen's remark that he would make a good Master of the Revels at court. A decade later, another play by Lyly *The Woman in the Moon* echoing the subtitle of *Endimion* was published. For the first time, Lyly wrote the text in blank verse and the prologue announced that it was "but a Poets dreame,/ The first he had [...] but not the last, unless the first displease" (Prologus 17–19). The work turned out to be the last one by Lyly; presumably, it did not arouse the acclaim the writer expected. In both plays, the lunar imagery and its association with power and the female principle were dominant. While the first used the Moon in an encomiastic manner to compliment the queen, the latter relied on the negative associations of the image. The following paper claims that the differences of the 'lunar' language used by Lyly in his court plays marks the deterioration of his success and hopes for a court career. Furthermore, it will argue that the change of the lunar imagery is part of a more general disillusionment with the extreme allegorical mode of the cult of the monarch and signals a shift in the iconology of the moon from panegyric to a more critical voice in the late 1590s.

From the late 1570s, Queen Elizabeth was celebrated in pageantry, poetry, and shows in the language of allegory that appropriated elements of classical mythology. One of these tropes was her association with the Roman goddess Diana. Many writers, among them George Peele, Sir Walter Ralegh, and John Lyly used the imagery of the moon to compliment the queen. Lyly, besides referring to epithets of Diana in his language, explored further themes related to the Diana cult: the conflict between duty and love, female power and chastity. The most intriguing expression of the Diana cult of the queen can be found in his play *Endimion,* which draws a striking parallel between the celestial body and the character of the queen.

Yet the moon's negative connotations with the underworld and witchcraft quickly found their way into the writings of the age. In all of Lyly's works, there is an undercurrent of criticism of the life at court. As Philippa Berry says: "Both his prose and dramatic works sound an occasional note of scepticism about the courtly values which he superficially appears to be promulgating" (Berry 1989, 112). As the playwright grew older in the service of the court and never achieved the post of the Master of the Revels that he so dearly hoped for,[1] his voice embittered. In his final work *The Woman of the Moon,* the Diana cult of the queen turns into "a melancholy instance of an image tarnished and an image lost" (Bevington 1968, 185).

The Diana Motif

The phrases "Virgin Queen" and "Queen Elizabeth I" have been identical in the cultural memory of the last four hundred years, yet the young princess who stepped on the English throne in 1558 was not expected by her contemporaries never to marry and to put an end to the Tudor dynasty.

[1] See his two disappointed petitions to the queen (Bond 1973, I:67–71).

In spite of her first public speech as a queen where she expressed her wish to remain unmarried,[2] her courtiers, her parliaments and her subjects exercised a constant pressure on Elizabeth to choose a husband in order to produce an heir to the throne. Several entertainments staged for her contained references to her future marriage and welcoming hosts wished her the blessings of the state of matrimony. Nevertheless, Elizabeth continued to stress her contentment with her virgin state in her speeches,[3] and expressed her thanks whenever virginity was praised[4] and her anger at the attempt to consult her on such business.[5] Yet as part of England's foreign policy, the diplomatic marriage negotiations spread well into the 1580s, when Elizabeth was over forty years old. In her early reign her praise used Biblical typology and recommended her godliness, wisdom and justice to the subjects, but with the passing of years and the advanced age of the queen her virgin state was excused and exploited by propaganda.

Among the first instances where the queen's virginity was openly celebrated was at the entertainment at Woodstock in 1575, and at the entry of the queen into the city of Norwich in 1578. In a device written by Thomas Churchyard at Norwich, Cupid was captured, his coach destroyed and his bow handed over to Elizabeth as a sign of her victory above love (Nichols 1969, II:191). On the same visit the phrase "Virgin Queen" was used for the first time referring to Elizabeth I (Collinson 2007, 138). In an evening masque of gods and goddesses, Diana handed over her gift to the queen with the following words "Who ever found on earth a constant friend,/ That may compare with this my Virgin Queene?" (Nichols 1969, II:163). From the mythological characters that were utilized in her emerging cult, the figure of Diana was one of the most useful ones. On the one hand, it was already current in the royal panegyric of the French court by the 1570s, on the other, hand it offered an opportunity to celebrate the aging queen's virginity.

The Roman goddess Diana, identified with the Greek Artemis, was the goddess of forests and hills. She was known for her skills in hunting, for her hunting companions the nymphs and her chastity, which she set as a standard for her court. In Greek mythology she was the twin sister of Apollo, from whose solar epithet Phœbus, the sun, she was often called Phoebe, the moon. In Roman mythology Diana has been associated with Artemis since the fifth century BC. She supplanted the place of the moon goddess Semele and Luna as well, and on late antique representations she was always depicted wearing a crescent moon in her hair. Artemis/Diana was sometimes also called Cynthia, after her birthplace on Delos, Mount Cynthus. The cult of Artemis/Diana was widespread in antique Greece and Rome, and her temple in Ephesus became one of the Seven Wonders of the World, and her cult was even mentioned in the New Testament (Acts 19:28).

In the early 16th century the cult of Diana was revived in France in a royal context to praise the consort of the monarch (Berry 1989, 38-60). In 1514 at the royal entry to Paris of the bride of Louis XII, Mary Tudor (Henry VIII's sister), was presented as Diana. In this context Mary received her identification as the counterpart of the king who was identified with the sun, Phœbus. The text of the pageant claimed "par Pheubus humble et doux,/ Dyana est en terre reluysant/

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[2] "Sith I first had consideration of myself to be born a servitor of almighty God, I happily chose this kind of life in which I yet live, which I assure you for mine own part hath hitherto best contended myself and I trust hath been most acceptable to God." "Lastly, this may be sufficient, both for my memory and honour of my name, if when I have expired my last breath, this may be inscribed upon my tomb: Here lies interred Elizabeth/ A virgin pure until her death." Queen Elizabeth's first speech before parliament, February 10, 1559 (Elizabeth I 2000, 56, 60).

[3] Speeches of 28 January, 10 April, 1563.

[4] At her reception at Cambridge the orator of Kings college "praised many and singular virtues set and planted in her majesty, which her Highness not acknowledging of, shaked her head and bit her lips and her fingers, and sometimes broke forth ... 'Non est veritas, et utinam.' Praising virginity, she said to the orator, 'God's blessings of thyne heart; there continue.'" (Nichols 1969, 161)

[5] See the progress to Kenilworth and her anger at the parliamentary petitions urging her to marry.

... Phœbus set roy qui domine sur nous./ Et Dyana est France la fertile" ("Through the humble and gentle rays of Phœbus, Diana shines on earth ... Phœbus is the king who rules over us, and Diana is fertile France.") (Berry 1989, 44). In the royal entry to Lyons in 1533 the queen of Francis I was associated with Diana in a similar manner. The Diana cult of the consort of the French monarchs was fully developed when the name analogy suggested it for the praise of Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II. During the reigns of the three sons of Henry II (Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III) women near the monarch (wives or mistresses) continued to be associated with Diana (Berry 1989, 47-50). While the king was compared to the sun, Phœbus, his consort was symbolically the moon, Phoebe or Diana.

The French royal panegyric was a precursor to the similar mode of praise applied to the English queen from the late 1570s. Although the French Diana discourse contained no allusions to chastity, in England the goddess's virginity became the central feature within the cult of Elizabeth. However, the other associations of the goddess were just as happily exploited by panegyrists. Diana's beauty and grace complimented the aging queen as "semper aedem" the motto used by Elizabeth. Her close association with nature led to Elizabeth's praise with flowers, and the bounty of May. The queen's court of ladies-in-waiting was seen as the court of Diana with her nymphs. Her association with the moon symbolized her freedom from the constraints of the sublunary system, and from other foreign worldly powers. Elizabeth's favourite pastime, hunting, was also connected to the figure of Diana, who in this role symbolized an independent military might.

In the 1580s, the cult discourse of Queen Elizabeth contained in growing number references to her as Diana. On depictions, the emblem of the crescent moon signified the Diana aspect of the queen. On several portraits from the late 1580s, Elizabeth appeared wearing a jewel in the form of a crescent moon in her hair.[6] A political caricature from ca. 1584–85 complimented the queen by depicting her as Diana amid her nymphs who revealed the shame of Castillo, a nymph found pregnant, presented as Pope Gregory XIII sitting on a brood of sins.[7] In 1584, George Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris* used the Diana associations as a basic element of the queen's panegyric. The plot of the play was set in the woods of Diana, the heavenly court to arraign the decision of Paris assembled in the bower of Diana, and the final judgement was assigned to Diana. The English nymph, Eliza, received the golden apple and unified in herself not only the virtues of the majesty of Juno, the wisdom of Pallas and the beauty of Venus, but surpassed her heavenly peers by adopting Diana's virtue of virgin chastity. The lyric poetry of Sir Walter Ralegh legitimated the Diana aspect of the queen's cult most profoundly in the 1580s:

> Praise be Diana's fair and harmless light,
> Praised be the dewes, wherewith she moues the floods;
> Praised be hir beames, the glorie of the night,
> Praised be her power, by which all powers abound.
> Praised be hir Nymphs, with whom she decks the woods,
> Praised be hir knights, in whom true honour liues, (1–6) (Latham 1951, 10–11)[8]

The imagery shows Elizabeth as the Moon goddess whose heavenly sphere is placed above the terrestrial world ("In heauen Quuene she is among the spheares," l. 9). She has special powers above the ocean ("she moues the floods," l. 7), above the dews of the Earth, and above the influence of other stars ("By hir the virtue of the starrs downe slide," l. 15). She is not subject to the passing of time ("Time wears her not, she does his chariot guide,/ Mortalitie belowe hir orbe is

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[6] See the miniatures of Nicholas Hilliard about the queen (Strong 1987, 125–128, 147–48).

[7] Peter van der Hyden *Queen Elizabeth and Pope Gregory XIII as Diana and Castillo*, ca. 1584–85. The British Museum. For a thorough analysis, see Montrose 2006, 138–140.

[8] The poem was first printed anonymously in *The Phoenix Nest*, London, 1593.

plaste," ls. 13–14) thus she is *semper edem,* "always the same." John Lyly whose career as a playwright started in the 1580s also assimilated the Diana motif into his works produced for Queen Elizabeth's court.

Diana versus Venus

The early plays of John Lyly were conceived in a period when the Diana cult of the queen was developed. His debut at court were two plays, *Campaspe*[9] and *Sappho and Phao*[10] in which the praise of the queen strikes a new note related to the Diana imagery: the contest between chastity and love.

In *Campaspe* Lyly chose the antique historical figure of Alexander the Great, to portray the royal presence. However, instead of depicting a victorious general on the battlefield, Alexander is placed in the intimate context of his inner court. He appears as a man in love who struggles to master his private feelings. The play explores the conflict between public duty and private love that a monarch has to face.

It depicts Alexander after his conquest of Thebes, falling in love with one of his captives, Campaspe. Alexander, who is victorious on the fields, is enslaved by the beauty of Campaspe. The plot of the drama investigates the possibility whether Alexander can realize his love, whether he can be a successful commander of hearts and of military adventures at the same time. In his pursuit of love, his court becomes effeminate, and his soldiers disillusioned. One of them complains: "I mislike this new delicacie & pleasing peace: for what else do we se now then a kind of softnes in every mans mind" (IV.iii.6–7). Alexander has to realize that by transforming his court into a place where members are occupied by "pen and paper to paint their loves" (IV.iii.17) he looses his majesty and strength at war. The final note reverses the beginning of the play, and the quest for peace, learning, and love are replaced by the thrill of a new military adventure.

Campaspe lacks dynamic action and the only victory of Alexander is over himself to master his feelings for Campaspe, as "it were a shame Alexander should desire to commande the world, if he could not command himselfe" (V.iv.150–51). Alexander can be regarded as the allegorical representation of Elizabeth. Although there is no direct reference to her person, the play ends in defining sovereignty as the self–sacrifice of the monarch for his people, a theme frequently appearing in the speeches of the queen, especially on occasions when the topic of her possible marriage was referred to.[11]

In his next play *Sappho and Phao,* the contest between chastity and love is further pursued. The monarch is turned into a beautiful young woman, Sappho, the princess of Syracuse. Sappho is a chaste virgin, the princess of an island, "fair by nature, by birth royal, learned by education, by government politike, rich by peace" (I.ii.6–9). Her court is peopled by ladies in waiting in a similar position of servant, companion and informal councillor as the maids-of-honour of Queen Elizabeth. Sappho, similarly to Alexander, falls in love with her own subject, Phao, the ferryman, and the audience is allowed to pry into the queen's private feelings and struggle with her emotions.

As in *Campaspe* love again proves to be destructive for the majesty of the monarch. In the scenes portraying her lovesick, she lies in a bed and groans in a near hysterical manner: "Hey ho: I know not which way to turn me. Ah! ah! I fainte, I die!" (III.iii.1–2). In the display of such feminine weakness Sappho loses all her pretence to majesty. It is only after she conquers her love that she regains her power to act: she captures Cupid and becomes "on earth the Goddesse of affec-

[9] Presented at Whitehall on 1 January 1584. Printed by Thomas Cadman in London, 1584.

[10] Presented at Whitehall on 3 February 1584. Printed by Thomas Cadman in London, 1584.

[11] See her public speeches of 1559, 1576, 1586, 1588 (Elizabeth I 2000, 54, 170, 187, 326).

tions" (V.ii.64). While Sappho is allowed to admit that love is "a thing unfit for my degree," Phao is not released from the bond of love for the queen. His constancy and loyalty are elevated to the height of heroic courtliness: "My life shalbe spente in sighing and wishing, the one for my bad fortune, the other for Sapphoes good" (V.iii.20–22). His attitude foreshadows the interest of Lyly in defining courtly service for a female sovereign in his play *Endimion.*

Gallathea[12] represents an interesting phase of Lyly's examination of the conflict between chastity and love. The play depicts the goddesses, Diana and Venus, and their contest above the control of humans. The story contains no royalty; it shows the world of ordinary people. Love triumphs over chastity in the play, but the victory of Venus is dubious in a sixteenth century context: two country girls fall into love with each other and only the magic transformation of one into a boy resolves the situation. The play equivocates both on the triumph of Venus and on the majesty of Diana. Venus calls Diana "goddess of hate" (V.iii.35) and one feels the cruelty of a tyrant as she declares

> As for thee *Cupid,* I will break thy bowe, and burne thine arrows, binde thy handes, clyp thy wings, and fetter thy feete. ... *Venus* rods are made of Roses, *Dianaes* of Bryers. ... Thou shalt be used as *Dianaes* slave, not *Venus* sonne. All the world shall see that I will use thee like a captive, and shew my self a Conqueror. (III.iv. 74–76, 79, 91–93)

This is the first play in which the negative aspects of the Diana myth appear.

Cynthia: Moon and Monarch

After exploring the conflict of chastity and love, the public duty and private feelings of a monarch, Lyly finally arrived to the fullest, most monumental allegorical celebration of the chaste ruler in his play *Endimion, The Man in the Moon.* The play's powerful and virtuous female sovereign, Cynthia, is openly connected to the lunar imagery of the Diana cult. The Moon within this context comprises ideas of power, influence, femininity and chastity. In *Sappho and Phao* the queen's sovereignty was unconnected with the connotations of the moon goddess. Phao's complaint rather associated her with the other celestial body, the sun, the symbol of kingship: "for Phao! Unhappy, canst thou not be content to behold the sunne, but thou muste couet to build thy net in the Sunne?" (II.iv.3–4). Conspicuously *Endimion, The Man in the Moon* starts with a similar love complaint of a subject, but this love is aimed at the feminine Moon:

> *End.* I find Eumenides, in all things both variety to content, and satiety to glut, saving only in my affections, which are so staid, and withal so stately, that I can neither satisfy my heart with love, nor mine eyes with wonder. My thoughts, Eumenides, are stiched to the stars, which being as high as I can see, thou mayest imagine how much higher they are than I can reach.
> *Eum.* If you be enamoured of anything above the moon, your thoughts are ridiculous, for that things immortal are not subject to affections; if allured or enchanted with these transitory things under the moon, you show yourselfe senseless to attribute such lofty titles to such trifles.
> *End.* My love is placed neither under the moon nor above.
> *Eum.* I hope you are not sotted upon the Man in the Moon.
> *End.* No; but settled either to die or possess the moon herself.
> *Eum.* Is Endimion mad, or do I mistake? Do you love the moon, Endimion?
> *End.* Eumenides, the moon. (I.i.1–25)

[12] It was entered in the *Stationer's Register* 1 April 1585, but Lyly was unable to bring it to court, and the play was acted before the queen at Greenwich only on 1 January 1588. It was printed by Iohn Charlwoode in London, 1592.

Who can doubt at this point that Endimion is really in love with a celestial object? Throughout the first scene the equivocation on the object of Endimion's love is maintained. The celestial body, the Moon, becomes Cynthia, the sovereign, who stands between the things immortal and those that are transitory. But where does she belong? Is the love for her madness, or is it only a trifle? What love is due to her then? The play suggests these questions from the very first scene and pursues to answer who Cynthia is from an earthly perspective and what her love means for her subjects.

The plot of the play starts on Endimion's unmatched dotage on Cynthia. He deserts his love, Tellus, who in revenge employs the old enchantress, Dipsas to conjure eternal sleep for Endimion. Eumenides seeks help and in the well of a hermit he is granted the fulfilment of one wish if he is a true lover. He wavers between the choice for the love of Semele, and the friendship for Endimion, and chooses the second as he claims it is higher in virtue than love for a woman. He gets an oracle that the kiss of "whose figure of all is the perfectest, and never to be measured; always one, yet never the same, still inconstant, yet never wavering" (III.iv.198–200) will awake his friend; a riddle in which the queen, Cynthia, and the moon are identified. After two brief appearances, Cynthia becomes the true centre of events only in the fifth act: she wakes Endimion from his enchanted sleep, restores his youth, releases the servant of Dipsas from magic, and couples four pairs in marriage.

In the final act amid the general rejoicing Cynthia stands alone, ultimately remaining an outsider unable to share in the happiness of others. Throughout the drama she is only addressed in superlatives. Before her appearance her fame is announced even by her enemies. She is "a mistress of ripe years and infinite virtues, great honours and unspeakable beauty" (.i.71–72), she is "incomparable" (II.i.119), "governeth all things" (I.ii.36), on her "hands the compass of the earth is at command" (III.i.34–35), and "by her influence both comforteth all things, and by her authority comandeth all creatures" (I.ii.41–43). Yet her perfectness and her almightiness make her a sterile object of adoration. Cynthia is not only called a celestial object, but she is so far removed from the other characters of the play as the moon is from the terrestrial objects. She is unattainable not only for Endimion but for her other subjects too. She judges and punishes, commands and orders, but does not engage in homely conversation with anyone. She is not only incomparable, but also inaccessible.

In the play, the only affectionate relation of Cynthia to another character is to Endimion, the courtier. She accepts the love of Endimion, but only as far as it is termed service:

> *End.* The time was Madam, and is, and euer shall be, that I honoured your highness aboue all the world; but to strech it so far as to call it loue, I neuer durst. There hath none pleased mine eye by *Cynthia,* none delighted mine ears but *Cynthia,* none possessed my heart but *Cynthia.* I haue forsken all other fortunes to followe *Cynthia,* and here I stand ready to die if it please *Cynthia.* Such a difference hath the Gods sette between our states, that all must be duetie, loyaltie, and reuerence; nothing ... be termed loue. ...
> *Cynth. Endimion,* this honourable respect of thine, shalbe christened loue in thee, & my reward for it fauor. Perseuer *Endimion* in louing me, & I account more strength in a true hart, then in a walled Cittie." (V.iii.161–170, 179–182)

The only proper attitude the play allows towards this perfect celestial object, this chaste maiden queen is loyalty and service. There is a hierarchy of loves presented within the play. The love for a mortal woman is the basest; friendship is of a much worthier character; and the love of the monarch is of the highest degree achieved only by the best and most virtuous courtiers, such as Endimion. However, one can feel no sympathy with this character, who betrayed his love to "moon-gaze" at the most perfect body. The ideal courtliness of Cynthia's court is cold and distant for all the other characters of the play.

Within the idealized panegyric of the queen in *Endimion*, the aspect of the negative associations of the moon imagery appears. Lyly based his play on the antique story of the shepherd Endimion told by Ovid in *Heroides* XVIII § 63, who fell in love with the Moon, and chose eternal sleep as his love could not be fulfilled (Thomas 1978, 36–37). In the more popular version of the story by Pausanias in the *Description of Greece* V.i.4., it was the moon who got enraptured with the shepherd and enchanted him into eternal sleep (Thomas 1978, 37). Though the words of the play refer to the first version, yet the other tradition, in which the moon bewitches the shepherd, looms in the background. The first scene's conversation readily offers itself for such an interpretation too. Eumenides asks his friend to cease these affections "a dotage no less miserable than monstrous" (I.i. 35), and ends the scene with the lines "without doubt Endimion is bewitched; otherwise in a man of such rare virtues there could not harbour a mind of such extreme madness. I will follow him, lest in this fancy of the moon he deprive himself of the sight of the sun" (I.i. 104–108).

Bewitching was not far from the image of Diana. Diana was often seen as a "triformis" goddess, thus associated with the triple Hecate and the underworld. Renaissance Neoplatonic discourse delighted in exploiting images where a god exerted his power in a triple from (Wind 1968, 36). Diana was in heaven Cynthia, the moon; on Earth Diana, the huntress; and in the underworld Hecate, the enchantress.

Philippa Berry studied Diana's connection to the underworld and witchcraft in the early modern English context. She found that in England it was not until the major witchcraft trial at Chelmsford, Essex, 1582 where eighteen women were condemned and hanged that the topic was foregrounded (Berry 1989, 129). Reginald Scot in his book *Discovery of Witchcraft* (published in 1584) wrote:

> Certain wicked women following Sathan's provocations, being seduced by the illusion of divels, beleve and professe, that in the night time they ride abroad with Diana, the goddesse, or else with Herodias, with an innumerable multitude, upon certaine beasts, and passé over manie countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and doo whatsoever those faires or ladies command. (Quoted in Berry 1989, 130)

The period curiously coincides with the emergence of the Diana cult of Queen Elizabeth. In Lyly's *Endimion* Cynthia's power can be threatening as it can beguile her subjects. Did she not bewitch an honest and virtuous man into forgetting his former promises to another lady and to choose the life of a hermit to gaze upon the moon? Furthermore, Cynthia is capable throughout the drama to conjure magic. She makes the choice to kiss Endimion and to retransform Bagoa from a tree into a human.

The only other character in the play who can exert her influence upon others is Dipsas, the enchantress. She can "darken the sun ... and remove the moon of her course, [and]... restore youth to aged" (I.iv.28–29). Cynthia thus has a devilish counterpart within the play in the image of Dipsas. Dipsas seems to be the negative image of Cynthia's fairness. The panegyric of her ugly features[13] mirrors the praise of the beauty of Cynthia, and the unexplainable passion of Sir Tophas for her stands in parallel with the dotage of Endimion on Cynthia. Thus a negative undercurrent, hardly perceivable, disturbs the moon imagery of Cynthia's praise in *Endimion*.

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[13] Oh, what a fine, thin hair hath Dipsas! What a
pretty low forehead! What a tall and stately
nose! What little hollow eyes! What great
and goodly lips! How harmless she is, being
toothless, – her fingers fat and short, adorned
with long nails like a bittern! In how sweet a
proportion her cheeks hang down to her breasts
like dugs and her paps to her waist like bags! (III.iii.62–70)

The Dark Side of the Moon

John Lyly's last play, *The Woman in the Moon*[14] explores the dark aspects of lunar symbolism and expresses a strong feeling of misogyny. Anxieties about female power appear and the virtue of the female sex in general is questioned. The criticism is so outspoken, that one doubts the truth of the statement on the title page of the play's first edition, which claims that it was performed in front of the queen.[15] *The Woman in the Moon* renders the blackest image about the female sex among Lyly's plays. In his influential prose work *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* (1578) Lyly accused women of a weakness of character and an inconstancy of mind, yet the English queen was tactfully exempted from criticism by a sequel *Eupheus and His England* (1580). In *The Woman in the Moon* this opinion about women echoes his early misogyny, and the moon imagery of the queen's panegyric is utilized to express this unfavourable view about the female sex. Although most critics point out, as Hunter does, that "the extension of this idea that the satire on woman is pointed at Queen Elizabeth should be too absurd,"[16] yet the imagery of the play shows a distorted reflection of the images of the cult of Elizabeth, that deserves serious attention.

Pandora, her name meaning 'the gifted', is elevated to a unique position in the drama: she is the only woman on Earth, adored by all men. This unrivalled privilege is coupled with the most pitiful state: she is the most powerless person on Earth, constantly subjected to and acting according to the various influences of the seven planets, among which the influence of the moon is the worst. The planet Luna makes Pandora "lunatic, foolish and frantic" (V.i.66–67). While Luna's power is the dominant within the play, it is deprived of majestic authority with which the influence of the Moon was associated in Elizabeth's eulogy.

The play is set on the island of Utopia and presents the creation by Nature of the first woman on Earth, Pandora. Her beauty arouses the envy of the seven planets, and they decide to exert an influence above her. Pandora receives a melancholy mood from Saturn, thirst for power from Jupiter, unmaidenly militancy from Mars, lust from Venus, and falseness from Mercury. It is remarkable that only Sol, the sun, associated with kingship – that is male authority – endows Pandora with honest virtues. Luna, the last planet exercises the worst influence over Pandora. She makes her "idle, mutable, forgetfull, foolish, fickle, franticke, madde" (V.i.307–8). The plot represents the influence and majesty of the moon as destructive, and denounces the virtues of women, thus forming the play into an expression of misogyny. In the fifth act as Pandora is placed in the sphere of the moon, Nature pronounces his judgement:

> Now rule, Pandora, in fayre Cynthias steede,
> And make the moone inconstant like thy selfe;
> Raigne thou at womens nuptials, and their birth;
> Let them be mutable in all their loues,
> Fantastical, childish, and foolish, in their desires,
> Demanding toyes:
> And starke madde when they cannot haue their will. (V.i.320–26)

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[14] Entered in the *Stationer's Register* under the date 22 September 1595, printed for William Ionesin in 1597, London.

[15] Pincombe claims that there is no evidence of the play ever being performed. (Pincombe 1996, xiv).

[16] "The idea that the satire on woman is pointed at Queen Elizabeth should be too absurd to require refutation. Elizabeth was sometimes known as Pandora ... but the mere coincidence of names prove nothing. ... No court dramatist could show in a play 'as it was presented before the Highness' a picture of the royal Pandora as 'sullen ... proud ... bloody-minded ... idle, mutable, forgetful, foolish, fickle, frantic, mad' and then suppose that this would entertain as a personal portrait the lady whose motto was *simper eadem*." (Hunter 1962, 219–20).

At the end of the play Pandora and Cynthia occupy a ruling position, but their power only causes a harmful influence to emanate upon Earth.

Lyly directly associates the moon with the triple aspect of Diana within the play and underlines the image's infernal connotation:

> *Luna:* ..... stay with Cynthia ...
> Rule thou my starre, while I stay in the woods,
> Or keep with Pluto in the infernall shades" (V i.281, 283–4)

The play cannot be understood in any way complimentary to Elizabeth as the negative aspects of lunar power are demonstrated to their fullest.

The Woman in the Moon refers in its title to the most encomiastic play of Lyly *Endimion: The Man in the Moon.* While Cynthia, described simply as "the queen" in the dramatis personae of *Endimion* without being identified as the queen of any particular land, gestures at the historical Elizabeth Tudor, there is no trace of any correspondence between England's sovereign and the characters Pandora or Cynthia in *The Woman in the Moon.* However, the shift from panegyric to misogyny, from a positive aspect of male service to the negative description of female servitude, from symbolism of a majestic celestial body to the infernal, lunatic associations of Cynthia is too conspicuous not to be noticed. This general disillusionment mirrored in the lunar imagery of Lyly's plays had both personal reasons in the playwright's career, and echoed the rising dissatisfaction of the last years of the queen's reign.

In the 1580s and early 1590s, the expertise in the allegorical language of the queen's cult promised many literary talents an opportunity to utilize their skills in a financially rewarding way. John Lyly also built great hopes upon a career at court. He strived for a courtly position, either in the Revels Office or at the Office of Tentes and Toyles, which was responsible for the mounting of plays and masks at court. In a petition to the queen, he refers to the queen's "gracious favour, strengthened with conditions that I should aim all my courses at the Revels" (Bond I. 64–65). A further petition from the late 1590s addressed to the queen also expressed his disappointment over the undeserved neglect of his talents (Pincombe 1996, 86). The embittered tone of the letters shows Lyly's failure of receiving any courtly office or financial success.

Lyly's "darkening" moon imagery paralleled a tendency of growing dissent. In the final decade of the reign bad harvests, outbreaks of the plague, and wartime taxation burdened the country and led to increasing discontent among the population (Guy 1988, 403–7). The constant threat of military invasion contributed to the people's yearning for a king who could deal with matters personally on the battlefield. The feeling of impatience with female rule was strengthened by Catholic propaganda from aboard.[17] The incident of John Feltwell, who claimed to have said in 1591 "The queene was but a woman and ruled by gentlemen ... so that poore men cold get nothinge ... We shall never have a merry world while the Queene lyveth"[18] demonstrates this opinion well. The last decade of Elizabeth's rule saw the rise of rumours, gossips and writings that challenged her female authority and undermined her moral reputation as a woman. The strict measures of the authorities to cope with the unrest reinforced the criticism of the Elizabethan regime. The official control over the queen's cult image tightened, yet a growing number of incidents recording disrespectful behaviour and slanderous reports challenged its effectiveness. In such a climate, the Diana cult of the queen became destabilized through its possible connotations with witchcraft and the underworld. During the very last years of the queen, the sun, the image of kingship, replaced the moon imagery.

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[17] See, for instance, Allen 1588.

[18] Quoted in Levin 1998, 77–78.

Such a change of emphasis can be seen on one of the best known portraits of the queen, on the 'Rainbow' portrait.[19] The crescent moon jewel that celebrates her as Diana appears in the headdress barely visible, but the radiant light that shines through her skin, the only source of light in the otherwise dark picture, emphasizes her association with the sun. The correspondence is underlined by the motto above the hand of the queen that holds the rainbow, *None sine sole iris*, 'No rainbow without the sun.' In the verse cycle of Sir John Davis, *Hymns of Astraea,* the sun symbolism is used, too, instead of the lunar one: "Behold her in her virtue's beams/ Extending Sun-like to all realms" (Davis 1599, B^{4v}); or in the description of her magnanimity she is sitting "sun-like [...] above the wind,/ Above the storms and thunder" (Davis 1599, D^{1v}).

Lyly's exploration of the unfavourable connotations of the Moon in his last play cannot be dismissed in such a context. It is a sign of disillusionment, disrespect, and covert criticism towards the monarch he once eulogized.

Conclusion

The present paper analysed the use and abuse of the iconology of the moon in the career of the playwright John Lyly spanning the years of the 1580s and 1590s. It was argued that Lyly's treatment of the image of the moon showed a correlation with the development of the cult of Queen Elizabeth. In 1578, in the initial phase of the cult's formation, Lyly's first prose work, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), expounded the view that women consisted of "falsehood, jealousy, and inconstancy" (Lyly 1928, 95) and that the "nature of woman is grounded upon extremities" (Lyly 1928, 115), but made an exemption of the English queen. At the height of the patriotic enthusiasm for the cult, on the eve of the attack of the Spanish Armada, Lyly wrote *Endimion, The Man in the Moon,* one of the most important manifestation of the queen's praise using the metaphors of the Diana cult. The central motif complimenting the queen was the moon. Yet Lyly's treatment of the lunar imagery was not free from the negative connotations that were inherent in the Diana cult. His last play enumerated all possible misogynistic traits associated with the moon, thus echoing his first work, but allowing no exception for any female. It expressed not only his own, but a generation's impatience with the cult of Elizabeth, which, directly or indirectly, played such a decisive influence on the literary output of the Elizabethan age.

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[19] The painting is in the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury, at Hatfield House. Roy Strong attributes the canvas to Marcus Gheeraerts upon stylistic grounds, while Erna Auerbach assigns it to Isaac Oliver upon the known patronage of Oliver by Robert Cecil. For the details of the discussion see Strong 1987, 161.

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Shakespeare and Elizabeth I:

Royal Insignia of Earthly and Divine Power

Introduction

The paper focuses on the way in which Queen Elizabeth I used the symbolism of the monarch's two bodies in her propaganda and on the way in which these political details are reflected or commented upon in William Shakespeare's plays. It is well known that Shakespeare was extensively preoccupied with the overwhelming figure of Elizabeth Tudor, the woman who had – among other ambitions – that of proving that monarchy is not gendered masculine. Starting from the metaphor of the monarch's two bodies, Elizabeth had her physical, feminine body obscured by the public, masculine body, her political travesty remaining a landmark of her rule. There is an impressive number of portraits that Queen Elizabeth ordered and approved in her lifetime, which contribute to a better understanding of the way in which Shakespeare envisages, for example, the 'regular' cross-dresser – as a woman who borrows manly attributes together with the new attire – or the 'regular' warrior, whose overwhelming presence and verbal as well as non-verbal performance on the battlefield are all it takes for the war to be won.

Queen Elizabeth I, Legitimacy and Power

Historians have given careful consideration to Queen Elizabeth's agency both in exercising her own idea of (feminocentric) statecraft and in offering the world a polyvalent image of herself. While some see her as a genuine new Jezebel, with a mind of her own, with a personality and temperament similar to those of her father, a stubborn woman who took no man's orders (Duchein 2001), others argue that her policy and image were actually dictated by the statesmen who surrounded her – the Privy Council, her ministers, the most influential peers of the kingdom, her favourite courtiers and lovers (Berry 1994). According to the second opinion, though she was a good orator and a vain woman, who enjoyed being admired and flattered, neither her famous speeches nor the portraits she commissioned were concocted by herself, but by those in charge with her public image.

One of Queen Elizabeth I's constant preoccupations throughout her reign was her legitimacy as a ruler, a preoccupation reflected in the laws she passed and the art she commissioned. Elizabeth's ascension to the throne takes place not only in a period when all her European counterparts were male, but also in a domestic climate of hostility towards feminine rule (in Chedgzoy, Hansen, Trill 1998, 16). Elizabeth has to face a double challenge: being a female monarch, as well as being the often denied heiress of Henry VIII. The most efficient concept Elizabeth juggled with in order to legitimate a woman's presence on the throne was the metaphor, fashionable in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, of the sovereign's two bodies. A common analogy related to the hierarchical organization of the world, coming from the Greek philosophy and filtered by the medieval religious thinking, this implicit comparison is one between society or the state and the individual human body – the body politic. A "natural" society – given the organic structure of the state – is one which functions in a manner similar to the human body. Later in the Middle Ages, the metaphor of the body politic emerges, serving the purposes of the feudal

state, and develops substantially. The Church becomes the *corpus mysticum et politicum* of which the Pope is the head, while kings and emperors are only members, in the traditional dispute between these two juridical powers that limit and influence each other successively (Romanato, Lombardo and Culianu 2005). Saint Thomas Aquinas finds four points of identity which unify both natural and mystical bodies, and asserts that the supremacy of the spiritual authority corresponds to the soul's rule of the body (1993). When Henry VIII adopts the title "Supreme Head of the Church of England", he adopts a personal position towards this doctrine, while rulers in other European countries are still disputing the title 'head' with the papacy in Rome.

The doctrine of the body politic is intimately connected with that of the kings' "two bodies" (Moreau 1991, 54): his physical one, subject to natural laws, and his political one, symbol of an immortal power. In England, the first text about the analogy between the state and the human body is signed in 1159 by John of Salisbury (Moreau 1991, 56). After identifying the soul with the clergy, the author discusses in detail the other members of the body: head-prince, heart-senate, hands-soldiers, stomach-treasury, and feet-farmers. He emphasizes the need for spiritual unity in the state and proposes cures for various political diseases, including tyranny. At the beginning of the 17th century, another Englishman – Edward Forset in 1606 – defines monarchy as "the best regime for the maintenance of health in the body" (in Moreau 1991, 57). The unifying principle is the perfect balance between the different parts of the whole ("the due proportion of the same parts together"), because a body is not only a mere gathering of organs, but a series of well-defined functions supported by simple principles such as the predominance of unequal, but complementary roles. As each organ must stay in its proper place, so must each member of the society keep their degree. Those inferior in rank should not wish to have more important positions, nor should those in important positions abuse the members below them, so tyranny is unanimously condemned as bad and dangerous for the life of the organism. The consensus among the social orders must be similar to the correct dosage of the four humours and the presence of the four main elements in a human organism. When the quantities are modified, the equilibrium is broken and the political regime changes. Similarly, Sir Thomas Smith in his *De Republica Anglorum* (1565) writes that, if the four humours coexist in the living organism, it is desirable that various types of government should also combine with one another in a percentage that would avoid despotism because, although the prince is the head and the authority, the Parliament "hath the power of the whole realm, both the head and the body" (in Moreau 1991, 62). Even Robert Burton (2004), in his well-known and influential 1621 *Anatomy of Melancholy*, preserves the correspondences between the physical and the social body, considering that, in the evolution of melancholy, the body's instability reflects the general disease of the human society, the sickly body producing an incoherent discourse about the decline of the social organizations.

Starting from this doctrine, Elizabeth had her physical, feminine body obscured by the public, masculine body, her political travesty remaining a landmark of her rule. There is an impressive number of portraits that Queen Elizabeth ordered and approved in her lifetime, which contribute to a better understanding of the way in which she made use of official

Figure 1: Nicholas Hilliard, *The Ermine Portrait*, 1585

Figure 2: George Gower, *The Plimpton Sieve Portrait*, 1579

ideologies. A first example would be a portrait by Nicholas Hilliard, one of the Queen's official painters, *The Ermine Portrait* (1585) (Figure 1), where Elizabeth combines, in her typical manner, insignia of royalty, masculinity and femininity. The sword and the ermine, dual symbols, depict the Queen as a unique combination between feminine physical traits (purity, virginity, beauty) and masculine intellectual features (influence, wisdom, authority, moral conduct). A much earlier painting, *The Plimpton Sieve Portrait* by George Gower, 1579 (Figure 2), speculates on the Queen's virginal status. The sieve, which appears in a series of portraits that Elizabeth ordered while she was still young, reminds the watcher of the monarch's self-sacrifice for the sake of her country and her generosity (as the sieve suggests the gods' kindness as to spread countless gifts for mortals on earth, according to the number of prayers and personal merits). Elizabeth's being married (only) to England implies the fact that she gave up her personal life and remained a virgin in order to devote herself to state affairs. The sieve is a symbol for choice (selecting and separating what is good from what is bad or useless), in this case the Queen's choice for the public sphere and her renunciation to the domestic one. Her virginity is, therefore, political, but also religious, as she used to represent herself as "the second maiden in Heaven", replacing the Catholic cult of Virgin Mary with the Anglican cult of the Virgin Queen (Duchein 2001).

Philippa Berry (1994, 61) explains Elizabeth's success: "Because she was always uniquely herself, Elizabeth's rule was not intended to undermine the male hegemony of her culture. Indeed, the emphasis upon her *difference* from other women may have helped to reinforce it". Forty-four years of a woman's reign did not end the patriarchal structure of the English society, but it changed it radically. This radical change was perceived even more dramatically at the level of contemporary literature. Examined through the lens of patriarchal attitudes, which define history as the sum of actions performed by men, Elizabeth's refusal to marry was perceived as something more than a woman's refusal of the subordination to a husband. In Elizabethan literature and visual arts, her unmarried state was idealized, the Queen becoming the unattainable object of masculine desire.

Critics have defined and explained Elizabeth's cult in different manners. If some see it rooted in religious matters, others link it to the search of European absolute monarchies for a glamorous, imperial image. The idealization of Elizabeth was clearly linked with her role as a restorer of the 'true', Protestant religion. The cult dwells massively upon Elizabeth's joint rule, as head of both State and Church. The connection between a mythical Golden Age (or the Biblical Eden) and Protestant Reformation is not accidental. In this context, Elizabeth is compared with Astraea, the imperial virgin – a cult that was applied to other European rulers, but much less successfully, as Elizabeth only combined the feminine gender and the unmarried status (Yates 1993). The

figure of Astraea is also a signifier of Renaissance absolutism, regarded in imperial terms. Elizabeth's reign is, after all, the age of the prosperous English navy and of the establishment of British colonies in the newly-discovered America.

Elizabeth's cult manages to displace the initial fundamental problem of the ruler's gender. The Queen is perceived at the same time as more and less than a woman. She is not a mere woman, but a goddess; at the same time, she is unfeminine because she denies herself the major role women were traditionally attributed – that of a wife and, especially, that of a mother. Her role as Head of the Church was even more unsettling. This role opposes her not just to the conventional figure of the masculine ruler, but also to the figure of Christ. Sensitive to the Protestant clergy's restlessness about her position, Elizabeth decides to nuance a bit her position, choosing to call herself 'supreme governor' rather than 'supreme head' of the English church, as her father, Henry VIII, used to (Berry 1994, 66). She uses a neutral noun, a mere denominator of a function, giving up, the 'head', a part of the body heavily gendered masculine, connoting with reason, spirituality, equilibrium, etc. At the same time, Elizabeth made great use of religious imagery to justify her private life:

> I have made choice of such state [remaining unmarried] as is freest from the incumbrance of secular pursuits and gives me the most leisure for the service of God: and could the applications of the most potent princes, or the very hazard of my life, have diverted me from this purpose, I had long ago worn the honours of a bride... I have long since made choice of a husband, the kingdom of England, ... charge me not with the want of children, forasmuch as everyone of you, and every Englishman besides, are my children and relations... (in Berry 1994, 66)

The fact that she assigns a masculine gender to the kingdom, her symbolic husband, is also an interesting point, as both spheres of activity Elizabeth was involved in (the secular and the religious) were traditionally not *gendered* masculine. The concept of the two bodies of a monarchy featured the mystical and immortal body of the church (*ecclesia* – feminine) and the lay institutional apparatus of the state (*respublica* – feminine). In this spirit, only the union between a male monarch and these feminine institutions could be claimed to be a natural marriage. Therefore, Elizabeth's famous marriage to England is ambiguous. At the same time, however, it may also mean that the Queen's personality, just like her sexuality, is self-contained and the feminine rule is seen in a mystical or symbolic relationship with itself. Dual in terms of being more and less than a woman, Elizabeth is also dual in terms of being male and female at the same time.

The moment of Tilbury 1588 pushes the Queen's sexual duality even further. On a grey day, Elizabeth, surrounded by bright colours (silver helmet and armour, white feathers, skirt and horse, red tunics for the guards, and gold for her noble attendants, as an anonymous 16th century painting shows her) raises the sceptre in front of an awe-stricken army:

> My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are so careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our self to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; [...] I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your General, Judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. (in Hodgson-Wright 2002, 1)

Elizabeth wants to be regarded as the monarch *par excellence*, a sacred ruler and a fatherly authority for his/her people at the same time. But the antithesis she insists upon ("I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king") for rhetoric purposes is not the traditional one, woman vs. man, but woman vs. king. Also, the body parts she picks are heart and stomach – both used on a strictly metaphorical level, the former for courage, the latter for stamina. She places herself at the very heart of a discourse that exploits imagery relat-

ed to a masculine anatomy and a physical and psychological profile traditionally associated with the most typical masculine profession, that of the soldier. The offices she evokes are masculine (General, Judge, Prince, king) as well as the moral qualities. The valour and the other "virtues in the field" call for an ideal of martial masculinity, similar to Henry V's "the action of a tiger" in his oration to the army before the siege of Harfleur *(Henry V)*. In short, Elizabeth supports the development of the Tudor myth as an ideology of absolute kingly power, social and political commitment, popularity of the monarch as the embodiment of human and even divine perfection.

The grandeur of representation is a characteristic of all Elizabethan public processions (Archer, Goldring, Knight 2007). The beauty of the spectacle, with the monarch present in person – usually as performer – gives the impression of social and political harmony. Bristol, addressing the notion of social spectacle during the Renaissance, quotes from an English Renaissance text describing Queen Elizabeth I's public processions as follows:

> She passed the streets first [...] Likewise Squires, Knights, Barons, and Baronets, Knights of the Bath [...] Then following: The Judges of the Law, the Abbots... And then followed Bishops, two and two; and the Archbishops of York and Canterbury; the Ambassadors of France and Venice, the Lord Mayor with a mace; Master Garter the King of Heralds [...] In all her passage [the Queen] did not only shew her most gracious love towards the people in general; but also privately, if the baser personages had either offered Her grace any flowers or such like, as a signification of their good will; or moved her to any suit, she most gently (to the common rejoicings of all lookers on, and private comfort of the party) stayed her chariot, and heard their requests. (J. Nichols in Bristol 1985, 60)

Elizabeth's Cult and its Reflection in Shakespeare's Works

The promise of social freedom provided by celibacy is offered in Shakespeare's comedies by the motif of tranvestism, a device that offers the heroines vestimentary freedom in the first place. Rosalind, in *As You Like It*, puts on a man's clothes and gains a new look, much more casual, comfortable, light, airy. With this depiction of the heroine, Shakespeare follows the propagandistic pattern of his time, shaping his character (just like he does with Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) into the mould of the Queen's public image.

Political propaganda is a recurrent motif in Shakespeare. There is enough information about the Elizabethan period to make the modern reader aware that, in this respect, the great playwright had an easy source of inspiration right beside him, in his contemporaries. Just like her father, Elizabeth I supported the development of the 'Tudor myth' as an ideology of absolute kingly power, social and political commitment, popularity of the monarch as the embodiment of human and even divine perfection. Plays, poems, and portraits of the period display a very rich propagandistic discourse, which makes use of subtle persuasive strategies as well as of ample mythological references. The queen as a public figure used this indirect rhetoric extensively, preferring it to the verbal public discourse, succeeding in 'seducing' her subjects, in shaping their opinion and feelings for her.

Related to the idea of legitimacy is the presence of imperial symbolism in Tudor propaganda, as well as the presence of the symbol of the crown in the Shakespearean text. The crown (unlike the diadem or the coronet) signifies England's imperial ambitions. Although Empire as a concept is not new during Elizabeth's reign, imperial imagery is first used by authors glorifying the Virgin Queen. Henry VIII was the first to introduce the Empire in the Tudor thought and sensibility, with his Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533), which lay claim to "this realm as an empire" and in 1547 in his will, where he states that his daughters "shall severally have hold and enjoye the sayd imperial Crowne" after Edward's death (Kinney 2006, 41). It is during Elizabeth's reign that the new crown is visually represented in imperialist terms. The best examples are a series of engrav-

ings that portray the Queen between the pillars of Hercules (originally the imperial symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, afterwards adopted by his son, Philip II of Spain, both rulers who had set themselves the tasks of sailing "Plus Ultra", beyond the boundaries of Europe). Elizabeth will combine this symbol with a naval background, reminding not only of her naval triumphs against Spain, but also of the age of the exploration and colonization of the New World, a crucial element in the English politics of the time. Such engravings include the front cover of Christopher Saxton's *Atlas of England and Wales*, 1579 or the Queen's graphic evocation in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), where he compares Elizabeth's early persecution to Mary's sufferings and her reign to that of Constantine, the Church's first emperor. The naval background is repeated as a motif in *The Armada Portrait* (Figure 3), and so are the pillars and the crown she is holding, while the other hand is casually laid on a globe, all signifying stability, pride, erectness, a solid justification for the Queen's colonial exploits.

The Stuart line followed the Tudor introduction to imperialism, James I organizing his entry into London in 1603 as that of a triumphant Roman emperor, passing under seven memorial arches, the first one, designed by Ben Jonson, showing a figure representing the monarchy of Britain sitting below the crowns of England and Scotland. James was also offered an accession medal that read "Emperor of the whole island of Britain". He was compared to Augustus, creating a direct link to the Roman Caesars.

Therefore, Shakespeare's Roman plays and histories, dealing with the legitimacy of power, are also symbolically connected to the rise of imperial mentality in the English monarchy. Characters such as Julius Caesar or Richard III, who are offered crowns repeatedly in front of noblemen, politicians and common people, are only symbolic reminders of these imperial claims that Britain, with her sovereigns, is starting to make.

The notion of legitimacy is overwhelmingly present in Shakespeare's chronicle plays, closely connected to the theme of war. In Shakespeare's plays, the battles taking place on the Shakespearean stage are also linked to the figure of the Virgin Queen. In the plays, war appears as an event made up of two basic stages: martial discourse and physical action. The prelude of any battle involves verbal language (war propaganda, exhortative speeches, etc.), whereas its climax and dénouement imply non-verbal, body language (mainly wounding the body). When the materi-

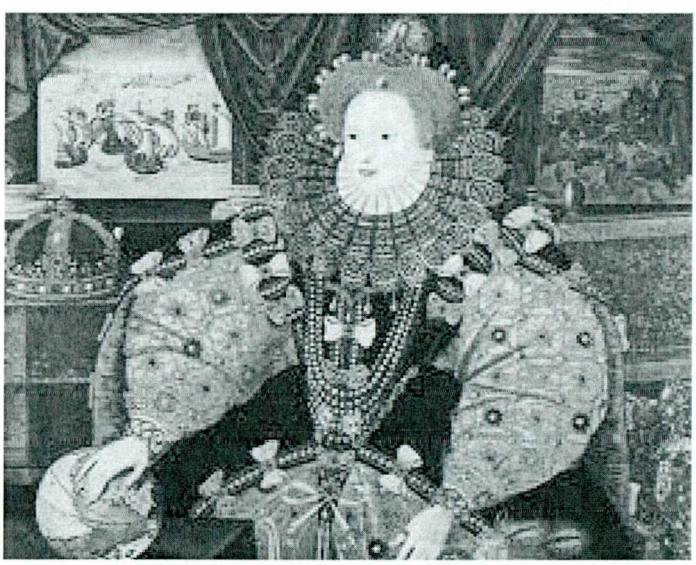

Figure 3: George Gower, *The Armada Portrait*, c.1588

alization of warfare is verbal, it takes the form of a confrontation between the leader and the masses, a single, exemplary body among a crowd of bodies, epitomized by the paintings showing Elizabeth's moment of glory at Tilbury, which inspired and thrilled Shakespeare and his contemporaries. In chronicle plays like *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry V* or *King John*, this appears in the form of the long monologues uttered by the kings or their generals in front of an army or a city under siege. In the prologue of *Henry V*, for example, the Chorus introduces the play about a monarch successful in war and good at talking people into action as follows:

> O for a muse of fire, that would ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention, –
> A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
> *And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!*

The Chorus dreams, first of all, of an ideal staging for the Bard's play about war, "of a playhouse expanded from a wooden O to kingdom-sized proportions" (Hapgood 1995, 15). Secondly, the Chorus sings about the dual nature of war, as both single combat and a battle expanding to a great number of men dressed in armour and holding weapons. Only if the correspondence between the isolated two bodies confronting each other and the entire army fighting against the enemy is fully understood and internalized can "warlike Harry [...]/ Assume the port of Mars". During the play, Henry will prove that the expansiveness predicted by the Chorus' "swelling scene" can be translated as territorial expansion (the king will rule two kingdoms), but also as a result of his exhortative speeches in front of the soldiers. His exhortations literally describe a downward movement, a gesture of stepping down from a high place, performed by the orator, and a leveling of position (both social and physical) of all listeners. If, at the beginning, Henry addresses the soldiers as if in a confrontation, standing out and above the crowd, later he walks among his men, in the disguise of a common warrior, and prays to God together with them – by their side, not in front of them. His speeches follow the same downward movement: first, he evokes noblemen and yeomen separately ("you noblest English/[...] Be copy now to men of grosser blood,/ And teach them how to war", III, i); later, the king promises to the entire army – noble or not – "fellowship in death" (Hapgood 1995, 17): "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers", IV, iii. He indirectly promotes the same position that he used himself: first, the noblemen – as teachers, instructors, guides – can be pictured as standing in front of the yeomen, in a symbolic duel of class and hierarchy; then, "the band of brothers" is naturally assumed to stand on the same side, shoulder to shoulder, the king included.

In Shakespeare's plays, war takes the form of a direct confrontation between antagonizing male characters. For practical, theatrical purposes, the battle is reduced to exemplary duels, single combats between two heroes representing the opposing camps, a strategy acknowledged by all great military theorists and immortalized in visual arts. Diego Velázquez's 1634 painting *The Surrender of Breda* (Figure 4), for instance, captures this conventional representation of war as the contact between two male bodies with specific, symbolic gestures. The surrender of the Dutch army in front of the Spanish victors is rendered as an exchange of gestures between the leaders, the rest of the men in the two camps waiting face to face and motionless. On the left, the Dutch governor (Justin Nassau, the captain of the Dutch fleet who participated, on the Spaniards' side, in the naval battle at Tilbury) is about to take a bow, and therefore he looks smaller, his body language suggesting the acknowledgement of his inferiority and submission. The Spanish general

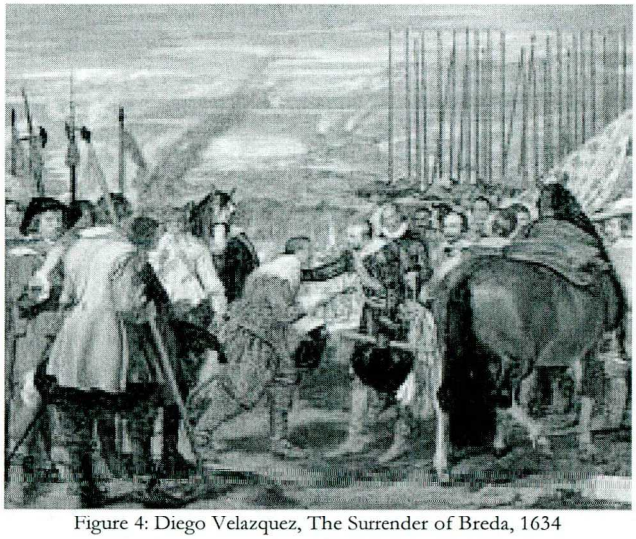

Figure 4: Diego Velazquez, The Surrender of Breda, 1634

on the right is touching the Dutchman's shoulder, a gesture that stresses his higher position in a patronizing, but polite attitude. Weapons and violent physical action are no longer necessary since the intricacies of verbal language – of negotiating, in this case – have managed to solve the conflict.

When the parties involved in real or symbolic battles are also gendered female, the confrontation repeats the archetypal pattern of the duel between a male hero and an Amazon, a clash that presupposes both physical violence and sexual attraction. Hippolyta is Shakespeare's most conspicuous Amazon, presented, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, after the duel with Theseus, when she has been turned from a soldier into a loving fiancée. A popular medieval Amazon is Joan of Arc who, although presented by Shakespeare in a biased, negative light in *Henry VI*, reminds of the first martial hypostasis mentioned above, that of the singular leader facing and handling the crowd – yet another comment on Queen Elizabeth's public and military involvement and its visual representation. At the same time, the image of the leader ad-dressing the army – a sin gular body standing out amidst a crowd – is a reminder of the way in which Elizabeth liked to show herself to her subjects in public processions.

Figure 5: Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656

As Adina Nanu (2001, 51) notices in her study on the body as a social construct, the VIP (absolute monarch or popular movie star) undergoes a process of

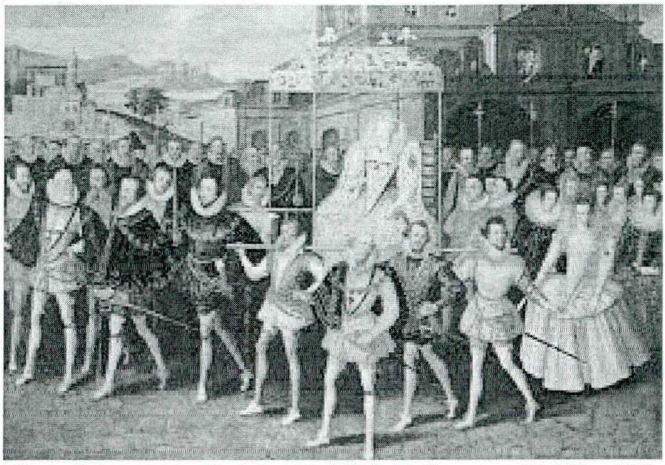

Figure 6: Anonymous (Peake's style), *Elizabeth in Procession to Blackfriars*, 1600

amplification when s/he presents himself/herself in front of the public. Literally raising one's position is vital in order to mark the importance of one's social rank. The level of the crowd was dominated with the help of long decorative feathers, impressive gold crowns, huge wigs – like those worn by Marie Antoinette just before the French Revolution of 1789. In the pre-modern and early modern period, noble men and women were the first to wear high heels and soles for their shoes. They served a double function: to protect the rich garments from the mud of the streets, and to signal the wearer's increased prestige in comparison with the modest public image of a plebeian. The excessive verticalization of the royal figure is another common propagandistic strategy, used in many official portraits. The crown and the long robe can easily create this illusion. Increasing the volume in space on all planes gives maximum importance to the person and even to his/her social and political role. Velázquez's famous portrait of Princess Margaret of Spain *Las Meninas* in 1656 (Figure 5) is a very good example. Although the Princess is only a small girl, her huge dress, amplified on a horizontal level, must suggest the stability of the Spanish royal family, as well as the rank of the King's daughter, her costume occupying the space necessary for at least three adults. Her small body is framed by the figures of the two maids of honour, much taller than her, both attempting to diminish their height and look smaller – as fit for an attendant, lower in rank – by bending their knees and heads.

If a small girl who is not (yet) a monarch is depicted in such a way, no wonder Queen Elizabeth I is wearing, in her official portraits, the most impressive wigs, collars and amply embroidered dresses on large hoops. Pillars are numerous in Elizabeth's portraits, their vertical line indicating the upward movement of the British monarchy and of the Protestant faith and their durability, as well as the Queen's own Atlas-like stamina. Thrones served the same purpose, as well as the canopies carried for the monarch during official processions. *Elizabeth in Procession to Blackfriars*, an anonymous painting of 1600, in the style of Peake (Figure 6), portrays a hieratic sovereign, almost deprived of human shape, with an idealized figure under the weight of heavy white silk and embroidery, almost literally floating above ground level as the lords accompanying her hide the presence of the platform that makes her look taller than both aristocracy and plebeians. The painting showing Queen Elizabeth dancing the Volta with Robert Dudley (c. 1581) (Figure 7) places the monarch in the middle of a stage, with courtiers and musicians surrounding her, being lifted

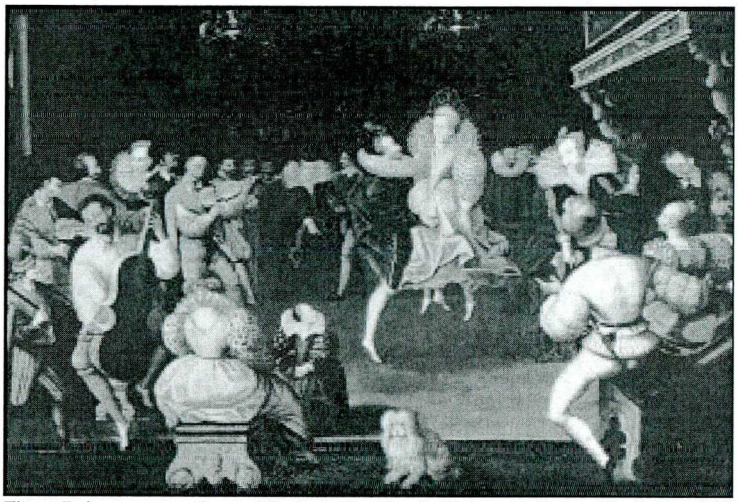

Figure 7: Anonymous, Queen Elizabeth Dancing the Volta with Robert Dudley, c. 1581

above ground level by Dudley. Elizabeth's position indicates her centrality and superiority to the Earl of Leicester himself – it is common knowledge that the sovereign was suspected of having a romantic affair with her subject – and to all viewers gathered around (and under) her. The dance reveals her small, delicate feet, in contrast with the power suggested by her height, as the Queen appears much taller than all men and women in luxurious clothes, who cannot take their eyes from the aery figure. In another anonymous painting, representing *Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury*, probably dating from 1589 (Figure 8), Elizabeth is portrayed in the middle of the troops, men framing her symmetrically on both sides. She stands out both because she is riding a white horse (most men are not in the saddle and the existing horses are dark coloured) and because she is made taller by the huge collar she is wearing above her silvery armour.

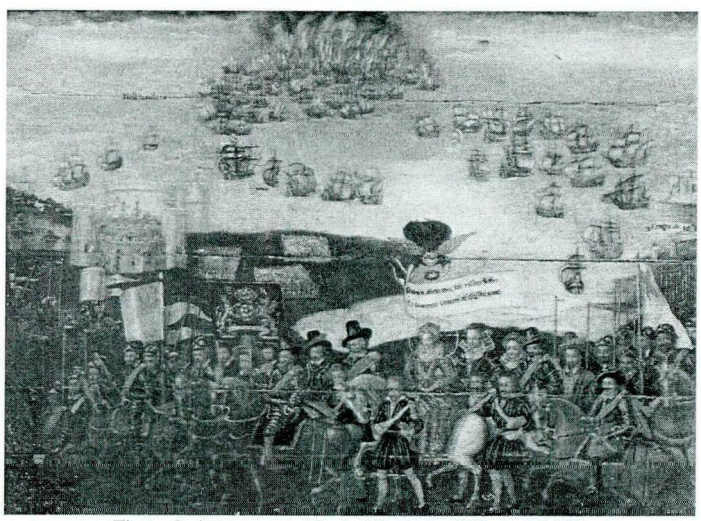

Figure 8: Anonymous, *Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury*, c. 1589

Conclusions

Visibility is a sign of popularity and fame, but, on the other hand, it may also make the person under scrutiny vulnerable because of too much exposure. Shakespeare's "using" the Queen in his plays is not a subversive scheme, but one of support and protection, Elizabeth's portrayal as a strong but also feminine heroine annihilating the possibly negative side effects of being watched too much.

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Anikó Oroszlán

The Iconography of Renaissance Playing

– Rules and Violators

Theatre and the Image

If we think of theatre in iconographic, pictorial or iconologic terms, the first thing that may come to our mind is the spectacle on stage, and its unity with the spoken text. It has been widely discussed that although the popular theatre of the 16th–17th centuries in England lacked scenery or stage tools, spectators could probably fill the gap mentally, and they were able to visualise the performance for themselves. This seemed to be proved by the investigation of the contemporary audience's attitude as well as dramatexts. For instance, as critical discussions of the emblem by Dieter Mehl to Peter Daly have shown, the Renaissance stage worked and functioned as a complex image, and theatre experience was generated from the co-existence of the elements. At the same time, the text itself was full of "speaking (or spoken) pictures" and verbalised images, which were commonly and traditionally understood by theatregoers. All this suggests that in theatre, image and text existed in harmonious entity. However, since this article intends to focus on Renaissance acting, I must remark here that the analyses of the emblematic theatre have usually treated the player as a single component of the pictorial unity. In other words, he was not seen as an individual artist, who can transform the picture or step out of it, but as a standstill figure, a part of the whole emblematic image. Dieter Mehl, for instance, when categorising the uses of the emblem in English Renaissance drama, does not interpret the actor or the character as the embodiment of an image, but he, relying on textual evidence, rather concentrates on how an image can characterise a certain situation or an individual speaker (Mehl 1969, 45).

Quite from a similar perspective, the actor was considered a passive element of the spectacle in the intriguing iconoclast debate between designer Inigo Jones and playwright Ben Jonson. The argument, which took place in 17th century private theatre, was based on the conflict of visual and verbal representational modes. With this unique separation of the author's and the designer's function in court theatre, controversial views on 'showing' and 'telling' have also become significant. Jonson's blaming argument was that Jones' spectacle degrades poetry, that is the "body" of the masque overrules the "soul" of it. The tension between the two representational modes was verbalised by Jonson in many cases, for instance in his *Hymanei* (1606), where he writes how "short lived are the bodies of all things on comparison of their souls" (*Hymanei*, 1–9).[1] Jonson, the poet-playwright, obviously intended to prevent his text from mutability and changeability, which are necessarily the characteristics of every performance. In order to do this, he prepared long descriptions of the stage design as well as the behaviour of the characters. Jonas Barish explains that Jonson's urge to keep control over all aspects of performance signifies a certain kind of antitheatrical thinking within theatre, which is also detectable in his popular plays (Barish 1981, 132–54).

Jones' and Jonson's dispute on the function of performance and text does definitely have a significance in theatre studies, even if we tend to consider court masques as poetry, rather than plays. Moreover, since court masques were the only performances where women could play roles,

[1] All parenthesised references to Jonson's masques are from Stephen Orgel ed., *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970).

they are also relevant from a theatre historical as well as a gender perspective. Nevertheless, the interpretation of masques could provide a picture of how the female body was represented on the political stage of the 17th century, and that in an era, which featured male actors only, what ideologies made it possible for women to act within these very special, intimate circumstances.[2] The ideologically argued division between what is written and seen is also reflected by W. J. T. Mitchell, who, in his book *Picture Theory* calls theatre "mixed media" (Mitchell 1994, 90). Here, the text signifies the words of the play recited by the actor, and the image is all the rest – costumes, make-up, scenery, so everything which can be visually perceived. Mitchell also emphasises that the relationship between the visual and the verbal sites is not merely a technical or formal question, but, as it has been gradually considered in art history, and as we can also see from the Jones–Jonson debate, it is "a site of conflict, a nexus, where political, institutional, and social antagonisms play themselves out in the materiality of representation" (Mitchell 91). This conflict has impacted theatres of different ages again and again, and in this essay, I am going to elaborate on one relating aspect of it, which is the issue of pictorial representations of early modern players. However, previous to that, I wish to touch upon some relevant interrelations of this context in theatre and performance.

As I see it, the everlasting tension between the function of performance and the text has to do with the current debate of theatre and performance studies as well. W. B. Worthen, in his article *Disciplines of Text/Sites of Performance* writes that the opposition of the two fields is caused by the fact that performance studies defines theatrical performance as it was the recitation of a dramatic text and/or the realisation of the playwright's intention (Worthen 1995, 23). So the conflict could be detected in the typical opposition of dramatext and performance, very similarly to the case of the Jonson–Jones debate. Obviously, it would be oversimplified to claim that – in the logic of performance studies – theatre bears some kind of a prejudice against performance *per se*, however, it is without doubt that as for realistic theatre is willing to originate all performative elements from the playtext. This is what performance studies notices and criticises when talking about theatre, which, according to Worthen, suggests a fully simplifying and outdated view on postmodern dramatic theatre (Worthen 2004, 1–6).

The reason why I am trying to combine the perspective of theatre and performance studies is that I strongly believe that to research Renaissance acting styles, it is not sufficient to study only dramatexts and contemporary stage conditions. This is because, as I am going to elucidate it later, acting and performance did not only take place on stages, and was strongly influenced by social and ideological circumstances as well. Thus, it might be of importance and interest to view early modern performance from a social and political standpoint, which is the characteristic approach of performance studies.[3]

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[2] I have written more about this topic in *"Actors" in "Barbaresque Mantells". The Blackness of the Female Performers in Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blackness,* in which I elaborate on the similar prejudices targeting black, female masquers and male actors on popular stages (Oroszlán 2008). For more on gender construction in early modern culture and its relationship to the English – male – stage, see Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[3] To my knowledge, theatre histories up to the present do not really refer to the findings and presumptions of performance studies, although this would lead to a wider and more acceptive focus. A very characteristic example is *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* again, where, in the "Introduction", William Ingram writes that "for scholars of the early modern period, it's harder to write proper theatre history today than it has ever been before", because "the different opinions haven't yet become starting points for a debate" (Ingram 2009, 12–13). At the same time, in another work, *Theatre Histories: An Introduction* (2006), Philip Zarrilli proposes to apply a multiplicity of methods in theatre history, and questions the hegemonic structure of the academic tradition, which has been focusing on Western European, drama based, institutionalised theatre practices (Zarrilli 2006, xvii). In this respect, the authors intentionally use the term 'cultural performance' with which they are trying to avoid misleading associations to Western institutional

After this brief contextualisation, I would like to discuss the iconography of the Renaissance player in relation to written assumptions about acting styles. I intend to show what rules or ideologies directed the way players were pictured and to what extent these images can be read alongside the written sources. I am interested in what decorum, law or ideology shaped the way players are represented on different images, and to what extent these pictorial sources provide reliable evidence of the "quality of performance". My argumentation will necessarily touch upon the questions of theatre history and historiography, the uses of the "iconographic object" as a document as well as key terms like "acting style".

Do Images Tell Us a (Hi)story?

A long-term basic problem of theatre historians from E. K. Chambers to Eric Bentley or John Russell Brown is a double one: *what* to investigate (the question of the object) with *what* tools (the question of the document). Until the 1990s, it was a firm critical commonplace to say that the theatrical performance (the target of all theatre research) is invisible, ephemeral, or non-existent, and theatre histories considered this as a main obstacle to examining the past. Thus, evolutionist and positivist theatre history tried to concentrate on the surviving, accessible resources like play-texts, buildings or written memorials and quite controversially, they tried to carry out a mission impossible i.e. the reconstruction of the past or the description of the indescribable.

By the turn of the 21st century, what they used to articulate as a problem earlier has become a basic principle. Performances of all times are undoubtedly evanescent, so what seems to be another valid direction is to examine past 'theatrical experience', which is a complex and multifunctional phenomenon including creation and reception at the same time. Nevertheless, it has also become widely acknowledged that beside history and historiography, other fields and disciplines could also provide relevant, reliable and valuable findings to the study of theatre. However, interestingly enough, in the *Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, in its previously mentioned Introduction, William Ingram puts the question if theatre history is a form of social and cultural history at the same time. Apart from the answer being yes or no, he asks: "Do those disciplines have theoretical underpinnings that theatre history can use" (Ingram 2009, 1)? This second question seems to be a bit outworn, since a dozen of volumes published earlier regard it as a basic principle.

Apart from the interdisciplinary perspective, which is now an obvious approach to theatre, the results of documentary theatre history are undoubtedly crucial. Thus, it remains a very important question what sources we can use to do research in early modern theatre.

In Thomas Postlewait's *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (2009b) – which is one of the most recent methodological casebooks – one of the theatre historical methods is called the documentary way, in which the historian explores facts and intends to recover past events, like, for instance, performances at the Globe theatre. The other approach is called cultural analysis, which discovers the context and the cultural significance of a certain event (Postlewait 2009b, 27, 60). Postlewait emphasises that these two ways are never independent of each other: in historical study, we necessarily have cultural or aesthetic implications, while in exploring the 'meanings' of a performance, we need to rely on trustworthy historical data, otherwise we might end up in false conclusions (2009b, 27, 60).

The reason why documentary history seems to be the most authentic viewpoint to early modern theatre might be that unlike in contemporary performance, discovering and analysing (i. e. reconstructing) the factual data is the first necessary component. Thus, for the theatre historian this remains the most important step, even if it is apparently acknowledged that pure reconstruction

theatre, whereas drama is considered to be the script or the blue-print of performance (Zarrilli, xx–xxiii).

is not possible even in the case of historical events. Still, there is a common belief that theatrical events of the past can be observed mostly or primarily from a historical perspective, while contemporary theatre deserves interpretation and analysis.

When writing a documentary history of a certain theatrical event or period, the historian collects and selects certain documents including playtexts, iconography, costumes, audience response etc., and tries to draw general consequences about the object of study – usually without the direct intention of cultural and aesthetic considerations. The result is a huge amount of dry, objectified facts often only with the intention of collecting and listing, but not analysing them. Nevertheless, in respect of interpretation, the key word in documentary history is, as mentioned above, *reconstruction*, which often returns in theatre histories and historiographies even today (see Postlewait 2009b).

From the perspective of early modern theatre, one of the most important issues in documentary history is the question of the document itself. Although still insisting on some kind of reconstruction, from my point of view, one of the most interesting re-interpretations of the theatrical document has been provided by the Italian theatre theoretician, Marco de Marinis. He has reviewed the notion of the document and documentary history arguing for the "contextual analysis of theatre events", with which he is basically supporting what Postlewait means by the cultural history of the theatrical events (De Marinis 1999, 50). By recommending the thorough examination of all related sources, he applies the method of theatre semiotics to historical observation and – relying on Febvre's, Block's, Zumthor's, Foucault's and Le Goff's criticism of documentation – claims that the document is an object, which is not discovered but created by the historian (50). In his view, every detectable source can be a document if the historian recognises the relevance of it. At the same time – as he points it out with regard to the *commedia dell'arte* – although the historian presumes that the available documents preserved what we suppose to be a general phenomenon, it is more probable that early modern sources recorded peculiar, special events (56.). That is why we necessarily have to subject the sources to careful examination before we intend to use them as undeniable documents. This is what De Marinis use theatre semiotics for.

So, as de Marinis puts it, everything we are able to draw into the discourse of our studies can be regarded as a theatre historical document. A significant part of these sources is the "iconographic documents" which Tadeusz Kowzan, Polish theatre researcher attempted to categorise. His starting point is the assumption that "the iconographic object is as old as the art of theatre, and much more durable. And this is the value of iconography for the theatre historian" (Kowzan 1985, 54). Theatre iconography can take a multiplicity of forms, he says, starting from the simplest pictorial representations to photography. The only criteria are that its referent has to be "a phenomenon belonging to theatrical reality [i. e. a performance]" and it has to be united to its referent by bonds of resemblance (61). If we follow this argumentation, from his examples of Greek, Roman, and Romantic theatre, it becomes clear that he considers images as tools with which – depending on the degree of resemblance and the accuracy of identification – it is possible to revitalise past performances, or, as he says, "to prolong the length of the theatrical phenomenon, to immortalise it in a certain sense" (53); which is, as I already mentioned, seems to be unfeasible.

Kowzan's notion of the "iconographic object" necessarily bears the same characteristics as other historical documents. Although there is a wide range of material to study, the observer always has to reckon with the fact that, on the one hand, theatre images are mediated through the conventions adopted by their makers, on the other hand, they give evidence of what the visual artists found interesting, important or detectable in a theatre event (Woodfield 2002, 59–63). Additionally, they are characterised by a "double representationality", that is they might display actors who act out roles (Woodfield 54).

Certainly, there is great obscurity concerning pictorial sources in theatre history. Postlewait explains it as a "distrust of visual representation", and remarks that concerning early modern

theatres, the verbal evidence overwhelms the visual (Postlewait 2009a, 576–7). Also, he criticises the partial blindness of scholars, with which they handle pictorial evidence casually and irresponsibly and blur the original pieces and the reproduction (580–1).

All in all, concerning theatrical documents of any kind, to my argumentation, De Marinis's less restrained definition is more applicable. As I mentioned above, in his view, everything that we can relate to the theatre event, occasion, or phenomenon we examine is a valid document, yet, we must be cautious, since the reason why these sources came to existence was often not to preserve theatre, but, for instance, simple information exchange. Consequently, as he follows, the available material (including pictures) often keeps silent about well-known facts, and describes the unusual, special, and peculiar. So it is also possible that what we consider as normative might be an individual characteristic. At the same time, another thing we must take for granted is, as I mentioned earlier, that the document tells us not only about the object we scrutinise, but the relationship between its creator and its receiver and also the attitude of the researcher. In this respect, what follows is that, with reference to iconographic sources, I am attempting to revise what has been said about early modern acting styles.

Imag(in)ing Acting Styles

As for the history of acting, it is a critical commonplace that we do not have much help to discover how actors played. The reasons for this are various. There is a lament about the lack of reliable sources and documents, but, as I see it, another, more problematic reason is definitely the absence of the 'critical language' with which early modern performance could have been described. Partly as a result of this shortfall, when criticism tries to circumscribe acting methods, it does this in terms of a unified set of rules, which it calls 'acting style'.

But what does the term "style" cover? It suggests that the way all or most actors played is quite homogenous, and can be circumscribed with certain adjectives. Studies seem to follow two basic tendencies. The 'old school' including B. L. Joseph or John Russell Brown try to approach acting with the vocabulary of rhetorics, and also, emphasise the resemblances to eloquence, which was a canonised mode of public performance being traditionally one of the seven liberated arts. The basic difference between the two was that actors performed in a "lively", "natural" way, and they "impersonated" a character. In this way, "the illusion of real life" was certainly "attempted and achieved", even if the conditions made it difficult (Brown [1953] 1968: 42). The theory of natural acting, otherwise, was a reaction to what was called "formalism". This poetic, pathetic style was a characteristic feature of William Poel's stage, who, at the end of the 19th century intended to reconstruct 'authentic' Shakespearean theatre and style, while he was strictly relying on playtexts. Compared to that, the idea of "Renaissance naturalism" – probably also influenced by the method of Constanstin Stanislavski – was definitely a revolutionary step in theorizing early modern acting. Nevertheless, this positivist tradition resulted in interpretations, which claimed that Hamlet's famous speech about "suiting the action to the word", for instance, can be understood in terms of eloquence, thus, it might be explained as a description of contemporary acting. However, since a very similar establishment is available in Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612) – "qualifie everything according to the nature of the person personated" (Heywood 1841, 51) – it seems more presumable that both Hamlet's (Shakespeare's) and Heywood's lines are of prescriptive purposes in order to elevate the profession.

Notwithstanding, the polemic of theatre practice and theory has remained a current issue in theatre studies. Theatremakers and researchers dispute on the legitimate approach to Shakespeare's plays, while the debate is never focusing on acting itself, but on the relationship to the dramatext.

Other scholars – like Peter Thompson, Robert Weimann or Robert Mann –, experimenting with the assimilation of the discourses of Renaissance studies and contemporary acting theory, argue in more distinct terms about early modern performance. They still consider rhetorics and texts important, but at the same time, they involve social and psychological factors that are related to the actors' status. What is the most significant though is that they look at players with respect to their physical reality and body. Also, they consider Renaissance playmakers basically equal with 20th-century directors and practitioners such as Meyerhold, Brecht, Grotowski or Peter Brook by clarifying and explaining early modern acting with the technical terminology them.

Peter Thomson's ground zero in his essay *Rouges and Rhetoricians* is still the character, and he conceptualises acting alongside the changing notion of it as well as the variable extent players refused or adopted "personation". He calls the two extremes representation and presentation, the latter being mainly characteristic of clowns (Thompson 1997, 329). One of them is the way that an actor shows (represents) a dramatically constructed role, which he relates to court theatre. The other one was characteristic of popular theatre, where the player, avoiding identification, could show present himself not only as a dramatic figure, but also as a theatremaker (Thompson 331). This latter 'style' is explicitly attributed to comedians by Thompson, who equals non-normative acting and the violation of rules with stepping out of character, changing the text or abolishing the borders between audience and stage.[4] We can see that although this logic is more permissive with the player, it still insists on the rhetoric/text-centred view by referring to dramas and defining rule breaking and difference with keeping a distance from the text.

Figure 1: The title page of John Bulwer's *Chironomia* (1644).

To me, what all these views suggest is that the discourse on early modern acting is localised, since it usually considers acting within the walls of a theatre building, even in cases of interpreting it as a social practice. Moreover, it cannot do without the character and the drama, partly because this is the approach, which gives an 'artistic' value to playmaking, or this is how criticism could make acting, as theatre practice, legitimate in Renaissance philology. This approximation is cultivated not only by criticism but also by theatre practitioners today who follow drama-centred methods, which they consider traditionally "Shakespearean" or worthy of the Bard. Such directors, actors or companies include (just to mention the latest ones) the Royal Shakespeare Company, Kenneth Branagh's career starting with the Renaissance Theatre Company, or the Globe Theatre itself, which was reconstructed as a monument to memorise not only the building, but also stage conventions and the authentic way of making performances. If we look at the repertoire of Shakespeare's Globe in London, we will see that it features early modern plays displayed in traditional costumes and gestures, and they are interpreted according to more or less similar concepts and principles.[5]

[4] For a thorough overview of the debate on acting styles, see Weimann 2000, 105.

[5] For more on the concept of rebuilding the Globe and reconstructing early modern stage conditions and acting styles see Gurr and Orrell 1989.

Figure 2: Anon. The Dulwich Portrait of Richard Burbage (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 17th c.).

Figure 3: Anon. The Dulwich Portrait of Edward Alleyn (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1620–30).

To subvert the term 'style' a little more, I would like to refer to the Italian theatre historian, Ferdinando Taviani. He argues that although representations of the commedia dell'arte seem homogenous at first sight, it is doubtful whether one can talk about a unified (or simplified) acting method. In his study, "Un Vivo Contrasto", he says that though the *zanni* and the *innamorata* owned a totally different cultural heritage and background, still, they could exist together in a "harmonious contrast" on stage (Taviani 1999, 164-5). It is a false belief that the so called 'stock characters' (a very dubious term again) of the Italian theatre played according to a codified style. What they shared was a "pre-expressive" basis, on which they built up their own individual dramaturgy – there is no such thing as style, there are only individual techniques of actors (Taviani 177).[6] What we call commedia dell' arte acting today derives from a generalised view on Italian Renaissance theatre and a created, sophisticated style which theatre historians and post-Renaissance companies created; in other words, from "style" came a "stylised" way of commedia acting. In my view, the case is similar with the "style" ascribed to the theatre of the English Renaissance.

As I mentioned earlier, Renaissance theatre-makers did not possess the proper vocabulary to talk about acting, thus, as mainly compensation, those rare sources from Thomas Heywood to Shakespeare kept referring to rhetorics as an art form to follow. Hamlet's illustrious lines from Act 3 Scene 2 correspond to the words by Heywood's *Apology for Actors* as he describes the art of rhetoric: "it instructs him [the orator] to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronunciation to both" (Heywood 1841, 29). This comparison was not a novelty, since, interestingly enough, ancient rhetoricians eagerly referred to Roscius, and set him as an example to students of oratory. An image which correctly symbolises this comparative approach is the front page of John Bulwer's *Chironomia* (1644) where Roscius and Andronicus (Roman actors) instruct Cicero and Demosthenes in the art of 'action', that is the outward expression of the inward 'passion' (Figure 1).

So the connection is for certain. Still, I strongly believe that theatre-makers could make use of this obvious analogy to defend the profession, or to legitimise and to represent it as art. Both Hamlet's and Heywood's speeches on the mirroring of nature and the need of suiting the action and the word might have verbalised rather

[6] I have read and used the Hungarian translation of Taviani's text. All the English translations and transcriptions are mine.

the expected decorum of playing than the real practice. Rhetorical description of Renaissance theatre-making, thus, generated a discourse, which represented a wish to belong to the canon of the seven liberal arts. Thus, necessarily, what these prescriptive (and not descriptive!) assumptions demonstrated had to be valuable art done by qualified minds. In my view, this is why there is more about serious actors in the resources in quite a highly respectful tone, while comedians are always mentioned in terms of popularity and wit. So what we see is that acting was interpreted in terms of rhetoric, and this discourse provided a framework (that we could call 'style'), which excluded non-theatrical acting and common players. A fascinating parody of the rhetorical hegemony is the Italian commedia dell'arte actor, Tristano Martinelli's pamphlet entitled "Rhetorical compositions" *(Compositions de Rhetorique),* which – contradictory to its title – contained a number of engravings, some short phrases, and 59 empty pages.

Iconography

Finally, I would like to link some images to my argumentation to show how all this is detectable in theatre iconography. According to M. A. Katritzky, pictorial sources of theatre history and performance can be classified in three categories: 1. visual documents created directly in course of preparing a specific production, 2. postdata of a specific performance, 3. those representations that cannot be related to any specific theatre event (Katritzky 1999, 84).

What we find about the prominent artists (i. e. tragic actors) of the age is the portraits which, of course, show them out of performance, so they would fit in the third category mentioned above. The Dulwich portrait of Richard Burbage and Edward Alleyn represent these highly respected actors of the age as noble civics (Figure 2, Figure 3). The only visual representation of Alleyn in role is the title page of Marlowe's *Faustus* (Figure 4). Opinions differ, however, whether

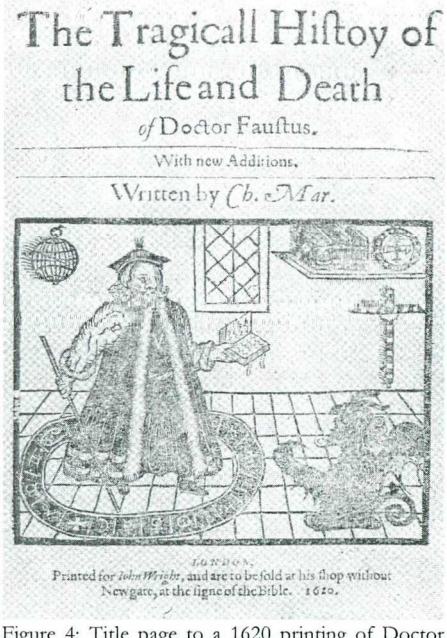
The Tragicall Hiſtoy of
the Life and Death
of Doctor Fauſtus.
With new Additions.
Written by Ch. Mar.
Printed for John Wright, and are to be ſold at his ſhop without
Newgate, at the ſigne of the Bible. 1620.

Figure 4: Title page to a 1620 printing of Doctor Faustus showing Faustus conjuring Mephistophilis.

Figure 5: Anon. Portrait of Nathan Field (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, c. 1615.)

it shows Alleyn in role, or only the character Faustus. Further representations we can find include Nathan Field, member of the Lord Chamberlain's Men. His portrait is also in the Dulwich Portrait Gallery (Figure 5).

As for comic players, we can mostly find draw ings or engravings illustrating different texts where the way of representation seem to follow ancient – Greek or Roman – models in showing comedians in performance. Dick Tarleton appears on the cover of his posthumously published jests. He wears the typical clothing of a rustic clown – leather shoes, purse, and cap (Figure 6). He carries a tabor and a pipe, just like Will Kemp's accompanist, Thomas Slye on the title page of Kemp's *Nine Days Wonder* (Figure 7). Here, Kemp is wearing the characteristic Morris costume decorated with ribbons and flowers and he is dancing like his early Greek and contemporary Italian colleagues.

Figure 6: Richard Tarlton in his clown's rustic apparel, with pipe and tabor (cca. 1580)

Robert Armin also appears in role on the title page of his *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke* (1609), which shows him in the fool's costume – a coat, a flat cap and an inkhorn – representing the posture of the main character John, the natural fool (Figure 8). Although all the three clowns are shown in motion / dance, Armin's gestures seem to be calmer and slower than his predecessors'. This might also emphasise that he was a wise-type of fool, and not a stage clown or a buffoon. To some extent, in his long motley, he might remind us of Will Sommers, the jester of Henry VIII.

Figure 7: William Kempe from *Nine Days Wonder* (1600)

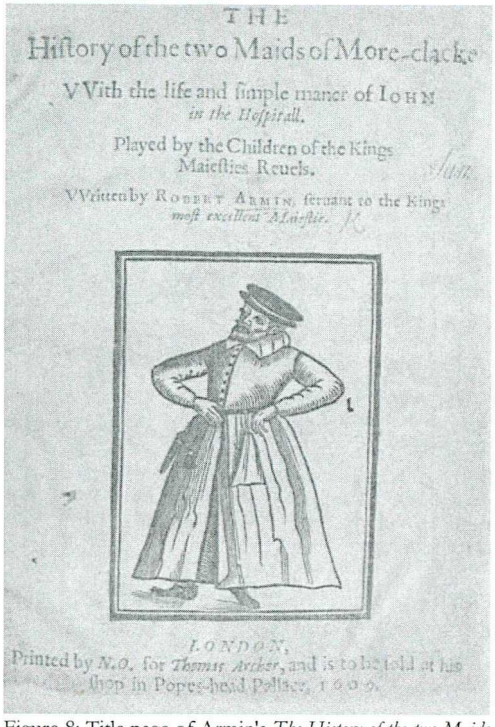
THE
Hiſtory of the two Maids of More-clacke
VVith the life and ſimple maner of IOHN
in the Hoſpitall.
Played by the Children of the Kings
Maieſties Reuels.
VVritten by ROBERT ARMIN, ſeruant to the Kings
moſt excellent Maieſtie.
LONDON,
Printed by N.O. for Thomas Archer, and is to be ſold at his
ſhop in Popes-head Pallace, 1609.

Figure 8: Title page of Armin's *The History of the two Maids of More-Clacke* (1609). The woodcut shows Armin onstage.

What we can see from these pictorial representations is that so called "tragic" (or "serious") actors were honoured with painted portraits which display them as nobles. Although textual sources often refer to their great tragic roles and their perfect talent to "impersonate" them, the paintings show them out-of-performance. At the same time, comic actors appear as illustration to different texts, and they are usually shown in costume and in performance of different kinds. The ways they are represented relate them to popular tradition as they are often characterised as dancers, jesters, jugglers, and other street entertainers. With regard to all this, however, we cannot neglect the fact – which Katritzky also remarks – that in the case of pictorial representations/theatre iconography, sources and materials might have copied, or at least, influenced each other (Katritzky 1999, 75).

In conclusion, what we can say is that rhetorical discourse did not only elevate or ennoble the verbal accounts on acting, but also the iconography of it. Those theatre people that are reported to follow this decorum in contemporary sources are portrayed as actor-artists. Others are considered entertainers who only illustrate or vitalise the performance, but never play a character.

This tendency of differentiating between "real" actors and comedians is detectable through out the history of acting, and it is also imbued with some kind of sympathy towards the tragic actor. To dissolve this contradiction will be a topic of a larger, more complex project.

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György E. Szönyi

Order and Its Subversion in Dress-Code: Crossdressing

I.

Social – and through it cosmic – order was for a long time represented by dress-code. Until the 20th century, when unisex dressing on the one hand and the by and large unproblematic acceptance of transvestism on the other have abolished rigid dress-codes, clothing was an important aspect of reflecting on the order of the world. Violation of this code was understood as a serious subversion of the existing order and was treated accordingly.

Figure 1: Traditionally dressed Hungarian women in Magyarvista (Vistea, Romania). Author's photo, 1996.

Let me suggest here a brief and by no means complete typology of dress code in relation to universal, social, and gender order and its subversion up to modern times.

1. First we have to remember the strong connection between worldly power and its representation through clothing. Rulers, politicians, diplomats have always had and still have distinctive visual apparel and special requisites.

2. Professional dress code makes people of different social standing and engaged in different professions clearly distinguishable (think of the tunic of an archbishop, the uniform of an officer, the business suit of a broker, or the overall of a plumber).

3. Furthermore, special social or family occasions also require strictly codified dress code, from traditional ethnic clothing to bridal-wear.

4. Throughout history the gender aspect of dress code has been extremely important. Shapes and colors have always been used to identify and separate men and women.

5. The situation, however, had radically changed by the advent of the last century, when certain developments in ideology and fashion resulted in the emergence of unisex appearence. Feminist and emancipatory concerns were met by textile-technological innovations as well as a general trend toward less formal and less rigid clothing.

Figure 2: Fashion cut-out doll. Picture from the internet.

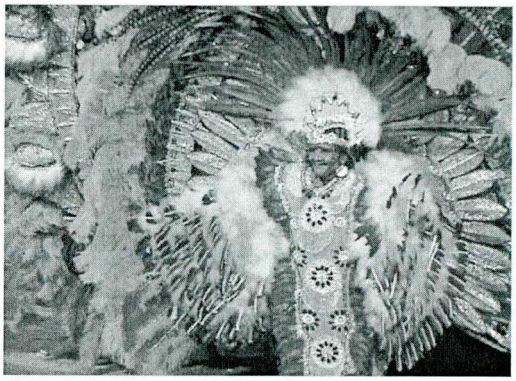

Figure 3: The Queen of Carnival. Old woman in fancy dress, Brazil. Picture from the internet

6. The subversion of existing order has always found expression in unusual or provocative dressing fashions. By diverting from the expected dress code, the world turns upside down, becomes topsy-turvy, letting free distilled and subdued instincts, desires, psychosomatic repression. This is what the theories, among others that of Bakhtin's, emphasize about the carnivals.

Figure 1 showing Hungarian folk dresses, captures an extremely rigid dress code. In the small Transylvanian village of Magyarvista (Vistea, in Romania) the female members of the Calvinist community have to wear obligatory colors: the younger women pride in many colors, however after the first grandchild, when they become grandmothers, they are expected to wear black, no matter how they feel or how old actually they are. In the church they have to sit separated from the men and when they leave the church after service, they keep an order according to the color of their clothing.

The cut out doll on Figure 2 reminds us of the flexibility of clothing. As many tales, such as Cinderella also testify: change your clothes and you change your personality, or at least your standing in the world. Figure 3 reveals one of the mysteries of the Carnival. By giving a close look, one can notice that this woman in the fantastic carnival dress is an old grandma, who is not forbidden, rather encouraged to enact a resurrection of youth, dance, volatility and eroticism during the feast. This is a subversion of the rigid order, at the same time is a transmutation of personality and body.

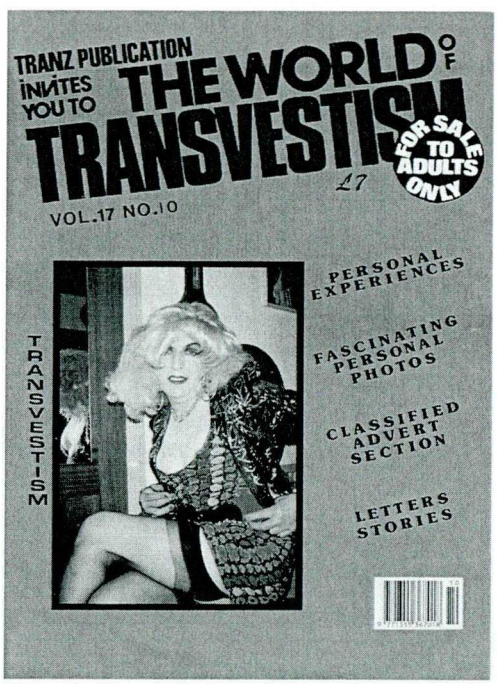

Figure 4: Transvestite journal cover. Picture from the internet.

7. This carnivalesque liberation by today has coupled with another liberation: the liberation from gender constraints. Transvestites have ever been among us and they may have had certain well defined social roles, too, but it is only during the past few decades that people – at least in certain parts of the world – can freely choose and demonstrate their sexual identity. This choice naturally goes together with the adoption of distinctive features, primarily through a reconfigured dress code (Figure 4).

8. We should not forget about another function of crossdressing, though. Changing into the clothing of the opposite sex is not necessarily a sexual gesture, it may serve as a protective, or purposful strategy. The result can often be hilarious comedy, too. From the recent past we all remember Dustin Hoffman's

and Robin Williams's fantastic impersonifications of two very different women: Tootsie and Mrs. Doubtfire (Figure 5).

9. Coming back to the sexual aspects of transvestism, there comes a point when sexual identity cannot be reconfigured by crossdressing, it needs deeper changes. Today's technology – in harmony with the ideological and political circumstances – can solve these problems, too. Medical treatment can assist bodily gender-transformation, so the term "transgender" is not science fiction any more, rather refers to a growing field of study, involving a lot of areas from medicine, through social care to the theories of the subject and identity.[1]

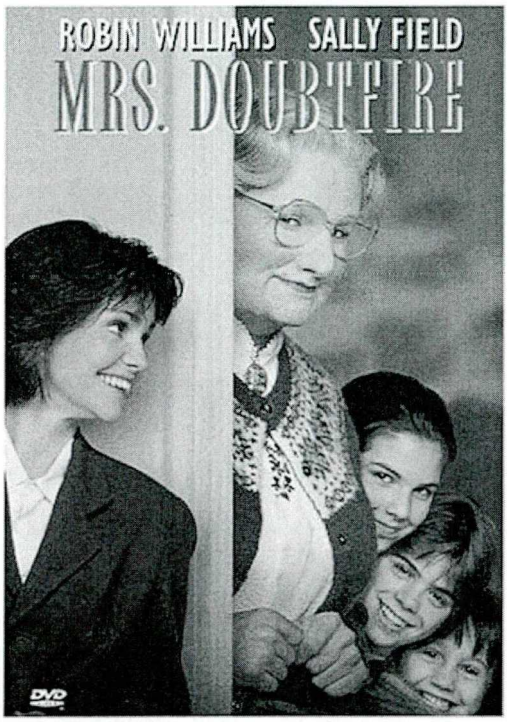

Figure 5: The poster of the film, *Mrs. Doubtfire*, with Robin Williams. Picture from the internet.

II.

After this general introduction I would like to offer an excursion into the past and highlight a curious and much debated cultural case of dress-code switching, namely crossdressing on the English Renaissance stage. My paper examines the myths, rituals, and practices of "virtual gender switch" in Shakespeare's plays, trying also to approach these from an iconological perspective.

It is a well-known fact that the public theatres of Shakespeare's England employed no female actresses, female roles were played by young boys. Until about twenty years ago this cultural phenomenon generated no particularly great debate, the custom was taken as a transparent semiotic convention which was easily adopted and accepted by the public.[2] With the rise of feminist criticism, however, and backed by psychoanalytic approaches, too, it has been pointed out that this theatrical cross-dressing may have not been so innocent, after all. Especially not, when, as often on Shakespeare's stage, the boys, playing women, crossdressed into male clothes, for various purposes.[3] The result is confusion, but with a purpose:

> OLIVIA I prithee tell me what thou think'st of me.
> VIOLA That you do think you are not what you are.
> OLIVIA If I think so, I think the same of you.
> VIOLA Then think you right: I am not what I am.[4]

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[1] For the above typology of dress code I have used – among others – the following works: Ackroyd 1979; Bruna ed. 2007; Lee ed. 2005; Lemire ed. 2010; Potvin 2009; Ramet ed. 1996; Suthrell 1995; Vincent 2009.

[2] Some basic reference works dealing with the theatrical conventions of the English Renaissance: Berry 1987; Doran 1954; Happé and Hüsken 2007; Hattaway 1982; Hibbard 1986; Kernodle 1944; Reese 1980; Weimann 1978; Wickham 1963 and 1981.

[3] On cross-dressing see Belsey 1985; Ferguson 1986; Garber 1993; Goldberg 1992; Jardin 1983, 1996; Harvey 1992; Howard 1994; Levin 1986; McLuskie 1987; Orgel 1996; Park 1980; Traub 1992; etc.

[4] Twelfth Night, 3.1.152–5. I am quoting from *Shakespeare 1969*.

This is how Olivia and Viola enigmatically discuss their life situation when the latter is cross-dressed in *Twelfth Night*. This kind of ordinary confusion acquires a subtle homoerotic tone when from behind the woman's dress the boy-actor speaks "aside," in his own name, addressing the male public – as at the end of *As You Like It*: "If I were a woman I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me,/ complexions that liked me, and breaths that I defied not..."[5]

Clearly, what we have here are the crosscurrents of social practices, literary conventions, and cultural representations which generated myths and promoted rituals using a special imagery, too. As feminist critics argue, this complex process contributed to a gradual subversion of the situation in which the main role of women was to serve the self-definition of man. In the followings, I shall survey the roots of cross-dressing in social practice as well as in literary, theatrical and popular culture, also paying special attention to the modern theoretical debates which have been trying to interpret and appropriate this phenomenon.

I propose to discuss separately cross-dressing as a social practice and/or cultural representation on the one hand, and as theatrical convention of boys playing female roles, on the other. As for the latter, as I have said, until recently critics did not see this problem as more complicated than understanding the anti-classical, non-imitative semiotics of theatrical setting. Such settings that are explained by Shakespeare in the Prologues of *Henry V*:

> So great an object: can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
> Within this wooden O the very casques
> That did affraight the air at Agincourt?
> [...]
> Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts:
> Into a thousand parts divide one man,
> And make imaginary puissance:
> Think when we talk of horses that you see them...[6]

Here Shakespeare warns the spectators to mobilize their imagination in order to complete the imperfect or incomplete picture provided on the stage. The dramatist was knocking on open doors, as the critics say, since the Elizabethan spectators were used to the emblematic stage settings and without difficulties employed the conventions of theatrical representations. Similarly to this, most theatregoers probably did not even notice that ladies were impersonated by boys, they took it as a technical device.

Before assessing this conventionalist view, let us have a look at the social practice of Renaissance cross-dressing and its moral and ideological evaluations. English Puritans generally did not like theatres because they thought them to be marketplaces of vice, however, they liked least those scenes which included cross-dressing.[7]

Historical anthropologists have revealed that cross-dressing was not only a theatrical device but also a widespread social practice, however it was no better appreciated in real life, either. As feminist critics have stressed, this rejection was due to the fact that for the representatives of dominant male discourse cross-dressing meant the subversion of the existing (and normative) social order manifested in fixed and unchangeable gender roles. The main principle of which was, of course, that males were superior while females were subordinate.

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[5] *As You Like It*, Epilogue.

[6] *Henry V*, 1.Prologue.10–26.

[7] See the following contemporary anti-theatrical treatises: Gosson 1579; Gosson 1582; I. G. 1615; Prynne 1633; Stubbes 1583; and apologies for actors: Heywood 1612; Rainolds 1599; etc. See also Howard 1994, Chapter 2: "Sathans Synagogue: The Theater as Constructed by Its Enemies," 22–47.

Legal regulations as well as complaints from the pulpit make it clear that everyday cross-dressing was not unknown in Renaissance England. Depending on the direction of cross-dressing, women wearing men's dresses were labelled prostitutes, as if the male garment indicated libertinism and promiscuity. Men wearing female dresses were called effeminate, degenerate creatures who neglected and abandoned their privileged role and the obligations deriving from that status. To wear women's clothes meant to mismatch the higher and lower hierarchies of existence, to abuse the cosmic order by eliminating the divide between male and female – and this is how the boys playing women on the stage were thought of, too.[8] Stephen Gosson, who wrote the most violent attack against the theatres, openly called the girl-playing boy actors perverts and sodomites:

> The Law of God very straightly forbids men to put on womens garments, garments are set downe for signes distinctiue betwene sexe & sexe, to take unto us those garments that are manifest signes of another sexe, is to falsifie, forge, and adulterate, contrarie to the expresse rule of the words of God. Which forbiddeth it by threatning a curse vnto the same.
> All that do so are abhomination unto the Lord, which way I beseech you shall they bée excused, that put on, not the apparrell onely, but the gate, the gestures, the voyce, the passions of a woman? All which like the wreathinges, and windinge of a snake, are flexible to catch, before they speed; and binde uppe cordes when they haue possession. Some there are that thinke this commaundement of God to be restrayned to them, that goe abroade in womens attyre and vse it for iugglinge, to shaddowe adulterie. (Gosson 1582, n.p., "The 3 Action")

Cross-dressing in both directions had popular roots, practices and myths attached to them. This can be best documented from contemporary pamphlets, such as the famous *Hic Mulier / Haec Vir*, published in 1620.[9] Enough to compare their subtitles: *Hic mulier: or, The man-woman: being a medicine to cure the coltish disease of the staggers in the masculine-feminines of our times. Exprest in a briefe declamation. – Haec-vir: or, The womanish-man: being an answere to a late booke intituled Hic-mulier. Exprest in a briefe dialogue betweene Haec-vir the womanish-man, and Hic-mulier the man-woman.*

We have similar attacks already from 1587 – the supposed year of Shakespeare's arrival in London – in William Harrison's *The Description of England*, in which he complained about the decline of the traditions of dressing best exemplified by the streetwalkers clothed in male attire:

> Their galligascons to bear out their bums and make their attire to fit plum round (as they term it) about them. Their fardingals, and diversely coloured nether stocks of silk, jerdsey, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I have met with some of these trulls in London so disguised that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men or women. Thus it is now come to pass, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters; and those good gifts which Almighty God hath given unto us to relieve our necessities withal [...] not otherwise bestowed than in all excess, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and waste them.[10]

It is well known that Renaissance culture had a strong visual character where visually effective semiotic systems, among them clothing styles, had rich, conventionally codified meanings, such as hierarchy, gender roles, age, social status, etc. Cross-dressing violated a system of signs established by God and transcendentally contributing to the cosmic order. The provocative prostitute parading in male clothes suggested a predator-like savage woman void of tenderness and motherly care, a woman who belonged to noone, who lacked a husband and a lord, thus her wild sexuality could burst out without control. When women indulged in cross-dressing, it meant for

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[8] See Howard 1994, Chapter 5, "Power and Eros: Crossdressing in Dramatic Representation and Theatrical Practice," 129–54.

[9] Howard 1994, 95ff. reviews this pamphlet in details.

[10] Harrison 1587, 147. Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/35/3/7.html>, Access: 2011–04–07.

contemporaries a mobility assumed illegally and without authorization by the "weaker sex". As we can read in *Hic mulier / Haec Vir* (1620):

> Remember how your Maker made for our first Parents coates, not one coat, but a coat for the man, and a coat for the woman; coates of severall fashions, severall formes, and for severall uses; the mans coat fit for his labour, the womans fit for her modestie. (B2v-B3, quoted by Howard 1994, 97)

We find similar quotations in the anti-theatrical tract of Philip Stubbes:

> It is written in the 22. of Deuteronomie, that what man so euer weareth womans apparell is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accursed also. Now, whether they be within the hands and lymits of that cursse, let them sée to it them selues. Our Apparell was giuen us as a signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, & therfore one to weare the Apparel of another sex, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these Women may not improperly be called Hermaphroditi, that is, Monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men. (1583, n.p., chapter "A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens apparell in Ailgna")

These notions were present in popular culture, for example the idea of the tough housewife who wears the trousers at home. An extreme case of this was those women who even beat their husbands thus turning the social and universal gender hierarchy totally upside down. Such excess necessitated ritualistic punishment, the so-called 'charivari,' the elements of which constituted a 'multimedial' and symbolically charged semiotic system. The transgression was visually signified by the procedure of forcing the offending woman to sit on a horse or mule facing the back of the animal (see Figure 6), and this 'icon' was completed by cacophonic music which also designated the violation of order committed by the unruly woman.[11]

Traditional concepts of order regarded marriage as the only legitimate role-model for women and in that the heterosexual marital relationship remained the only permitted sexual initiative. Interestingly, it was Protestant ideology which introduced some elements of flexibility in this

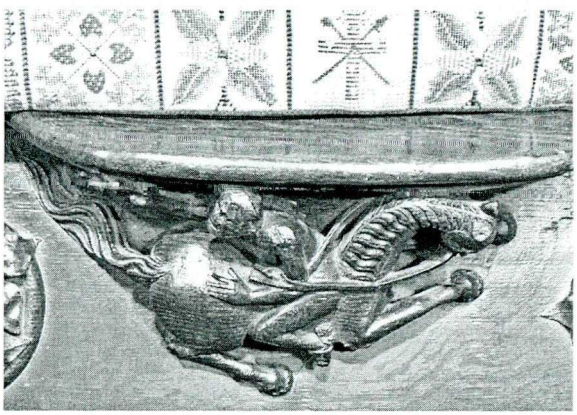

Figure 6: Charivari scene on a misericord in Hereford Cathedral.

[11] See the article "Közvélemény-büntetés [Punishment through public opinion]" in *Magyar néprajzi lexikon* [Dictionary of Hungarian Ethnography] (=Tárkány Szücs 1980). An anthropological approach to the history of *charivari* see the fifth chapter of Natalie Davis 1979 ("La chevauchée des femmes," 210–41), also her (1978), *passim*, and Le Goff & Schmitt 1981.

system during the 16th century. From this time on, we come across occasional opinions which considered the wife as an intellectual and spiritual companion to her husband, provided her energies were restricted to the sphere of the household and bringing up the children. Although this was still a rigid role, it allowed some independence on the part of women and this independence was highlighted and enhanced in many Renaissance comedies – including those of Shakespeare –, often playing on the motif of cross-dressing.

Before turning to these plays, it is worth citing one more typical patriarchal opinion about women which – according to the received traditions – differentiated between "lewd" and "good, vertuous, and honest" companions. Joseph Swetnam's notorious pamphlet of 1615, provided fame and eternity to its otherwise fencing master author more effectively than his sportsmanship. The fame, however, was not entirely rooted in *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women*, rather in the reactions to it put forward by three female writers. Rachel Speght rebutted Swetnam's arguments on his own ground, using the Bible to prove the excellence of women (*A Mouzell for Melastomus*, London, 1617, the title means "a muzzle for black mouth"). Two more poems, under pseudonyms, preceeded the big blow which came in the form of a comedy and put Swetnam on the pillory of his most hated scaffold, the theatrical stage. *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women* was published in 1620 and the quarto referred to a production by QueenAnne's Men, staged at the Red Bull Theater about two years earlier (see Butler 1995).

The play is a typical mixture of satire and romance, set mostly in Sicily. Swetnam exiles from England and settles down on the Italian island, taking up the name of Mysoginos. After a lot of complications he finds himself in a debate about female excellence. He represents the critic of women, while their defender is a prince, Lorenzo, who, with an excellent allusion to more than one layers of crossdressing, disguises himself as an Amazon, called Atlanta. Since the jury is biased, Swetnam wins, but in the meantime develops a desire for Atlanta. All this, of course results in his being revealed and humiliated, and the women of Sicily resound Iago's earlier opinion about him:

> IAGO. He's a man,
> Whose breeding has been like the Scarrabee,
> Altogether upon the excrement of the time;
> And being swol'n with poisonous vapors
> He breaks wind in public, to blast the
> Reputation of all women; his acquaintance
> Has been altogether amongst whores and bawds,
> And therefore speaks but in's own element.
> (Anonymous 1620, E1^{v} [Act III])

The play raises the social questions of crossdressing and by it demonstrates the beginnings of gender consciousness and female answers to the traditional patriarchal attitude. Presenting Prince Lorenzo in Amazon disguise at the same time cleverly subverts the stock situation of crossdressing, according to which the young girl dresses up as a man and attracts the desire of a lady (as we shall shortly see in *Twelfth Night*). Here a man disguises as a woman, defiantly rejecting the condemnations of Gosson and Stubbs, and it will be the mysoginist male's turn to become perplexed and ridiculous when the truth is revealed.

It is time now to look at Shakespeare's various inventions for employing crossdressing on his stage.

III

As Jane Howard has argued, it would be a mistake to assess all cross-dressing scenes according to one dogmatic model; on the contrary, cross-dressing scenes in Renaissance drama actually reflect on a great variety of gender roles. Some instances of cross-dressing seem to corroborate the tradi-

tional understanding of gender hierarchy, others subvert it from various angles. Let me illustrate this by three famous examples from Shakespeare's comedies, referring to the Viola of *Twelfth Night*, the Rosalind of *As You Like It*, and Portia from *The Merchant of Venice*. Although their cross-dressing greatly differ from each other, the dramatic *sujet*, the semiotic surface-structure is quite similar: the cross-dressing disturbs the seemingly stable balance between appearance and reality which leads to error, mismatch, and misunderstanding, the confusion of genders and identities.

As we remember, in *Twelfth Night* Viola is looking for her brother who is believed to have got lost in a shipwreck. For her own safety, Viola puts on male dress, this is how she meets prince Orsino who is lovesick for the noble lady, Olivia. Since his passion is so far not returned, he employs Viola to go to Olivia and interpret his love for the lady. A typical comic situation develops: Olivia falls in love with Viola, who for her is a boy, not a girl. To aggravate the complications, Viola in the meantime falls in love with Prince Orsino. Fortunately Orsino will return her feelings when it turns out that Viola is in fact a woman, and Olivia can be contented with Viola's recovered twin-brother who is a lookalike of the crossdressed Viola.

For many feminist interpreters Viola's fuzzy and unstable gender identity exemplifies the erosion of rigid gender roles in the early modern period. Howard contradicts this, arguing that Viola in fact contributes to the consolidation of the existing order by leading back the effeminate and uncertain prince to a more attracting masculine role, on the other hand punishing Olivia for her transgressive rejection of Orsino's marriage proposal by forcing her into wedlock with Viola's brother (1994, 114–5). As Howard emphasizes, it is not the crossdressed Viola who threatens the existing social and gender order, rather Olivia, who – although in traditional female clothing – stubbornly declines Orsino's attractive proposals and thus prevents the completion of order in the framework of heterosexual matrimony. Furthermore, Olivia is a strong and independent woman whose integrity is also supported by her assets. The dramatist seems "to teach her a lesson" when at the end of the play she has to find her proper place in society and in the gender hierarchy.

Rosalind in *As You Like It* is similar to Viola. Her male dress when fleeing from the city to the Forest of Arden does not cover, rather emphasizes her femininity. This is emblematically shown in the scene when she faints at the sight of blood, as explained by the following amusing dialogue:

> OLIVER. Many will swoon when they look on blood.
> [...] Be of good cheer, youth. You a man! You lack a man's heart.
> ROSALIND. I do so, I confess it. [...] Counterfeit, I assure you.
> OLIVER. Well then, take a good heart and counterfeit to be a man.
> ROSALIND. So I do; but i'faith, I should have been woman by right. (4.3.160–5)

Cross-dressing thus causes only a temporary confusion which is then resolved in the closing double marriage scene. There are some differences, however, between Viola's and Rosalind's rather similar cross-dressing actions, too. To begin with, although both women want to get married and in this respect they perfectly follow the prescribed gender roles, Viola is more passive, a yearning type while Rosalind actively tries to take her fate in her own hands. She uses her male disguise to work out a larger space within the narrow limits defined for women. She does not reject the patriarchal order, but her manipulations indicate that this order is not an eternal, unchangeable, transcendental system, rather is maintained by convention. This conventionality – as expressed by Petrarchist poetry and courtship – is furthermore sarcastically ridiculed by Rosalind when she teases Orlando as follows:

> ROSALIND. There is none of my uncle's marks upon you: he taught me how to know a man in love; in which cage of rushes I am sure you are not prisoner.
> ORLANDO. What were his marks?

ROSALIND. A lean cheek, which you have not; a blue eye and sunken, which you have not; an unquestionable spirit, which you have not; a beard neglected, which you have not; [...] you are rather point-device in your accountrements; as loving yourself than seeming the lover of any other. (3.2.394–409)

One motif in *As You Like It*, however, quite disturbingly destabilizes this seemingly consolidated gender-order. It is the epilogue, when the boy-actor, playing Rosalind, reveals his sex to the audience, admitting that he is a boy and not a girl. This speech breaks the error-free reception provided by conventionality, brutally reminding the public that those men who would fall in love with him would find a homoerotic relationship.

My way is to conjure you. [...] If I were a woman, I would kiss
as many of you as had beards that pleased me, complexions
that liked me, and breaths that I defied not... (Epilogue)

This intentional subversion of the existing theatrical convention leads us to the problem of boy-actors, but before examining this, let us have a look at one of Shakespeare's most independent female characters, Portia. She is greatly different from Viola and Rosalind because when cross-dressed, she steps out from her female identity and behaves like a genuine man. As a superb lawyer she defeats men in their own territory. On the other hand, she also appears as a strong and determined female who does not accept the prescribed gender role – that is to get married to the person who asks her –, rather she herself wants to choose and remain a dominant personality in matrimony. She has her devices for this: she poses a riddle to the suitors and thus manipulates her father's last will according to her own desire. Like Olivia, she is financially dominant, too, and her chosen love, the penniless Bassanio remains fatally dependent on her.

All in all, however, Portia does not undermine the existing social order, rather, like Rosalind, she appropriates and exploits it. She uses the order to pursue her own interests which in the end prove to be conventional. On the other hand, one should also note, that although Portia comes from the position of a marginalised factor of that conventional order, she still does not feel any solidarity with other marginalised characters, such as Shylock, the Jew. Shakespeare's heroine is not a typical Elizabethan woman, rather exceptional, but, like the stature of Queen Elizabeth herself, can be considered a harbinger of the early modern paradigm-shift in gender roles.

To sum up what has been said so far: in the time of the Renaissance gender differences were still considered as God-ordained, unchangeable and eternal characteristics which were highlighted in various cultural semiotic subsystems, such as iconography or fashion. The transgression of these categories was seen as the subversion of the natural order, that is a deadly sin, the desire for which had to be channelled into supervised, ritualistic social/cultural practice, such as carnival disguise and theatrical cross-dressing on the one hand, and the punishment through public opinion, such as the charivari, on the other.

Cross-dressing on the Renaissance stage had an important innovation, though. These scenes actually questioned the transcendental interpretation of gender and suggested the conventional character of that concept. The cross-dressing scenes of Shakespeare's comedies did not mean any revolutionary attack against the existing social and cultural traditions, since the cross-dressing women with this gesture usually underwrote the status quo. The fact, however, that Portia in a male attire could indeed behave like a strong and successful man, reminded the spectators that all the concepts of gender were merely cultural constructs the endorsing of which was just a social convention. The very fact, that the question of conventionality could become a theme in gendered discourse meant that important obstacles were removed from the way to articulate the equality of women.

The last problem which remains to be treated in connection with crossdressing is to look at the problem of "primary cross-dressing" on the stage, that is the boys playing women in female apparel.

IV

As I have already pointed out, this spectacle was for a long time considered a transparent convention which needed no difficult explanation. The problems only arise when a dramatist inserts metadiscourse in relation to this phenomenon, such as Shakespeare at the end of *As You Like It* when the actor playing Rosalind "steps out" from his role and starts teasing the audience, as I have quoted above.

This alienating effect catalysed that trend of psychoanalytical and feminist interpretation according to which the cross-dressing of actors represented a homoerotic subtext in Renaissance culture. The exact understanding of it, however, generated differing opinions.

Laura Levine (1986) suggested that this transvestite convention revealed subconscious fears about the unstable and monstrous nature of the ego which can be tempered only with the strictest means. Stephen Greenblatt (1988, 88ff), on the other hand, concluded that in a male dominated world where females were seen as inferior and degenerate, male actors in female roles were natural and appreciated. Lisa Jardine in her book of 1983 pondered that the Renaissance public theatre primarily functioned so as to satisfy the male fantasies of the spectators and that the boy-actors aroused homoerotic desires among the audience. Contradicting this Kathleen McLuskie (1987) returned to the notion of conventionality and argued that the spectators did not care much about the biological sex of the actors as long as their gender was unambiguously constructed on the stage.[12] One of the more recent opinions in this respect has been Stephen Orgel's book of 1996 *(Impersonations. The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England),* which offered a thorough investigation and new solutions.

His analysis of actor cross–dressing corroborates the notion that it was indeed the English Renaissance which for the first time seriously proposed to redefine the nature of gender differences, arguing for their conventionality and socially determined character. It is fascinating to see, however, that this process of redefinition was often authenticated by ancient and conservative medical theses. For example, relying on Aristotle and Galen, in the 16th century it was believed that female sexual organs were not different from male organs, except that they grew inward.

Around 1580 a French physician, Ambroise Paré described cases of changing of sex, invariably from female to male. Among others, he reported the story of a shepherdess, who, while running after her animals, had her organs turned out and, lo, she changed into a man:

> Some yeeres agone I was shewed a man called Germane Garnierus, but by some Germane Maria, he was of an indifferent stature and well set body, with a thick and read beard; he was taken for a girle untill the fifteenth yeere of his age, because there was no signe of being a man in his body, and for that amongst women, he in like attire did those things which pertaine to women; in the fifteenth yeere of his age, while he somewhat earnestly pursued hogges given into his charge to bee kept, who running into the corn, he leaped violently over a ditch, whereby it came to passe that the stayes and foldings being broken, his hidden members sodainly broke forth, but not without paine... (Paré 1634, 974 [Book 25, chapter 5]).[13]

Montaigne also discussed the case (1948, 870), and in 1615, the English doctor, Helkiah Crooke concluded in his *Microcosmographia* as follows:

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[12] A summary of this scholarly debate can be read in Howard 1994, 159–60.

[13] Orgel (1996, 20ff) refers to Paré's story, citing a modern edition, Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels* (Chicago, 1982).

> The Testicles in men are larger, and of hotter nature than in women; because of the temperament of the whole body, which in women is colder, in men hotter. Wherefore heat abounding in men thrusts them forth of the body, whereas in women they remaine within, because their dull and sluggish heate is not sufficient to thrust them out. The trueth of this appeareth by manifold stories of such women, whose more active and operative heate hath thrust out their Testicles, and of women made them men. (Crooke 1615, 204)

From these speculations it seems, as if maleness would not be an original, *ab ovo* state, rather the result of a process, requiring a certain activity, generating heat. This opinion is shown by a number of rituals marking the threshold of male maturity. As well known, prior to the rite of passage of puberty small boys were often dressed into "unisex" clothing and the first pair of trousers symbolized the construction of male gender – especially that in the time of the Renaissance trousers were dominated by the codpiece, a special device to keep and protect the testicles.

V

The limits of this paper do not allow me to trace further the myths and rituals connected with cross-dressing, but let me offer here some points of conclusion. Those boys on the English Renaissance stage who played female roles and from time to time freely changed their gender by changing their dresses represented two notions. First, they recalled the ancient (medical) traditions according to which there was no fundamental difference between male and female, both of them were of the same substance and materials, except for the additional intellectual strength (and protruding male organ) of men. Secondly, this theatrical practice radically reinterpreted the mentioned ancient tradition, that is to say, it suggested that gender differences resulted only from social practice and cultural representation, also allowing that these conventions were not unchangeable. The subversion of the fixed gender roles thus logically lead to the rethinking of the nature and mechanism of desire which opened homoerotic subtexts in traditional-conventional texts, too.

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Ágnes Tünde Tanács

Cosmic Order on the Anatomy Table

The aim of my text is to point out how the cosmic order appears when the Renaissance represented corporeality. I am using Shakespearean dramas, mainly *Macbeth*, to illustrate the stage representation of disorderly bodies in the Elizabethan era.

My text will be divided into the following points: first I will discuss anatomy in the light of the microcosm/macrocosm hierarchy, then I will touch upon the different levels of cosmic (dis)orders in *Macbeth*.

Based on the Medieval tradition of the microcosmic/macrocosmic hierarchy, as Helkiah Crooke wrote "onely man amongst all other creatures, was framed according to the fashions of the whole vniuerse" (Crooke 1615, Bk1 ChII, p5), public dissections presented the complexity of the universe and of the human body within it. The theological notion – that the human being was created after God's own image, as the most perfect image of himself on Earth (minor mundus) – has strengthened it (Cunningham 1997, 41). Perfection of the human body or as Crooke defines it, "the admirable structure, and accomplished perfection of the body, carrieth in it a representation of all the most glorious and perfect workes of God, as being an Epitome or compend of the whole creation" (Crooke 1615, Bk1 Ch1 p2) was taken as a starting point. The task of the scientist was to discover the secrets of the body, hidden deep under the skin. Searching for the essence of human nature, the anatomist looked inside, observing the body to realize the mechanisms of corporeality for a better understanding of human as such (Crooke 1615, Bk1 Ch2 p4). Let me borrow Banquo's words: it is the time when "our naked frailties" are *not* hid, but quite the opposite, they *do* "suffer in exposure" (M II, iii, 122–3). The harmony of the universe and the earthly living is the proof of the coherence of body and mind. Again, let me quote Crooke:

> The frame and composition which is vpright and mounting toward heauen, the moderate temper, the equal and iust proportion of the parts; and lastly, their wonderfull consent & mutuall concord as long as they are in subiection to the Law & rule of Nature: for so long in them we may behold the liuely Image of all this whole Vniuerse, which wee see with our eyes (as it were) shadowed in a Glasse, or deschipered in a Table (Crooke 1615, Bk1 Ch2 p4).

It also enables the sophisticated observer to read the body as the visual interpretation of the character or personality. The disharmony of the elements appears as the unambiguous bodily discrepancy. Reading from the body was important for the anatomist and the physician, and it also took part in the literary representation of characters. The body, believed to be the container of physical secrets must be opened for a closer inspection (Neill 1997, 122). Yet, it is also admired as a place of life, and it is even more so when it is the king's murdered body: "Most sacrilegious sacred Murder hath broke ope / The Lord's anointed Temple, and stole thence / The life o'th'building!" (M II, iii, 66–8). Kent Cartwright links this picture with the tearing of the curtain of the *sanctum sanctorium* hanging before the Second Temple: "The rending of the curtain exposes the inner sanctum and thus echoes and completes the opening of the heavens at Jesus's baptism; thus Macduff's lines may bear a distant trace of the image of baptism, deepening the new connotations of Duncan's death" (Cartwright 2002, 231). Taking the anatomy theatre into account, if we add the meaning of theatre, which is "a place for seeing" – which is also true to the anatomy theatre as well –, we see that Macbeth's murder weapon and the anatomist's knife draw back the same curtain (the skin) for us to peep into the body suddenly opened in front of our eyes.

The phenomenon is most visible in the Elizabethan theatre, which could effectively mediate the knowledge gained in anatomical observations towards the audience because of the theatre's cultural coverage. In this sense, the role of the spectator is shifting towards the role of the anatomist, to understand the references made on bodily (dis)functions, the spectator needs to have some kind of knowledge – and the theatre could have been a place to pick up such knowledge. As a part of the Elizabethan cultural sphere, the theatre could be one place among others to transfer newly gained knowledge about the human body. The theatre could act as a mediator vehicle between the anatomy theatre and the spectator of the Elizabethan theatre-goer. Autopsy or 'anatomization' is often evoked in Shakespearean plays: as a means of a better understanding, to see behind the scenes as penetrating beyond the surface of the skin. King Lear demands to "let them anatomize Regan, see what breeds about her heart. / Is there any cause in nature, / that makes these hard hearts" (KL III, vi, 75–7) in the hope that a closer look might give Lear some clue why his daughters behaved so rudely towards him.

This practice slowly disappears by the time of Restoration. It is best visible in Davenant's 1664 version of *Macbeth,* which remained relatively true to the original play, shows some significant changes, undoubtedly having effect on the interpretation. The modernized text eliminated some minor characters, the royal couple's and Lady Macduff's role was elaborated on in greater detail, but more importantly, apart from these, Davenant's changes infected only the anatomical references of the original play, transferring them or cutting them out completely. Possibly, because the mediator role of the theatre was not necessary any more, most of Shakespeare's anatomist-analogies are missing from the Restoration play.[1]

Let us turn back to Shakespeare's *Macbeth.* As a play, *Macbeth* is a good example of the stage representation of anatomical knowledge. So, let us read from the events and characters of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* from the perspectives of the bodily behaviour. *Macbeth* presents us with a world of riddles and double meanings ("Fair is foul, and foul is fair" (M I, I, 12)), where even the characters have difficulties to comprehend what is going on in a topsy-turvy reality. Think of Banquo's dilemma to identify the Weird Sisters' gender: "you should be women, / And yet your beards forbid me to interpret / That you are so" (M I, iii, 43–5), or the same wish of Lady Macbeth for a genderless power "unsex me here / And fill me from the crown to the toe topfull / Of direst cruelty" (M I, v, 40–2).

I. Universal level

In the next part of my article I will discuss the different levels in *Macbeth* where order or rather disorder is visible for the spectator. *Macbeth* is such a play where the cosmos is seriously defective. The Macbeths' universe represented in the play is in serious need of mending and purification.

[1] For instance, Macbeth's decisive exclamation to fight until the very end: 'I'll fight till from my bones my flesh be hacked' (M V, iii, 33) has been completely cut out of the text. Also, in the description of the battle Macbeth's behaviour is told by Seyton; importantly, the following Shakespearean lines are omitted by Davenant: [CAPTAIN] 'Disdaining Fortune, with his brandished steel, / Which smoked with bloody execution, / Like valour's minion / Carved out his passage till he faced the salve, / Which ne'er shook hands nor bade farewell to him / Till he unseamed him from the nave to th' chops' (M I, ii, 17– 22). Without these lines, we are left with Davenant's inserted comments, such as 'brave Macbeth' (DM I, i, 29, DM I, i, 68), or 'noble Macbeth' (DM I, i, 84). The result is not the valiant but at the same time butcher Shakespearean character we would have in front of us. In Davenant's version the change in Macbeth's behaviour is sudden, lacking the brutality of his nature. I discussed it further in detail in my "Corporeality in Shakespeare's and Davenant's Versions of Macbeth" article, printed in Pavel Drávek et al., eds. *Shakespeare and his Collaborators over the Centuries.* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.) 119–128. Extracts from the Davenant's version of *Macbeth* is referred to as DM.

The whole country/macrocosm shows an imbalanced state and order, which both need to be restored. Hospitality of the king turns into a slaughter which radically changes the fate of the country – and people's lives with it. Mirroring the universal disturbance, Nature's order on Earth is turned upside down: "The night has been unruly; where we lay, / Our chimneys were blown down; and, as they say, / Lamentings heard i'th'air; strange screams of death, / And, prophesying with accents terrible / Of dire combustion, and confus'd events, / New hatch'd to th'woeful time, the obscure bird / Clamour'd the livelong night some say, the earth / Was feverous, and did shake." (M II, iii, 53–9). Ross confirms this cataclismic imagery by adding that

> Duncan's horses (a thing most strange and certain) / Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race, / Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out, / Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make / War with mankind (M II, iv, 14–8). Animals attack each other because of the urge of pride: 'A falcon, towering in her pride of place, / Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at, and kill'd' (M II, iv, 11–2).

The audience cannot miss the references made on unnaturally preying animals; and pride as a reason behind the events – they are the exemplary imageries of Duncan and Macbeth.[2]

Macbeth's castle is Hell itself, the underworld, as the Porter remarks it, and he is guarding the Hell Gate: "If a man were Porter / of Hell Gate, he should have old turning the key" (M II, iii, 1–2).

II. The royal bodies

On the bodily level, the microcosm is just as defective as the universe. Not only the genderless world of Lady Macbeth and the Weird Sisters, but corporeality and the corporeal experience of the surrounding world is just as illusory as any other magic the Weird Sisters do: "what seem'd corporal, / Melted, as breath into the wind" (M I, iii, 79–80). If man's body is "Royall Temple and Image of God" (Crooke 1615, Bk1 ch1 p3), then the king's sacred body is more so. Yet, we see violent interference into the sanctity of human temple several times in *Macbeth*, when royal bodies suffer. The plural is not a mistake, Duncan, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth all experience the disorder of the body. It starts with the legitimate king, Duncan's murder:

> Most sacrilegious Murther hath broke ope / The Lord's anointed Temple, and stole thence / The life o'th'building! (M II, iii, 66–8), where we can peep into the sanctity of the royal corpus for the first time: 'Here lay Duncan, / His silver skin lac'd with his golden blood / And his gash's stabs look'd like a breach in nature, / For ruin's wasteful entrance' (M II, iii, 107–10).

Macbeth's blasphemy has disturbed the body of the lawful king, and the country and the universe is disturbed with it just as much.

Dissected, raw flesh is presented to us in the play. The tortured body appears in the first battle scene: "Disdaining Fortune, with his brandish'd steel, / Which smok'd with bloody execution, / Like Valour's minion, carv'd out his passage, / Till he fac'd the slave; / Which ne'er shook hands, nor bade farewell to him, / Till he unseam'd him from the nave to th'chops, / And fix'd his head upon our battlements" (M I, ii, 18–23). The dissected and opened body is an important imagery, the defeated tyrant's fate foreshadows Macbeth's own fate. It is for sure the same end Macbeth will receive, the 'reward' all Cawdors get for turning against the actual king. Both bearers

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[2] Old Man: 'Tis said, they eat each other. Ross: They did so; to th'amazement of mine eyes, / That look'd upon't' (M II, iv, 20–1). All references from Shakespeare's plays other than *Macbeth* are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, edited by G. Blackmore Evans.

of the title Thane of Cawdor die as treasonists, their bodies forcefully opened up in front of us. Obviously, the tyrant's dismemberment is the ultimate punishment ordered by the new sovereign. Moreover, like the former Thane of Cawdor, whose title, possessions and as it turns out, his fate Macbeth inherits, he also dies the *same* way Macdonwald did. Macdonwald was beheaded, they "fixed his head on the battlements", (M I, ii, 23) and similarly, Macduff refers to Macbeth's decapitation: 'Behold, where stands / Th'usurper's head: the time is free' (M V, ix, 20–1). However, Macbeth's heroic movement, which saved the battle for Duncan is doubled in the Caesarian birth of Macduff: "Macduff was from his mother's womb / Untimely ripp'd" (M V, viii, 15–6), but it signalizes more of a twisted analogy than a reassuring ending for us.

The tyrant couples' bodies undergo more traumas. The new king's head, the microcosm for the country, and the microcosm of man is dysfunctional in both cases. Macbeth is an unruly king, and the macrocosmic disturbance is clearly echoed in his head. When he hallucinates about a dagger before killing Duncan, he regards it as the twisted game of his mind, resulting from his overstrung ambition: "Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible / In feeling as to sight? Or art thou but / A dagger of the mind, a false creation, / Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?" (M II, I, 36–9). Hallucination is a frightening experience for Macbeth, he cannot deal with the ghost of Banquo coming back from his death: "when the brains were out, the man would die, / And there an end; but now, they rise again, / With twenty mortal murthers on their crowns, / And push us from our stools" (M III, iv, 78–81). What peace of mind is possible for him if the ghost of murdered people can come back to take away the joy of his deed? He has to realize that his crown is fruitless, and what is worse, it was done only to be enjoyed by Banquo's issues.

Hallucination effects Lady Macbeth's mind as well, visible in her constant hand-washing: "What, will these hands ne'er be clean?" (M V, i, 41). Blood sticks to her hands, and it is the same joke of the mind as the bloody dagger was for Macbeth. Her hallucination, the sleepwalking, and the fear of darkness are proofs of her mental disease. In the diagnosis of the doctor it is "A great perturbation in nature, to receive at once the benefit of sleep, and do the effects of watching!" (M V, I, 9–11). However, in her case "the benefit of sleep" is accompanied with the horror of re-enacting the slaughter and its effects again and again.

Macbeth also suffers from insomnia after the murder, sleeping is the reward for those who have not committed any sins: "Glamis hath murther'd Sleep, and therefore Cawdor / Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!" (M II, ii, 41–2). Sleep is only given to Duncan, who is "in his grave; After life's fitful fever he sleeps well; / Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison, / Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing / Can touch him further!" (M III, ii, 22–6).

Signalizing this out-of-order working of those in power, the country similarly shows the symptoms of a sick body: "I think our country sinks beneath the yoke, / It weeps, it bleeds; and each new day a gash / Is added to her wounds" (M IV, iii, 39–41).

III. Supernatural level

Whatever we regard the Weird Sisters, Supernaturals or Others, their realm also make use of body parts either in the Apparitions – the armed Head and the bloody Child – evoked by Macbeth or for cooking the hell-broth for magical purposes: "Liver of blaspheming Jew; / Gall of goat, and slips of yew, / Sliver'd in the moon's eclipse; / Nose of Turk, and Tartar's lips, / Finger of birth-strangl'd babe / Ditch-deliver'd by a drab, / Make the gruel thick and slab" (M IV, i, 29–32). And we cannot forget about Banquo, whose restless ghost leave Macbeth amazed, since Banquo should not behave the way he does: "let the earth hide thee! / Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold; / Thou hast no speculation in those eyes / Which thou dost glare with" (M III, iv, 92–4). Unnatural, of course, in their appearance in the world of the living where

they have no place to be, ghosts also signalize the falling apart of the cosmic order.[3] Banquo's ghost shows all the symptoms that would place him under ground, yet, he usurps the realm of the human beings.

IV. The level of humours

Furthermore, universal disorder can be recognized on the level of bodily fluids, humours. Shakespeare extensively employs humours in order to present the imbalance or corruptness of the body, or very often, in the country.[4]

Macbeth is full of references to bodily fluids, such as blood, phlegm, bile, and organs attached to them, all presented to us as a horrific tableau vivant. The macrocosmic imperfection can be detected even in the minute parts of the human body, as the defect affects all levels of the macrocosmic/microcosmic hierarchy. We all remember Lady Macbeth's gruesome wish to turn her milk to gall: "take my milk for gall" (M I, v, 48), or the gore and blood around the royal couple. Let me show you some examples of the humours as signifiers of disorderly bodies, when the macrocosmic effect is visible in the microcosm of the human being.

Blood is the fluid which governs the whole drama by its presence: "I am in blood / Stepp'd in so far that should I wade no more, / Returning were as tedious as go o'er" (M III, iv, 136–8). Blood is important as it provides the hereditary lineage of the ruling house, the promise of the future generation, and this is precisely from which Macbeth is deprived despite the bloodshed around him. Patriarchal blood cannot leave the body of the monarch without generating great impact on both the body and the nation (Paster 1993, 103–4). The sight and the amount of blood of the old king is shocking even for Lady Macbeth: "who would have thought the old man had to have so much blood in him?" (M V, I, 35–6). It is far from the healing bloodletting of the nation as a means of purification, Duncan *was* the legitimate king. Macbeth gains the adjective "bloody" to his name from Malcolm (M IV, iii, 57). Make no mistake, it is the man, who is so "full o'th'milk of human kindness" (M I, v, 17) that Lady Macbeth felt her encouragement is needed to carry out the murder of Duncan.

Phlegm is mentioned in the play in images of fear. Macbeth speaks of his "pale-hearted fear" (M IV, I, 85), or horror on the face of the "lily-liver'd boy" (M V, iii, 15), whereas Lady Macbeth expresses her shame with it: "My hands are of your colour, but I shame / To wear a heart so

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[3] If we think about the Ghost of Old Hamlet, hallucinated by Hamlet or a 'real' apparition, we find that the ghost symbolizes the disruption of royal lineage, being Claudius on the throne instead of Hamlet.

[4] Bodily fluids are frequently used to characterisation in other Shakespearean plays as well. Often they symbolize the corrupted body or the dysfunctional ethos of the dramas. Melancholy is one of the most frequently used adjectives in *Hamlet* about the prince's state, but it also appears in *King Lear*, where in Edmund's interpretation is the is means for role-playing: 'cue is villanious melancholy, with a sigh like Tom o'Bedlam.' (KL I, ii, 138–9). Lear is an imperfect, choleric old man according to his daughters: '... then must we look to receive from this age, not alone the imperfections of long-engraffed condition, but, therewithal, the unruly waywardness that infirm and *choleric years* bring with them.' (KL 1, i, 299–302). In Lear' curse Goneril is a harmful humour, causing disharmony in the king's body: 'But yet thou art my flesh, my blood, my daughter; / Or, rather, a disease that 's in my flesh, / Which I must needs call mine: thou art a bile, / A plague-sore, an embossed carbuncle, / In my corrupted blood.' (KL 2, iv, 222–6). In *Hamlet* (as in *Macbeth*), choler and its organ, gall appears as the symbol of anger when Hamlet is searching his motivation for carrying out his revenge: 'for it cannot be, / But I am pigeon-liver'd, and lack gall / To make oppression bitter, or ere this, / I should have fatted all the region kites / With this slave's offal.' (H II, ii, 585–8). After the mouse-trap scene he hear that Claudius is suffering from choler as well: 'Guil.: [The king] Is, in his retirement, marvellous distempered./ Ham: With drink, sir? / Guil: No, my lord, rather with choler.' (H III, ii, 301–3).

white" (M II, ii, 64–5). Macbeth is surprised to realize that his wife can cope with the burden of their deed: "I think you can behold such sights, / And keep the natural ruby of your cheeks, / When mine is blanch'd with fear" (M III, iv, 113–5).[5]

Lady Macbeth recalls the gall, when she refuses her femininity with the wish to produce gall instead of milk, which is obviously poisonous for a child:

> Come, you Spirits / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here, / And fill me, from the crown to the top, top-full / Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood, / Stop up th'access and passage to remorse; / That no compunctious visitings of Nature / Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between / Th'effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts, / And take my milk for gall... (M I, v, 40–8).

With this sentence she also refuses the image of a fragile and fallible female body as well. The refusal of feminine weakness is her weapon against her reluctant husband, who has doubts about the murder of the king (Paster 1993, 39).

All these examples illustrate to the spectator that the presented human bodies do not work properly even on the level of bodily fluids, the corruptness of the country is followed down to the smallest part of the macrocosmic/microcosmic hierarchy.

V. Healing the nation from outside

To all these dysfunctional mechanisms the play offers a counter-example, a place where universe and kingdom, king and nation are in harmony –, but it is outside Scotland. This is the English court, where Edward is in possession of miraculous healing, he can cure The Evil, that is, scrofula: "there are a crew of wretched souls, / That stay in cure: their malady convinces / The great assay of art; but at his touch, / Such sanctity hath Heaven given his hand, / They presently amend" (M IV, iii, 141–5) and "strangely-visited people, / All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye, / The mere despair of surgery, he cures; / Hanging a golden stamp about their necks, / Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken, / To the succeeding royalty he leaves / The healing benediction" (M IV, iii, 150–6). Not only he is gifted with the power of healing, but his legitimacy is a sharp contrast to Macbeth's tyrannical power (borrowed robes on a dwarf): "sundry blessings hang about his throne, / That speak him full of grace" (M IV, iii, 158–9). Since Duncan's sons fled to England after the murder and the help of the English monarch is the only way Macbeth can be dethroned, the reference to Edward as the holy king presents us a medicine for the nation's problems. After the bloodletting of Scotland, curing is possible from outside the nation, and it will be performed with the assistance of the healing ruler, Edward: "Meet we the med'cine of the sickly weal; / And with him pour we, in our country's purge, / Each drop of us" (M V, ii, 27–9). Reconstruction, the role of the anatomist can be performed after the abscission of the sick body parts – the tyrant couple –, when all dysfunctional behaviour is eliminated, legitimacy is more or less restored, and the country as a body can start its healing process.

The Doctor comes to the same conclusion after witnessing Lady Macbeth's disturbed night-walking, the crime has taken its toll, healing is not possible originating solely from the body itself: "unnatural deeds / Do breed unnatural troubles; infected minds / To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets. / More needs she the divine than the physician." (M V, i, 63–66). In his conversation with Macbeth, the usurper king comes to the conclusion that something is seriously wrong with his country and asks him to cure it: "If thou couldst, doctor, cast / The water of my land, find her disease, / And purge it to a sound and pristine health" (M V, iv, 51–3).

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[5] 'milk-liver'd man' (KL IV, ii, 52)

Witnessing the events in the play, after all the anatomization, the audience has the same task as the anatomist: to put the parts together, to find a coherent, functioning body to understand the big picture of the play.[6]

In conclusion, showing these examples, it might not be far-fetched to suggest that the knowledge from the anatomy theatres had some effect on the Elizabethan theatre as well. Shakespearean plays, and *Macbeth* especially reflect the new consciousness about the body in the Renaissance era. As I have shown, the cosmic disorder is represented on several levels in the drama: it affects the universal, earthly and even bodily levels at the same time.

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[6] Or as Marcus says in *Titus Andronicus*: 'O, let me teach you how to knot ... These broken limbs again into one body' (TA III, i, 279–87).

Agnieszka Żukowska

The Ordered Performance: Animated Emblems of the Stuart Court Masque

Hailed as "the wonder ... of tongues, of ears, of eyes" (Jonson 1969, 168) in one of the choral songs of Ben Jonson's *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* (1611), the Stuart monarch seated in the auditorium of the Whitehall Banqueting House would in turn expect to feast his ears and eyes upon the wonders created on the stage in the course of a quasi-theatrical entertainment belonging to the genre of the Stuart court masque. A considerable degree of aesthetic pleasure was to be drawn from the masque's architecturally shaped stage pictures, which were interspersed with stylised dances, ornate pieces of instrumental and vocal music, and chunks of the dramatic, all to be followed by the joint dancing of the noble performers taking part in the entertainment and their aristocratic spectators. With its intermedial "speaking pictures," that is, relentlessly explicated scenic *tableaux*, and its philologically analysable dancing routines, which not infrequently transferred messages of an almost philosophical nature, the masque has been viewed as a theatrical transmutation of the specifically early modern combination of word and image, namely, the emblem book. The Italianate illusionistic scenes designed for the court stage by the royal architect Inigo Jones have been likened to emblematic icons, the masque's descriptive songs and speeches, in their turn, are believed to have had the same function as emblematic epigrams (Limon 1990, 78). The curtain screening the stage – together with the ornament-covered proscenium arch supporting a cartouche with the entertainment's title – has been compared to a "frontispiece ... reminiscent of emblematic title pages in printed books" (Limon 1990, 85); the affinities between the masque and other forms of print, for instance Renaissance cartography (Grzegorzewska 1993), have also been acknowledged.

To take this analogy a step further, a peculiarly emblematic quality was not just a feature of the genre's material constitution: it also resonated in the very process of its reception. Just like its printed counterparts, which "had in their sights only a single, ideal reader, or ...one ideal spectator: the patron or dedicatee" (Manning 2004, 185), the masque envisaged the presence of a single ideal addressee: in court theatre the place of the privileged reader would have been taken by the king facing the central section of the perspective stage. When it comes to the general audience present at the entertainment, they were frequently instructed to "look," "watch," "behold" or "wonder," which is precisely the set of ostensive commands addressed to the readers of emblematic epigrams (Manning 2004, 90). Finally, the detailed accounts of masques printed after the actual staging were not unlike the emblematic "record of what would have been otherwise lost," to use a phrase from John Manning's study of the emblem, where the masque is called an "emblematic sister art" (Manning 2004, 186–87).

The seeming ease with which the above analogies have been drawn should not obliterate the fact that there was a pronounced difference between the two arts in question, resulting from the very nature of the scenic medium. The emblem is a finite composition restricted to the page of its compendium, and as such it constitutes a *spatial* sign, that is, in Roman Jakobson's understanding, a text whose content is presented all at once to the addressee (Jakobson 1987, 472–73). Built around a *succession* of architecturally framed *tableaux vivants*, and depending for their aesthetic effect on the swiftness of scene changes, Stuart court entertainments were, however, subject to

time: a masque's overall message was not complete until all of its scenes have been presented, which is a stark contrast to the compositional and semantic self-containedness of an emblem (or of a painting).

Time, which – as stated in Cesare Ripa's *Iconology* – grinds everything with his teeth of iron, must have been a rather unwelcome addition to a scenic work whose main function was to deify – and thus, to detemporalise – the sovereign and his courtiers assembled in the hall. The dynamism inherent in the pulsating rhythm of scene changes, attesting to the temporal nature of the scenic medium, had to be curbed so as to counter the destructive power of Tempus, perceived by the early moderns as one "greedy to devour / His own, and all that he brings forth," to use a phrase from Jonson's 1611 masque, *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly* (Jonson 1973, 233). In fact, the genre's variously manifested drive towards detemporalisation makes it an emblematic example of the early modern approach to temporality, as described by Ricardo Quinones:

> In his attempts to manage time, Renaissance man strives to achieve by means of process what eternity possesses in stasis.... it would seem that man's ...desire is to savor the present wholeness and being that he always conceived to be the properties of divinity. (Quinones 1972, 26)

Faced with the undeniably temporal character of the masque's changing scenes, the makers of the genre came up with a solution making it possible to partly obliterate the negative effects of time. The successive pages of the scenic emblem book were thus held to be "turned" by the monarch watching the entertainment. The sovereign, whose "arts," to quote an observation on the nature of kingship included in Ben Jonson's *Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610), were "to govern and give laws / To peace no less than arms" (Jonson 1973, 161), was thus expected to exercise control over the created world of the performance. Temporal management was an essential part of this control.

In a genre freely blending fact with fiction, which – very much in the spirit of Neoplatonism – called for a momentary suspension of disbelief on the part of the audience so that they could witness a *true* scenic epiphany of the celestial realm, the king's ordering input was to be taken as something more than just a metaphor anchored in the art of the theatre. Having once famously described his kingly office as that of an earthly "little God" (James I 2002, 12), the Stuart sovereign wanted to be perceived as the sole source of the divine harmony revealing itself on the masquing stage, or – to clothe the some notion in more operative terms – as the true animator of the scenographic wonders, able to influence the scenic world without leaving his seat in the hall.[1] It was at the monarch's *sight* that veils shading performers' identities would drop, as they supposedly did in Francis Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613), and the sophisticated machinery erected on the court stage would start moving. As the scenic machine was thus set in motion by the king's very presence, the harmony of the celestial world was to radiate out from the stage into the auditorium. The operative reading of the royal person was made possible by a popular Renaissance belief that one may draw "a parallel ...between the royal power, which rests on the divine order of this universe, and architecture, which is a material and artistic manifestation of that order" (Limon 1990, 83).

As there were hardly any limits to the scope of the courtly panegyric, the Stuart sovereign was believed to exercise parallel influence over his entire realm. The first to share in this semi-divine order were the courtiers assembled in the hall, who – of course within the conventions of the elaborate half-theatrical half-ritualistic game devised by masque-makers – would hope to get the impression that they have been freed from the destructive power of time. This amounts to saying that the courtly reality would be conceptualised as the prolongation of the timeless celestial realm

[1] To read more on the Stuart king as the driving force behind the wonders of the masque, or a solo-performer projecting his vision onto the stage, see Limon 2010.

uncovered on stage. As a result of this, the courtiers would be glorified – and deified – in accordance with the rule formulated by Stephen Orgel, who stated that it was a distinctive feature of the masque that what its "noble spectator watched he ultimately became" (Orgel 1975, 39). Still, lacking the king's quasi-magical capacities and devoid of his insight into the realm of the divine, the nobility present at the masque had to come into direct, or tactile, contact with gods and virtues as a precondition for their deification.

A vital role in the transference of divine order from the stage picture into the masquing hall was played by the disguised aristocrats taking part in the performance, customarily referred to as the *masquers*. Even a brief survey of masques' printed accounts will reveal that the performing aristocrats, though costumed and masked, were at the same time perfectly recognisable as their courtly selves. Owing to this ontological opalescence, the Stuart masquers were predisposed to transcend the boundary between the auditorium and the stage, and eventually incorporate those watching the show into the timeless realm peopled by mythological gods and personified abstractions, which was the ultimate aim of the genre. Still, the masquer's opalescent ontological status could also prove to be a potential threat to the masque as a whole. For the sole reason of being human, and hence inevitably involved with time, performing courtiers brought with themselves the very temporality that, as already noticed, was so much dreaded by masque-makers. After all, the presence of a live human being on the theatrical stage was bound to occasion "a moment of dynamic asymmetry, motion and the breaking of constraints, licence and accident.... The painterly [and – it might be added – emblematic] depiction was permanent and stable, the actor introduced a temporal and changeable element into it" (Ratajczak 1985, 32, *translation mine*).

The makers of the genre, still, had provided for this inconvenience, inventing a number of detemporalising strategies meant to partly dispose of the unwanted temporality imported by the masquers. And thus, the costumed courtiers did not interact much with the remaining (i.e., professional) performers, neither kinetically nor verbally. They did not engage in scenic conversation, which may of course be viewed as a condescension towards courtly decorum, but, at the same time, it might be considered as an attempt at ruling out the dialogical functions of questioning and answering, which are inherently connected with time. Consequently, they had to have their entries, details of dress and attitudes explicated by professional players taking part in the masque, which partly explains the genre's strong predilection for ekphrasis.[2] What is more, no movement was possible on the part of the disguised courtiers unless they were *told* to move, or dance, by other figures present on the stage. So thoroughly deprived of agency, Stuart masquers may be said to have functioned in a way not unlike scenic props, which come to be "activated" only when handled by a live performer, who, in his or her turn, functions as the primary point of reference for the scenic world.

At first sight, it might seem not a little indecorous to have the aristocratic performers instructed and ordered about by the meaner characters, impersonated by professional players. Still, one should not forget that it was the king – claiming God's creative prerogative – who was considered to be the true author, or the divine architect, of the scenic *tableau* hosting the masquers. It was on his behalf that all the allegorical and mythological figures present on the stage spoke and acted. It follows that the striking passiveness demonstrated by costumed aristocrats was not to be perceived as a drawback or limitation. The automaton-like performers were very much part of the masque's manifestly artificial scenographic arrangement, bristling with positive associations taken from Renaissance visual arts, architecture and sculpture in particular. When first revealed on stage, masquers were seated amid numerous columns, pilasters, cornices, arches and niches, all of these making up the architectural composition of the stage. The architectural organisation of the stage picture could also be detected in the sheer geometric character

[2] The ekphrastic nature of the masque is discussed in my article on the functions of verbal explication on the Stuart court stage (Kołodziejska 2006).

of masquers' grouping within the *tableau*; and thus, it was a standard practice to place them along one or more horizontal axes. What we are dealing with is a scenic arrangement strongly reminiscent of that of sculptures on such items of architecture as early modern altars, tombs, as well as church and palace façades.

A thoroughly ordered disposition of the aristocratic performers within the boundaries of the scenic *tableau* can already be noticed in one of the scenes of *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), Ben Jonson's third theatrical commission of the type discussed, where masquers posed, absolutely immobile, in several niches of a scenographic construction referred to as the Throne of Beauty. Duly observing the classical rule of the superposition of orders – the Ionic pilasters framing the niches were crowned with nine statues in the Corinthian order – the multilayered "throne" must have borne a certain resemblance to Renaissance architecture, so revered by Inigo Jones. Even when it comes to the Jonesian settings that were not intended as scenes of architecture, such as stock masquing gardens or heavens, the performing aristocrats would nevertheless be accompanied by architectural detail, which might have been a single niche or arch. Examples include, for instance, the anonymous *Masque of Flowers* (1614) or Thomas Middleton's *The Masque of Heroes* (1619). The latter case is particularly interesting, as it clearly indicates that even a setting as manifestly non-architectural as the sky would have been architecturally conceived when drafted for the Stuart court stage. Displayed in the upper part of the scenic *tableau* – a fitting location for heroes deified for their virtues, which was the collective *persona* adopted by the courtiers taking part in this entertainment – Middleton's performing aristocrats were seated in arches of *clouds* (not of stone or brick), whose aerial substance was nevertheless to be perceived as part of a quasi-architectural structure.

Embedded in a clearly architectural context, masquers participated in a vision of perfect order, resonating with Leon Battista Alberti's theoretical notion of *concinnitas*, i.e., the harmonious arrangement of "parts that are quite separate from each other by their nature, according to some precise rule, so that they correspond to one another in appearance" (Alberti 1991, 442). At times, the masquer's integration into scenic architecture (the Albertian harmonious arrangement of distinct parts) was so thorough that architectural detail would not just surround the performer but it would find its way into the aristocrat's costume. And thus, Ionic volutes figure prominently in a Jonesian design of a headdress drafted for one of the lady masquers of Thomas Campion's *The Lords' Masque* (1613); the *pteruges* worn by the male performers in the same entertainment resemble acanthus leaves, an ornament which is to be found, for instance, on Corinthian column capitals.[3]

The architectural context, coupled with masquers' complete immobility when first discovered on stage, must have been the main source of a distinctively sculptural air which was noticeable about the noble performers. The various manifestations of what might be termed the *sculptural stylisation* of the disguised aristocrat were not left unacknowledged by masque-makers. To quote the printed version of William Davenant's *Luminalia* (1638), the noble performers taking part in the entertainment managed to create the impression that they "falsif[ied] relief" (Davenant 1973, 709). The phrase coined by Davenant was not a figurative metaphor: many a masquer's costume was actually modelled on classical sculpture, or rather on classical sculpture as filtered through the sensibility of the master artists of the continental Renaissance. It should be stressed that the choice of visual sources for Jonesian designs was not solely motivated by the architect's aesthetic predilections; it was part of a general masque-specific strategy of incorporating the noble performer into the glorious age of antiquity. As the *Hymenaei* lady masquers (1606) – to quote one of Jonson's numerous costume glosses – appeared on the stage in outfits resembling those of "some statues of Juno, no less airy than glorious" (Jonson 1969, 84), they entered a realm much

[3] The two designs, held in Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, are reproduced in Orgel and Strong 1973, figs. 83, 79.

different from the world of everyday temporality. The blending of the old and the new, or of the sculptural and the actual – and, what follows, of the timeless and the temporal – was even more noticeable in the case of the male outfits designed for the same entertainment, which Jonson describes as combining Greek statuary with contemporary design.

In some entertainments, an aristocratic performer might even be assigned the role of an actual sculpture. This was the case with *The Lords' Masque*, one of whose *tableaux* represented a group of court ladies impersonating golden statues. The printed version of Campion's work gives an idea of the extent to which the costumed members of the nobility were integrated into their architectural surroundings:

> four noble women-statues of silver, standing in several niches, accompanied with ornaments of architecture, which filled all the end of the house, and seemed to be all of goldsmith's work.... Over every statue was placed a history in gold, which seemed to be of bas-relief; ...Above all, for finishing, ran a cornice, which returned over every pilaster, seeming all of gold and richly carved. (Campion 1967, 111)

The bas-relief narrative placed over the silver statues covered the story of Prometheus, which concluded with a much-telling image of the enraged Jupiter changing the titan's creation – a group of women – into statues. For all its dramatic character, the message imported by the pictorial sequence described was not altogether negative. Prometheus had sculpted his women out of base clay; Jupiter, in his turn, had transformed them into the infinitely more splendid golden likenesses. Jupiter's artwork, even if intended as a punishment, could not be anything but magnificent, and it was a vision of magnificence that the audience assembled in the hall were supposed to see, with a full understanding that "Jupiter" was to be read as "King James." As already noticed, it was one of the basic assumptions of the masque that the sovereign seated in the auditorium was to be viewed as a celestial artist responsible for the wonders uncovered on stage. The Stuart monarch present at *The Lords' Masque* could thus "assert his control over his environment and the divinity of his rule through the power of the art at his command," which is what Stephen Orgel lists as one of the main aspirations of a Renaissance ruler (Orgel 1975, 55).

Scenically rendered as architecturally articulated sculpture, Stuart masquers absorbed a wealth of symbolic associations the two arts would produce in a cultured Renaissance mind. These came to be enumerated in a song from Jonson's *Chloridia* (1631), where the figure of Fame, seated on the top of a mountain erected on stage, was addressed by the personified History, Poetry, Sculpture and Architecture in the following way:

> We that sustain thee, learned Poesy
> And I, her sister, severe History,
> With Architecture, who will raise thee high,
> And Sculpture, that can keep thee from to die,
> And help to lift thee to eternity. (Jonson 1995, 154)

Placed alongside Poetry and History, both of these highly regarded *studia humanitatis*, Architecture and Sculpture were thereby presented as powerful and trustworthy instruments of glorification and immortalisation. The scene analysed, belonging to Jonson's final masque at court, might be taken as a summary of the workings of the entire genre, where the air of the statuesque about the aristocrat's body was to denote this body's exclusion from the power of time, while the architectural elevation of the noble performers attested to their superior status, both within the performance and outside of its boundaries, namely, at court.

It should be noticed, however, that the scenographic visions of the type described above, reverberating with positive associations connected with architecture and sculpture, allowed for no actual transference of the divine order between the scenic epiphany and the courtly reality.

Having taken over the optimistic meanings generated by the stage picture, such as sculptural timelessness or architectural perfection, but still confined to the boundaries of the illusionistic stage, the performing aristocrats could not as yet come into direct contact with the earthly domain. This peculiar state of impenetrability might be sensed in the lines taken from Jonson's *Pan's Anniversary* (1620), describing one of this masque's scenographic displays, which was a "*fair* fount of light, / As still you[the masquers] sit without the injury / Of any rudeness folly can, or spite" (Jonson 1969, 312, *emphasis added*). Despite their promise of relative safety, such scenic *tableaux*, on which John Peacock remarks that they must have "look[ed] like picture[s]" (Peacock 1995, 164), would remain entirely beyond the spectators' reach.

At this point of the entertainment, the sculptural stylization of the performing courtier started to be perceived as an obstacle, standing in the way of the much desired union of the stage and the court. This metaphysical paralysis, however, would soon be overcome with the aid of the royal animator of the scenic wonders. As already mentioned, the very presence of the Stuart sovereign was believed to set the performance in motion. In an act of a masque-specific miracle, he would thus use his supposedly potent gaze to animate the hitherto motionless human sculptures displayed on the stage, turning them into scenic automata, or *animated emblems*. In William Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans* (1638), for instance, the sovereign's input was rendered as the literal "unfreezing" of the masquers, who had just been told that "'Tis fit [they] mix[ed] that wonder with delight, / As [they] were *warmed* to motion with his [i.e., the king's] sight" (Davenant 1973, 666, *emphasis mine*).

The masque, still, would not content itself with the mere dynamisation of the scenic emblem: thus, the sovereign's animating intervention in the *tableau* would have been invariably followed by the performing aristocrats' descent onto the dancing place, i.e., onto a clearly delineated performance space beneath the perspective stage. To quote one of the songs accompanying this section of the entertainment, the aristocratic performers taking part in *The Masque of Flowers* were told to "[d]escend ...from [their] hill, / Take spirit at his [the king's] will" (Anon. 1967, 168), which they did, exchanging their floral garb for the human shape as they walked onto the dancing place. For all the negative cultural associations of downwards movement, the descent – in the course of which, as stated in a number of masquing *libretti*, deities would *incarnate* themselves in human beings – was to bring even more splendour to the performing courtiers. To return to the Campion's *Lords*, its masquers were told they would "by descending gain a higher place" (Campion 1967, 111). It should be noticed, in passing, that the lines quoted above seem to imply that the reality of the court was considered to be superior to the celestial realm, which was entirely in line with the epideictic nature of the genre analysed. A similar message was expressed in *The Masque of Heroes*, whose audience were to admire a group of worthies reared beyond time in reward for their virtues, who would

> descend to have their worth
> Shine to imitation forth;
> And by their motion, light, and love
> to show how after times should move. (Middleton 1967, 267–68)

The mixture of "motion, light, and love," which people – and the universe as such – ought to imitate, is the masquer-exclusive dance, a standard element of each entertainment of the type discussed.

Having left the stage picture, the performing aristocrats would thus usually engage in a geometrical dance, which was performed on the dancing place. Much has already been written on the main idea behind this intricate routine, which has been described as the scenic representation – or, one might say, with a full recognition of the masque's conventional nature, *incarnation* – of

the ideally ordered motion of the universe, the *musica mundana*.[4] For the purposes of the present discussion, one may add that the carefully planned routines, which permitted little, if any, improvisation, were meant to depict the same kind of (divine) order as the one invoked by the masquers' former architectural articulation and sculptural stylisation, which have been here presented as effective instruments of glorification and immortalisation. Such intermedial analogies are all the more justified in the light of the Renaissance conviction that music and the visual arts (or, strictly speaking, the art of perspective, which functioned as the compositional basis for most masque *tableaux*) – were much alike.[5] "The same numbers that pleas the eare please the eie," Inigo Jones wrote on one of the pages of his copy of Alberti (Walls 1996, 215).

A brief survey of masques' printed accounts will show that they abound in remarks on costumed courtiers' geometrical dances, where masque-specific routines are linked with the notion of order, in its turn associated with divinity and timelessness. All these issues have been included in a self-referentially charged scene from Jonson's *Hymenaei*, in the course of which eight female masquers, impersonating the powers of Juno, were literally "led on by Order, the servant of Reason" (Jonson 1969, 84) in the direction of the audience. The allegorical figure, a star on his forehead pointing to the "affinity of reason and order with the divine, and perhaps too [with] the order kept by the stars" (Gordon 1975, 166), was an appropriate guide for a troop of stellified courtiers. As the playwright himself remarks, Reason's servant "was ... rather a person of ceremony than use" (Jonson 1969, 84), which does not mean that the personified Order should be treated as a mere ornament. The printed account of the masque indicates that Order's presence was an essential element of the entertainment. Acting as a veritable master of ceremony, he supervised the obligatory masquer-exclusive dancing routines so that the dancers would "not confound / Their measured steps, which only move / About th'harmonious sphere of love" (Jonson 1969, 83). Moreover, the servant of Reason also oversaw the pairing of the powers of Juno and eight humours and affections (male masquers), the two groups uniting for a common dancing routine devised to tame the unruly elements. As we learn from the printed account of the entertainment, the latter routine was performed to the accompaniment of "the music of the hours" (Jonson 1969, 84). In a masterfully self-referential stroke, the masquers' ordered motion is thus described as imitating – or rather, re-creating – the incessant movement of the heavenly spheres, and hence it may be treated as an instrument of exempting dancers from earthly decay.

It should be noted, however, that at this point in the masque the general courtly audience was not as yet incorporated in the harmony whose advent they so desired. Even though the masque's animated emblems – i.e., the aristocrats formerly contained within the stage picture – had left the constraints of the architectural arrangement of the stage, all they had managed to do was to move a step closer to the court. The masquer-exclusive dance – even when performed to the accompaniment of the hours – should rather be seen as an intermediate phase in the process discussed, a halfway stage of the transference of divine order from heaven, or the stage, to earth, or the court. This, in turn, corresponds rather well with Mark Franko's statement on the mediating function of geometrical dance in Baroque entertainments: "Dancing is a visual intermediary between the spectator and harmony: in seeing dancing we see voice, not only as a conciliatory image, but also as a third term, a genuine hybrid, a sort of conceptual androgyne" (Franko 1993, 44).

There was, indeed, a distinctly hybrid quality about the bodies of the noble performers, who, though they have broken out of the architectural entourage and shed the increasingly cumbersome sculptural stylisation, continued to be considerably dehumanized, acting in a manifestly artificial way. Subordinated to the shifting figures of geometrical dance, their comportment was anything but natural. Still, as already noticed, this was part of a conscious strategy of deification: the stylised

[4] For a detailed discussion of the subject, see, for instance, Carter 1992, or Meagher 1962.

[5] The art of perspective used proportion, just as music made use of musical harmony. See Walls 1996, 206–20.

choreographic patterns presented in this section of the masquing entertainment were thus to be taken as "an image of something outside the human being – measure, 'highness' ... movement made abstract" (Shepherd 2006, 50). At times, the artificiality of the dancing routine could be further stressed by substituting the living performers with mobile elements of stage design, later to be replaced with the real masquers. The audience assembled in the masquing hall must have enjoyed mechanically contrived sequences, such as the "dancing" stars hovering over the stage in Campion's *Lords' Masque*, or "balleting" trees in the same author's *Lord Hay's Masque* (1607).

The gap between the artistically rendered realm of the divine and the courtly reality was finally bridged when masquers asked out some spectators seated in the auditorium for a series of common dances, referred to as the revels. It was then that the carriers of divine influence, the "animated emblems," as they have been called, mingled with the courtiers, saturating the earthly domain with divinely inspired harmony. It was then that the celestial order – denoted in retrospect by the ideally proportioned scenic architecture and stylised geometrical dance, by this time present only in the spectators' memories – finally descended onto the earth. This fact was not left unaccounted for in the masquing *libretti*: this is, for instance, how Astraea marvelled at the sight of the noble performers dancing with the spectator ladies in Jonson's *Golden Age Restored* (1616): "What change is here! ... Of all there seems a second birth, / It is become a heaven on earth" (Jonson 1995, 107). These words might be used as a general description of the intended effects of the final stage of the masque, in the course of which the aristocrats watching the entertainment were to be finally reborn into divinity through the agency of their fellow courtiers who had taken part in the masque.

In the deified space of the court, there could be no end to the process of miraculous rebirth delineated above. This is tantamount to saying that the transmission of harmony would not cease even after the masque's *finale*: the animated emblems would retain their status as carriers of the divine order long after they unmasked. This was made possible by the aristocrats' peculiar comportment, which did not change "once they had finished dancing: it remained with them as it was their normal posture" (Nevile 1999, 882). In other words, it was the animated emblems' continuing presence among their fellow courtiers, rather than the magnificent yet short-lasting display of gods and personified abstractions in the masque proper, that was supposed immerse the Stuart monarch's court in a never-ending vision of order. However, the chosen members of the nobility would not have been able to invest the space of the court with celestial influence, had it not been for their initial inclusion in the stage picture and their subsequent engagement in the geometrical dancing routine, both of these being indispensable stages in the remarkably ordered performance referred to as the Stuart masque.

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Alessandra Tarabochia

Figures and Symbols of *Law* and *Order* in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*

First of all, I would like to thank the organizers of this conference for giving me the opportunity to once more go into such a rich and important work as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* – an emblem book that played a crucial role in the development of figurative arts from the late Renaissance to the eighteenth century, both in Italy and abroad.

As Ripa stated in the title page of the edition published in Rome in 1603[1], this is a manual offering descriptions of "diverse immagini cavate dall'antichità" as well as others "di propria invenzione", mainly – but not exclusively – built on literary material. All of Ripa's images represent human pictures: through their attitude, facial expressions and clothes, but also through the items (e.g. objects, animals, flowers or plants) they hold in their hand or they stand next to, the men, women, maidens, boys and children described in the *Iconologia* symbolize real entities, ideas and feelings – everything "che può cadere in pensiero umano".[2] Strange as it may seem, the *Iconologia* was not conceived as an illustrated book. Woodcut illustrations were introduced from the third edition (Rome, 1603), and this is why it is the descriptions that are fundamental. They are usually followed – although at times preceded – by the explanation of the meaning of the figure posture and of the surrounding objects, and these notes are supported by quotes from ancient and coeval *auctores*: some of them are notably famous, while others are unknown at present. Antiquarian references to statues and medals, historical and ethnographical details and philosophical[3] echoes are abundant,[4] and many of them are the result of Giovanni Castellini Zaratino's contribution.[5] Ripa's *Iconologia* is therefore a mine of information, ideas and remarks that mirror the culture and

[1] The Italian editions of Ripa's *Iconologia* are twelve: Roma, Per gli Heredi di Gio. Gigliotti, 1593; Milano, appresso Girolamo Bordone e Pietro Martire 1602 (extremely rare); Roma, Appresso Lepido Facij 1603; Padova, Per Pietro Paolo Tozzi 1618; Padova, Per Pietro Paolo Tozzi 1625; Padova, Per Donato Pasquardi 1630; Venetia, per Cristoforo Tomasini 1645; Venetia, presso Nicolò Pezzana 1567; Perugia, Per Piergiovanni Costantini 1764–67 (5 volumes). See E. Mandowsky, "Ricerche intorno all'*Iconologia* di Cesare Ripa," *La Bibliofilia* 41 (1939): 325 and M. Tung, *Two Concordances to Ripa's* Iconologia (New York: AMS, 1993), 4–13. Until his death (22 January 1622), Ripa edited the 1603, 1613 and 1618 editions: see Mandowsky, "Ricerche," 10–13. In this paper, the edition that is being referred to will be identified by the city and year of publication. The *Iconologia* soon gained much popularity in Europe and was translated into French, German, English and Dutch.

[2] See the title page of the edition published in Padua in 1611.

[3] On Giovanni Castellini Zaratino see A. Ferrua, "Giovanni Zaratino Castellini raccoglitore di epigrafi,"*Epigraphica* 20 (1958): 121–60, A. Ferrua, "Giovanni Zaratino Castellini umanista e raccoglitore d'epigrafi," *Civiltà Cattolica* 2 (1959): 492–526 and M. Palma, "Castellini Giovanni Zaratino," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 21 (1978): 755–6. Among Ripa's friends and collaborators, it is worth mentioning Pier Leone Casella and Fulvio Mariottelli, who was a member of the Accademia degli Insensati in Perugia. On Mariottelli, see Mandowsky, "Ricerche," 279–280.

[4] Especially in the edition published in Siena in 1603 and in the ones published in Padua in 1618 and 1625.

[5] See S. Maffei, "Per una concordanza diacronica dell'Iconologia di Cesare Ripa," in *Repertori di parole e di immagini. Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. P. Barocchi et al. (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997): 103–105. For instance, Aristotle is cited 48 times in the 1603 edition and 123 in the 1625, Plato 12 and 29 times and Seneca 12 and 30 times.

the sensibility that produced them. This is why this book is interesting not only for art and literature historians, but also for philosophy scholars, who try to reconstruct the history of ideas tracing their manifestations.

As we know, Ripa's entries are arranged alphabetically. Some of the images are grouped (e.g. months, seasons, winds or rivers), whereas others are divided into subentries *(Fede, Fede Christiana, Fede Catholica, Fede maritale; Fortuna, Fortuna buona, Fortuna infelice, Fortuna giovevole ad amore, Fortuna pacifica, overo clemente*[6]*)*. However, the images that refer to a single concept are usually scattered in the work, so if it is simple to notice whether an image is listed or not, it may be more difficult to put together the parts of something that the author seemed not to consider as a whole. This, in turn, makes it tough to reconstruct feelings, ideas or possible approaches to tackling or solving problems.

Considering the way the images are structured, I have chosen the significant attributes of *Legge* (Law) and *Ordine* (Order) as keys to find other figures in which Ripa and his collaborators dealt with similar or related concepts. I believe this procedure may help unveil the idea of man and of the world underlying them.

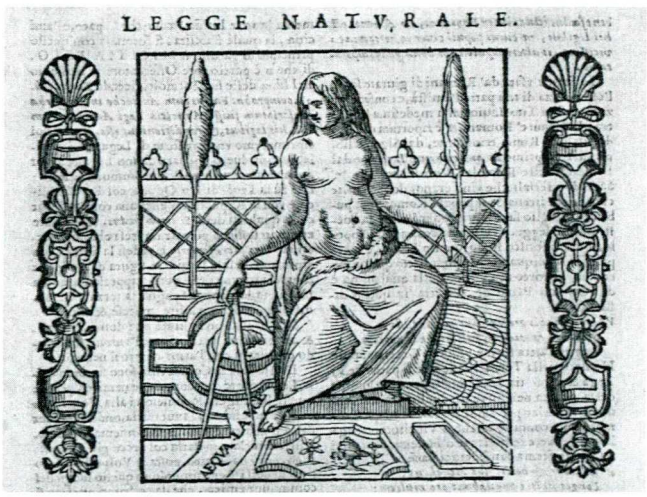

Figure 1: *Legge naturale* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 392

The edition published in Padua in 1625 includes images "invented" and explained by Ripa, Pier Leone Casella, Fulvio Mariottelli and Giovanni Castellini Zaratino. In this edition, "legge" is a quite articulate entry: after the generic *Legge*, we find *Legge della Grazia*, *Legge del Timore*, *Legge civile* and *Legge canonica*. Next, we come across *Legge naturale*, *Legge nova* and *Legge vecchia*. This is an explicit reference to the three laws that God gave man: upon creation, in the Gospels and on Mount Sinai. I will now focus on two of these images, *Legge civile* and *Legge natural* (see Figure 1). The former is described as

> Una donna che siede, e tiene con la destra mano una bilancia, & una spada, e sopra una parte di essa bilancia è posto un de' fasci littori usati da gli antichi; e sopra l'altra parte una corona regale, e con la sinistra mano tiene un libro aperto, sopra il quale è posta una corona imperiale (1625: 389).

[6] These examples have been taken from the *Tavola delle figure che si descrivono nell'opera* included in the 1603 edition.

As far as *Legge naturale* is concerned, it ought to be depicted as "una bellissima donna ... con capelli naturali giù stesi, & non intrecciati per arte ... sederà in un bellissimo giardino & terrà un compasso in mano ..." (1625:391).

Ordine is qualified as *dritto* and *giusto* and described as "un huomo che nella destra mano terrà un archipendolo e nella sinistra la squadra ...". Ripa refers to Pierio Valeriano (lib. 49) when he suggests that the Egyptians, in an attempt to

> ... mostrare qualche cosa drittamente, & ordinatamente essere stata fatta, & ritrovare il giusto & diritto di essa, lo significano per lo archipendolo, & per la squadra. Essendo che l'archipendolo serve a quelle cose che si debbono drizzare, & la squadra alle cose alte e piane, mà torte (1625: 483).

All these figures hold some measuring devices: *bilancia* (scale), *compasso* (compass), *archipendolo* (plumb-line) and *perpendicolo* (clinometer) are *Legge*'s and *Ordine*'s tools of the trade, and we can use them as keys to find other images conveying similar concepts. If we look them up in the *Tavole* that were added from the edition published in Padua in 1611, we realize that these devices are present in other images, such as:

= holding a scale: *Beatitudine quarta, *Equità, *Musica, *Giustizia retta, *Ingiuria, *Ingiustizia, Legge civile, Legge natutale, *Tempo, Tutela*;

= holding a compass: *Architettura, Astrologia, *Bellezza, Corografia, Dissegno, *Economia, Geografia,*Geometria, *Giudizio, Legge naturale, *Liberalità, *Matematica, Misura, *Operatione perfetta, Parsimonia, *Perfettione, Simmetria, Teoria*;

= holding a plumb-line or clinometer: *Architettura, *Etica, *Geometria, *Giudizio, Misura, Ordine diritto e giusto, Planimetria, Simmetria*;

= holding a square: *Altimetria, Architettura, Geografia, Misura, *Operatione perfetta, *Giudizio.*[7]

Some figures hold in their hands more than one object.[8] Some refer to the world, and others to man: some deal with knowledge and describe the world *(Altimetria, Astrologia, Corografia, Geometria, Geografia, Matematica, Planimetria, Teoria),* some refer to human activities (*Architettura, Dissegno, Economia, Etica, Giudizio, Liberalità, Musica, Parsimonia, Operatione perfetta, Ordine diritto e giusto)* and others fit to both categories *(Bellezza, Misura, Perfettione, Simmetria).*

Figure 2: *Geografia* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 274

Figure 3: *Dissegno* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 180

[7] Images marked as * were already present in the 1603 edition.

[8] *Architettura* holds a compass, a plumb-line and a square; *Geografia* a compass and a square; *Geometria* a compass and a plumb-line; *Giudizio* the three of them and a ruler; *Misura* the three of them; *Operatione perfetta* a compass and a square; *Simmetria* a compass and a square.

As measuring devices, *bilancia*, *compasso*, *archipendolo* and *squadra* can be used to measure the works of nature (*Geografia*) (see Figure 2), to reproduce them accurately and faithfully (*Dissegno*) (see Figure 3) and, in a broad sense, to create with perfect accuracy works of art. From a metaphorical and moral point of view, they can be used to control actions and behaviours: they help discover the rules and the laws of the world and thus the rules and the laws that man should follow in his life. Moreover, the explanations accompanying some of these images offer interesting remarks on the metaphorical and moral meanings of the devices listed above.

Bilancia is shown in images connected with the just distribution of goods. Sometimes (as in *Equità*) it comes with *cornucopia* – a symbol of abundance which, in *Liberalità*, appears with *compasso* – whereas in other images it is depicted as being trampled on, as for example in *Ingiuria* and *Ingiustizia*. Ripa explains the metaphorical meaning of *bilancia* when he describes *Beatitudine quarta*, who

> Si farà donzella, che tenga un paio di bilance, & ugualmente pesando, vi sia un diavolo in atto di volerle prendere, & essa con una spada, che tiene nell'altra mano, lo scacci…
> La Giustizia è una Costante e perpetua volontà di rendere a ciascuno quello che gli si deve. Però appartiene a questa Beatitudine tanto la sete della Giustizia legale, che è bene evidentissimo che abbraccia tutti gl'altri beni, quanto il desiderio di vedere eseguito quello che s'aspetta da legittimi Tribunali …
> Le bilance notano per se stesse metaforicamente la Giustizia, perché, come esse aggiustano le cose gravi, & materiali, così essa, che è virtù, aggiusta i beni dell'animo, & pone regola all'attioni dell'uomo (1625: 64).

This brief description is quite poignant as it defines justice as an interior virtue. At the beginning, Ripa refers to Aristotle in introducing distributive and corrective justice, which preserve the existence of the most important thing for a society – civilness – by guaranteeing the just distribution of material goods and the respect of the law. In its metaphorical shades, *bilancia* suggests an idea of moral virtue as an inner guide to man's actions. It is Plato's ideal of justice, which regulates man's inner life by giving the right weight to desires, passions and affection.

Figure 4: *Parsimonia* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 496

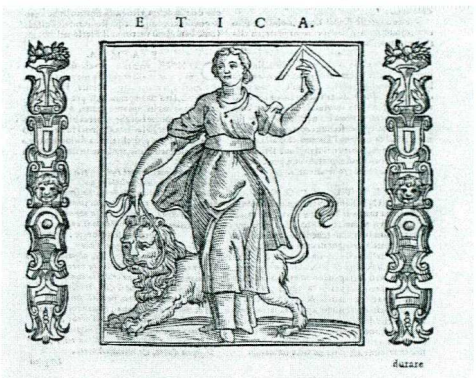

Figure 5: *Etica* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 217

From a metaphorical point of view, *bilancia* weighs the goods of the soul and reflects justice-rectitude of the Platonic tradition, which supports and guides the soul and, therefore, man as a whole on his way to goodness and truth. The attributes and the meaning of *compasso* are dealt with in *Parsimonia* (see Figure 4), a

> Donna di età virile, vestita d'habito semplice, & senza ornamento alcuno, con la destra mano tenghi un compasso, & nella sinistra una borsa piena di danari legati, con una cartella rivolta in bei giri con un motto che dichi IN MELIUS SERVAT.
> Parsimonia [infatti] è una delle due parti principali della liberalità, che consiste nel ritenersi dalle spese, che non sono conformi alla ragione, & trasgrediscono il mezo. [quotes from Horace, Plutarch, Aeschines Socraticus, Aristotle, Seneca and Saint Ambrose]
> Il compasso significa l'ordine & misura in tutte le cose, perciòche si come il compasso non esce punto dalla sua circonferenza, così la parsimonia non eccede il modo dell'honesto, & del ragionevole (1625: 496–497).

Archipendolo stands for rectitude and the mean. Among the figures holding one we find *Etica* (see Figure 5), a

> Donna di aspetto grave, terrà con la sinistra mano l'istromento detto archipendolo, [...]
> L'Etica significa dottrina di costumi, contenendosi con essa il concupiscevole, & irascevole appetito nella mediocrità, e stato di mezzo, ove consiste la virtù, per consistere ne gl'estremi il vitio, al quale detto appetito s'accosta, tutta volta, che dall'uno, ò dall'altra parte declina. [...]
> L'Archipendolo ne dà per similitudine ad intendere, che su come all'hora una cosa essere bene in piano si dimostra, quando il filo pendente tra le due gambe di detto istrumento non transgredisce verso veruno de gl'estremi, ma s'aggiunga con la linea segnata nella parte superiore, ond'egli descende; così questa dottrina dell'Etica insegna l'huomo, che alla rettitudine, & uguaglianza della ragione il sensuale appetito si conforma, quando non pende a gl'estremi, mà nel mezo si tiene (1603: 134–135).

Even in this case, Ripa comes to an interesting blend of Aristotelianism and Platonism. Aristotle's ideal of ethics – according to which moral virtue lies at the mean and vices arise from the excesses – must be achieved by a 'platonic' soul, one driven by concupiscible and irascible appetites controlled and guided by reason.[9]

The meaning of *Squadra* is briefly mentioned in the second (and more detailed) of Giovanni Castellini Zaratino's two descriptions of *Misura* (see Figure 6), both invented by the author and included in the 1625 edition.[10] I would like to focus on this image due to its evident moral implications:

> *Misura* [è] una donna di grave aspetto [che] nella man destra tenga la misura del piede Romano, nella sinistra la Quadra con il compasso, sotto li piedi la decempeda, cioè la pertica, che contiene dieci piedi, vicino alla pedana della vesta il livello diritto col perpendicolo, piombo steso, che pende.
> La Misura è ciò che col peso, con la capacità, con lunghezza, altezza, & animo si termina & finisce; così definita da Isidoro, & da altri autori. *Mensura est quidquid pondere, capacitate, longitudine, altitudine, animoque finitur*[11].

Zaratino's long explanation consists of two sections. The former deals with the different measurements – their inventors, diffusion and importance – and includes several references to historians of antiquity like Gellius, Plinius, Herodotus, Cassius Dio, Livy and Pausanias. In the latter, Zaratino points out that

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[9] See Plato, *Phaedrus* 246a–b, 253c–254a.

[10] The first description is the one Pierio Valeriano sees depicted in a silver medal belonging to Caio Mamilio Limetano, and Castellini's explanation flaunts his historical and classical erudition.

[11] *Etymologiae*, 15, 15, 1.

> La presente figura può servire non solo per misura materiale de siti, campi, & edificij, mà anco per misura morale, & moderatione di se medesimo: & certo che ottima cosa è sapersi misurare [citazioni di Esiodo[12], Sotade, antichissimo poeta greco, Oratio[13]]
> È giusto, che ciascuno si misuri con la propria forma, & modello: conviene misurar bene se stesso, & le forze, acciò la persona non faccia del grande, più che non è, e non si metta in imprese difficili, da' quali non possa poi uscirne con honore, ma possa mandare ad effetto, ciò che con giusta misura piglia a fare. [...] È molto proportionata a denotar la misura del proprio vivere, & far lo scandaglio delle sue facoltà, [...] saper misurare le spese, astenendosi dalle superfluità, & governandosi conforme l'entrata sua, & rendita...

At this point, Zaratino feels it necessary to quote and comment on a passage from Horace:

> *Desine cultum maiorem censu*[14], lassa la spesa maggiore dell'entrata, non ti mettere far quel che non puoi; ma datti misura, & norma da te stesso; della qual norma sarà figura la quadra, da' Latini detta norma, con la quale si misurano, & agguagliano gli angoli, & perciò noi con la quadra della ragione dobbiamo agguagliare l'angolo della spesa con l'angolo dell'entrata, & dobbiamo misurare bene l'uno, & l'altro cantone con la propria misura... (1625: 433–434).

Figure 6: *Misura* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 430

In the next part, we find an explanation of the moral meaning of *livello* and *perpendicolo* or *archipendolo*:

> Il Livello col perpendicolo da' Latini detto Libella, tiene anco il suo mistico sentimento, atteso che col Livello si bilancia, per dir così, l'opera facendosi prova se ella è retta, giusta, & uguale: così noi parimente dobbiamo ponere il Livello sopra le nostre opere, & con giusta misura bilanciare, & misurare la nostra conditione, e lo stato nostro. [...] Et perché col perpendicolo, peso di piombo, si misura l'altezza, dobbiamo anco noi misurare l'altezza de' nostri pensieri col perpendicolo dell'intelletto & del giudizio, acciò non facciamo castelli in aria.
> *Quicquid excessit modum / pendet instabili loco*

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12 *Works and Days (Erga kai emerai)*, 694.
13 *Epistolae* I, 7, 98.
14 *Sermones* 2, 3, 323.

> Dice Seneca nell'Edipo (vv. 909–910). Ciò che eccede il modo, & è fuor di misura depende da loco instabile: ma la misura rende il luogo stabile, & fermo, & li pensieri d'attioni gravi, misurati con debita misura, si possono comportare.
> *Qui sua metitur pondera ferre potest*
> Verso degno di Valerio Marziale[15]. Deve ciascuno portar seco la misura della ragione per misurare le sue operationi, & regolarsi in quelle con debiti modi, acciò possa caminare questa vita per la via diritta, giusta & eguale senza intoppo alcuno (1625: 434–435).

The second part of this description introduces moral and economic considerations and exhortations that owe much to Aristotle and Horace. Zaratino stresses the importance for man to know himself and his economic, physical, intellectual and spiritual strengths and skills, and to commeasure his thoughts and actions to them. This is the only way for man to achieve his goalsand, with the help of reason, live according to the principles of rectitude-justice.

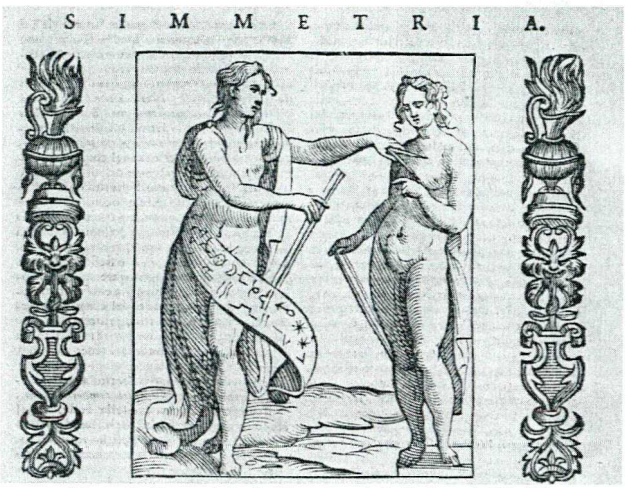

Figure 7: *Simmetria* in C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padova 1625: 609

Now I wish to examine one of the most structured and interesting figures in the book: *Simmetria* (see Figure 7) and its long and articulate description and explanation. The figure is defined as a

> Donna di età virile, ignuda, & di singular bellezza, & che tutte le parti del corpo sieno corrispondenti con proporzione a detta bellezza. Haurà graziosamente a traverso un drappo di color turchino contesto di stelle, & delli 7 pianeti. [...] con la sinistra mano tenghi una Riga, & un perpendicolo con il piombo, & con la destra un compasso con il quale mostri di misurare le parti di una statua rappresentante una bellissima Venere.
> Simmetria è nome Greco, che in nostra lingua vuol dire una consonante, & e proporzionata commensuratione delle cose, & se bene secondo la vera forza della parola non si intende se non circa le misure, che sono tre, cioè longhezza, larghezza, & profondità, si stende però in molte cose, nelle quali si ricerchi una grata moderazione, perciòche lasciati da parte i corpi soggetti alla trina dimensione, [...] se la consideriamo rispetto alla figura, gratia & colore de corpi, si chiama bellezza, se nel temperamento di essi, cioè nelle proporzioni delle quattro qualità elementari, si dice Eucrasia; se nelle voci sonore, si dice Melodia.

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15 *Epigrammaton* liber XII, 98, 8.

> Com'anco si come la consonanza corporale consiste nella Bellezza, Simmetria, & Eucrasia, così la consonanza dell'anima consiste in un proporzionato & simmetro reggimento delli suoi affetti, che sono Irascibile, Concupiscibile, & Rationale, & questo si chiama Temperantia, dove è d'avertire che ne corpi semplici non si dice Simmetria, essendo una proporzione che nasce dall'accordo di tutte le parti dal compasso insieme giunte. Diremo dunque che la Simmetria è una retta proportione delle cose commensurabili, tanto naturali, quanto fattitie, quasi parimente lontana dalli due estremi, senza menda alcuna non se gli può né aggiungere, né diminuire alcuna cosa (1625: 609).

This means that symmetry exists, or may be achieved, both in extended and inextend beings. The only proviso is that in order to be symmetrical an entity should not be simple but consisting of several parts.[16] Symmetry can have various names, depending on whether it refers to the forms, colours or qualities (hot/cold and dry/wet) in the body or to the appetites of the soul (irascible, concupiscible, rational).[17] Symmetry embodies a value that goes beyond the boundaries "soggetti alla trina dimensione". It applies to everything that requires a "grata moderazione": a rather fitting expression that mirrors the esthetic and moral ideals of the Renaissance, for which grace – conceived as pleasantness – is based on the mean. If this is clearly a debt to Aristotle's theory that man's senses tend to escape the extremes and find delight in everything that is far from them,[18] Ripa may also have had in mind Leon Battista Alberti's definition of beauty as "armonia e concordia di tutte le parti ottenuta in tal maniera che nulla possa essere aggiunto o tolto o alterato se non per il peggio".[19] As we read on, we find further references to the Bible[20], Pythagoras, Boethius,[21] Plato, Galen, Petrarch, Tasso and Ariosto:

> La bellezza accompagna la Simmetria[22] si perché ragionevolmente quello al quale non si può né aggiunger né diminuire alcuna cosa si chiama bello, si anco perché Platone nel Timeo, *Pulchrum sine mensura, et moderatione esse non potest. Ideoque animal, quod tale futurum est, convenienti mensura moderata esse oportet*[23], & nel libro detto *Philebus, Commensuratio pulchritudo plane, et virtus ubique fit*[24], perché si come la bellezza del corpo per essere una alta & convenevole disposizione delle membra di soave gratia di dicevole[25] colore artatamente aspersa tira a sé gl'occhi altrui con meraviglia, così la virtù & particolarmente la Temperanza Simmetria dell'anima la quale (come dice Pithagora) è la regola di tutto quel che conviene, fa che sieno de comune consentimento lodate le misurate ationi di coloro le quali ella accompagna col suo splendore. Anzi di più la bellezza del corpo apparecchia la via ad entrare in cognizione dell'animo, essendo che l'esteriore dimostra anco il più delle volte lo stato interno come vogliono molti Filsofi, & Galeno sopra di ciò n'abbi scritto un libro particolare intitolato *Quod animi mores sequantur corporis temperaturam.* [...]

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[16] See Plotino, *Enneadi*, I, 6, 1.

[17] Marsilio Ficino is among the philosophers who were particularly sensitive to this theme. See A. Tarabochia Canavero, *Vorrei parlarti del cielo stellato* (Milano: Simonelli, 1999), 115–122 and A. Tarabochia Canavero, "Il vestito verde di Armonia. Appunti sul problema dei colori medi tra Medioevo e Rinascimento," in *Intellect et imagination dans la Philosophie Médiévale*, ed. by M. C Pacheco et al. (Porto: Facultad de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004), 433–35.

[18] Among the others, Gioseffo Zarlino was particularly sensitive to this theme. See Tarabochia Canavero, *Vorrei parlarti*, 152 and A. Tarabochia Canavero, "Marsilio Ficino e l'età dell'oro: *speculum aurem ab ingeniis auris*," in *Millenarismo ed età dell'oro nel Rinascimento*, ed. L. Secchi Tarugi (Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2003), 207–220.

[19] *De re aedificatoria*, VI, 2.

[20] *Sapienza*, XI, 21

[21] *Consolatio*, I. III, metro IX, vv. 10–12.

[22] It is worth remembering that even *Bellezza*, and *Legge naturale* – a "bellissima donna" – hold a compass in their hands.

[23] *Timeo* 87c, in Marsilio Ficino's version.

[24] *Filebo* 64c, see Marsilio Ficino *In Philebum*, cc.XXXV–XXXVI, *Opera*, t. II:.1248–1250.

[25] I.e., covenient: see, Boccaccio, *Fiammetta*, 1, 10.

> Il drappo turchino tutto stellato significa il Cielo nel moto, nel qual si trova una armonica proporzione di consenso de tutti li più sapienti, di più per il moto del Cielo si mantiene, & conferma il temperamento delli Elementi, da quali dependono i composti, & per il suo moto si trasfonde a noi la virtù delle stelle, come conferma dopo aver discusse molte opinioni di Astrologi il R. P. Alessandro *De Angelis* nel I lib. *Contra Astrologos*, cap. 6[26] (1625: 610–611).

Furthermore, the idea that the harmonic movements of the Sun, the Moon and other planets influence man's body rather than his soul reveals an additional debt to the concept of symmetry as it appears in Aristotle,[27] Cicero[28] and Ptolemy:[29]

> Ecco dunque per qual cagione habbiamo messi li sette pianeti nel sopradetto drappo, come anco perché li pianeti hanno qualche forza, analogia, & proporzione non dico nelli animi come falsamente affermano li Astroligi, non (*sic*! *recte*: ma) nei temperamenti, come benissimo esplica il R.P. Alessandro sopra citato nel lib. 2 al cap. 1, dicendo: *Maximum igitur, quo vis astrorum pertingere potest corporis est temperamentum, ex quo postea non nullae animorum propensiones existunt (nam & animum corpus, & corpus animum solet permovere).*

By explaining why *Simmetria* "mostra di misurare la bellissima statua di Venere", Ripa introduces the idea of the perfection of the human body and its proportions and the conception of man as a microcosm – a theme that suggests echoes of Vitruvius, Marsilio Ficino and Hermes Trismegistus. Man's place in the macrocosm is dealt with by enlisting possible links between the two worlds: planets, elements, attributes and natural phenomena are related to body parts, humours, passions, appetites, abilities and virtues and form a picture that is varied and rich and, at the same time, "symmetrical"[30]:

> Mostra di misurare la bellissima statua di Venere, prima perché come dice Vitruvio dalle membra humane hanno origine le misure, come dalla mano il palmo, dal braccio, & dal passo il piede, come anco perché non vi è cosa creata da Dio con maggior Simmetria dell'huomo havendolo creato ad imagine, & similitudine sua, quale è una vera proporzione, vera armonia, & perfettissima commensuratione, Simmetria di tutte le cose. Onde bene disse Marsilio Ficino nell'argumento del libro *de Temperantia* di Platone, *Corporis pulchritudo non per se amanda, sed tamquam Divina pulchritudinis imago nobis existimanda*[31] & se bene ciò consideriamo, trovaremo che l'huomo Microcosmo chiamato contiene in sé tutte le misure, i pesi, qualità, & moti, che il mondo grande contiene, & per questo disse Mercurio Trismegisto, *Homo est quoddam omne, et quoddam totum in omne,* & primieramente si come il Sole con Marte corrisponde al fuoco, Venere con Giove all'aria, Mercurio con Saturno all'acqua, & la Luna alla terra, così l'uomo con Simmetria risponde con le sue qualità alli quattro sopradetti Elementi, vogliamo il sole, eccovi il cote[32], vogliamo la Luna, ecco il fegato, per le Stelle ecco le pupille, la pioggia corrisponde al pianto, il vento al sospiro, il baleno al riso, il tuono alle minacce.

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[26] Alessandro Angeli (d. in 620), *In astrologos coniectores libri quinque* (Roma: B. Zannetti, 1615).

[27] *De generazione animalium*, 2, 56; *De coelo*, 2, 20; *De physiognomica*, 1.

[28] *De natura deorum*, II, c. 19, 49–50 and *De divinatione*, II, c. 43, 89. These are 'second-hand' citations taken from Alessandro Angeli's work.

[29] *De iudiciis*, I. 1, chaps. 4 and 8.

[30] This is one of the most relevant and popular themes in Renaissance philosophy, and much literature has been devoted to this topic. I consider it appropriate to quote a passage from Eugenio Garin's well-known *Medioevo e Rinascimento*: "l'universo è un immenso, molteplice, vario colloquio, ora sommesso ed ora alto, ora in toni segreti, ora in linguaggio scoperto e in mezzo v'è l'uomo, mirabile essere cangiante, che può dire ogni parola, riplasmare ogni cosa, disegnare ogni carattere, rispondere ad ogni invocazione, invocare ogni dio". See E. Garin, *Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Bari: Laterza, 1954), 154.

[31] Ripa is quoting here *In Charmidem, vel de temperantia epitome*, *Opera*, t. II: 1305, lines 2–3.

[32] I.e., the skin (from the Latin *cutis*).

Planets are mentioned more than once in this passage. Not only are they related to the four humours, but they are also connected to the powers of the soul, to its faculties and even to some of its qualities and inclinations (animal, sensitive, affective and relational life).

> Li metalli si somigliano alli quattro humori, [...] Alli sette Pianeti l'huomo corrisponde in più maniere: Prima con la virtù vitale al Sole, con la vegetativa alla Luna, con l'impulsiva a Marte, con la fantasia a Mercurio, con la Naturale a Giove, con la concupiscibile a Venere, & con la ricettiva a Saturno. Mà andiamo più oltre, rassomiglia l'huomo il Sole con la chiarezza de sensi, con la fecondità di generare la Luna, con la fortezza dell'animo Marte, con la facoltà dell'interpretare Mercurio, con la possanza del signoreggiare Giove, con il caldo dell'Amore Venere, & con la sottigliezza del contemplare Saturno, & per tutte queste ragioni diremo con Francesco Puteo[33], che a Giove si attribuisce la benevolenza, a Saturno la stabilità, a Marte la potenza, a Mercurio la sagacità, a Venere le delitie, & al Sole, & alla Luna la generazione, & corruzione, più oltre a questo mirabile microcosmo potremo dire che rassembra tutti gli animali con la parte sensitiva, le piante con la vegetativa havendo il supremo fattore a tutte le sorte di vegetabili dato le radiche come certi fondamenti acciò con esse a guisa di piedi si sostenessero, [...] il tronco lo rassembra il busto...

In the closing part of his ample explanation, Zaratino's analysis of the proportions of the human body brings to mind Pomponius Gauricus and Antoine Mizauld's pamphlet *De Symmetria hominis*.[34]

> Si dipinge che misuri la statua della Dea Venere, prima perché non si truova cosa nella quale vi sia più Simmetria, & nella quale si scopra maggior proporzione, & commensuratione del corpo humano, essendo harmonico & di perfettissima misura. Primieramente dunque bisogna pensare che la natura ci ha proposto la faccia dell'huomo nel loco più alto del corpo acciò dalla proporzione di essa tutte le altre parti del corpo si commensurassero. Il viso dunque si partisce in tre misure... onde quelle tre misure nove volte multiplicate formano tutta la statura dell'huomo, che in nove parti si divide. La prima è la faccia, la seconda il petto cioè dalla clavicola fino allo sterno [...], la terza di lì fino all'umbelico, la quarta dall'umbelico fino alla sommità della coscia, la quinta, & la sesta le cosce fino al ginocchio, la settima e l'ottava al tallone, l'ultimo è tutta la lunghezza del piede (1625: 611–612).

At the end of this excursus it seems possible to draw a few conclusions. Starting from the images of *Legge* and *Ordine* and taking as keys the symbolic devices that these figures hold, we have commented on several descriptions that show Ripa's and Zaratino's thought, their sensitivity and even their similarities. This enables us to understand what Ripa meant to show in the two images we have started from.

If direct references cannot be proved, after close examination it is undeniable that Ripa hints at issues, definitions and ideas that were the center of much debate in his own times: Leon Battista Alberti's beauty; the connection linking beauty, goodness and virtue – without excluding pleasure – that emerges in *Philebus* and *Timaeus*; Marsilio Ficino's *temperies*; Gioseffo Zarlino's *grata moderazione*; Vitruvius', Leonardo's and Dürer's perfect proportions of the human body. There are other popular and important themes and doctrines that should be mentioned: man's excellence; man as a microcosm and his relation to the macrocosm; astral influences; the ideal of moderation and commensuration; the essential role of reason. The final picture is one of a perfectly organized blend of Platonism and Aristotelianism. On the one hand, Ripa's idea of man's place in the world owes much to Platonism, and his threefold nature of affection derives from Plato's

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[33] Francesco Puteo was a physician and wrote several works in the fields of medicine and astrology, like *Apologia pro Galeno, contra Vessalium, cum praefatione, in qua agitur de medicina inventione*, Venetiis 1562.

[34] Ripa most probably refers to the second chapter of Pompeo Gaurico's *De sculptura*, whose title is "De symmetria". Antoine Mizauld was a French physician and wrote several works in the fields of medicine and astrology, like *Harmonia Coelestium Corporum et Humanorum, dialogis undecim astronomice et medice elaborata et demonstrata*, Lutetiae, apud J. Kerver, 1555.

definition of the soul as a winged chariot. On the other one, his conception of virtue as lying at the mean shows a clear debt to Aristotle.

What emerges here is therefore a *Weltanschauung* and a conception of man based on the ideas of measure and symmetry: man's life is considered in analogy with the natural world. Measure is what man must find and get to know outside himself – in nature – and achieve within himself – that is to say, in his life.

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Alison Saunders

'Law of the Jungle' or Lore of the Jungle?

Since this conference has as its theme the iconology of Law and Order, this paper will focus on the iconography of power, authority and right as reflected in Early-Modern representations of the animal world, raising the question: to what extent does there emerge from the real or perceived behaviour of the animal world a single, consistent code or 'Law of the Jungle'? Or do we rather find a series of different or even contradictory readings and interpretations for the benefit of man of the behaviour of the animal world?

The animal world has provided a very rich source of material for writers of works for children particularly, but also for adults, using the behaviour of animals to provide a more or less overt moral lesson or reflection on human society. Many Anglo-Saxon readers will still recall with nostalgia the pleasure they derived as children from the comfortable and largely non-threatening domestic tales of Little Grey Rabbit, Squirrel, and Hare by Alison Uttley, with only occasional interruptions to the peaceful social structure by the appearance on the scene of the more sinister and unsocial figures of Rat and Fox.[1] They would likewise have derived pleasure from the similarly domestic, but rather less reassuring tales of farmyard animals by Beatrix Potter, in which tensions between the strong and the weak, the innocent and the deceitful, played a greater role than in Alison Uttley, offering to young readers an implicit parallel with the potential dangers they might encounter in human society.[2] Another favourite, dating from rather earlier, and even more clearly offering an indirect warning, via the behaviour of the animal world, of the essentially untrustworthy nature of man and the dangers that could be experienced by the weak or the naive in human society would have been Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus* tales of Brer Rabbit, Brer Fox, Brer Possum, etcetera as narrated by a 19th-century Deep South plantation slave, which use

Figure 1: *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, f.15r.

1 See, for example, *The Knot Squirrel Tied*, London: Collins, 1937.

2 See, for example, *The Tale of Mr Tod*, London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1912.

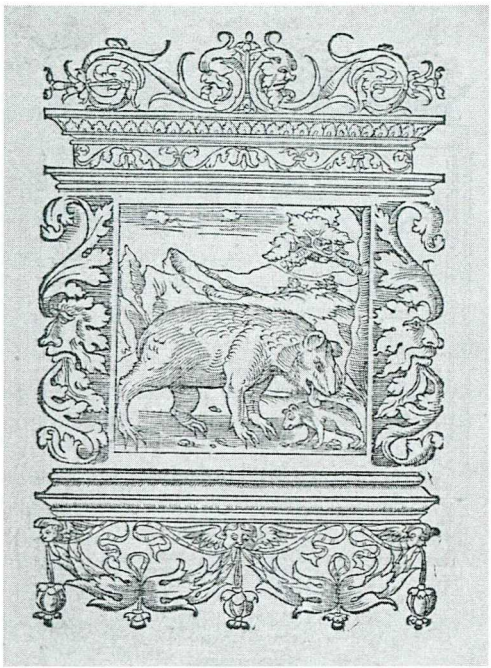

Figure 2: Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engins, auquel sont contenus cent Emblemes*, Paris, D. Janot, n.d. (1540), N7v.

Figure 3: *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, f.11r.

the tricks played by one animal upon another as a basis for moral lessons for humans.[3] But, of course, the most significant 19th- /20th-century contributor to the genre has to be Rudyard Kipling with his *Just So Stories* (1902) of '*How the Tiger got his Stripes*', '*How the Leopard got his Spots*', '*How the Camel got his Hump*', and *The Jungle Book* (1894) with its tales of the integration into a wolf pack of a small boy, Mowgli, and the education of that small boy into the 'Law of the Jungle'. And it is – I think – Kipling who first coined the phrase 'Law of the Jungle'.

Given that the animal world has traditionally provided a rich source of material for writers, what form does that human interest in the study of the animal world take. How is the animal world represented, and to what purpose, or purposes, is that representation used? Sometimes, of course, writers adopt a straightforwardly 'scientific' approach, their interest lying purely in identifying, describing and classifying the physical appearance and habits of the animal world, and into this category would come, perhaps first and foremost, Pliny, with his immensely detailed descriptions of the animal world which form only a small part of his encyclopaedic *Natural History* (1855). For such writers reality based on observation is the essential object.

Such purely 'scientific' description and representation of the animal world is obviously important and valuable, but for our particular purpose what is more interesting is the way in which other writers use description and representation of the animal world not as an end in itself, but rather as a starting point, exploiting it as a basis for elaborating information on the human condition and – in some cases at least – providing advice on how man should, or should not, live his life. In some cases this is done by simply adding a moral reflection or lesson for mankind to a description of the animal and its attributes and behaviour, real or supposed, while in other cases it is done by means of narrative fiction in the form of fables about individual animals, with a moral-

[3] See, for example, *The Tar Baby and Other Rhymes of Uncle Remus*, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904.

ising gloss at the end (or beginning) indicating what lesson or warning mankind should learn from the particular incident narrated.

Among the first category of works in which a moral reflection for the implications for mankind is added to the description (and also often the visual representation) of the animal and its attributes and behaviour we find the mediaeval bestiary in which, for example, the mother bear licking her shapeless newly born cub into shape (See Figures 1 and 2) – which is simply noted as a fact in Pliny (Book 8, Ch 54, Vol 2, 305-6) – is interpreted as representing good parenting, whereas conversely the foolish monkey hugging its young to death in an excess of affection is interpreted as representing bad parenting. Rather differently the beaver, when pursued by huntsmen and fearing for his life, bites off his own testicles, knowing that only by so doing will he save his life, since it is only those testicles which the huntsmen value for their precious medicinal properties – the moral lesson here being that it is sometimes necessary to sacrifice something important in order to save one's life.[4] (See Figures 3 and 4)

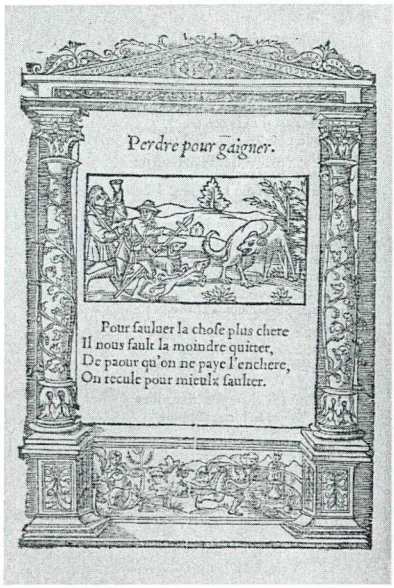

Figure 4: Gilles Corrozet, *Les Fables du tresancien Esope phrigien premierement escriptes en Graec, et depuis mises en rithme Françoise*, Paris, D. Janot, 1542, N7v.

Among the second category in which the moralising lesson or reflection on society is given by means of a narrative fable would come, of course, Aesop (and the rather less familiar Phaedrus) among the Ancients, and among the Early Moderns La Fontaine, who indeed took much of his material from Aesop, Phaedrus and the Indian fabulist, Bidpai. From Aesop, for example, comes the familiar La Fontaine fable, *Le Corbeau & le Renard*, (See Figure 5) in which the cunning fox uses flattery in order to persuade the foolish crow to show how well he can sing. In opening his beak to do so, the crow drops the succulent cheese which he has in his beak, with the result that the fox can eat it instead – with the reflection on human society: "Apprenez que tout flatteur/ Vit aux dépens de celui qui l'écoute." (La Fontaine 1688, 5, Book 1, Fable 2, see Aesop 1852, 136, Fable 193) Or again the equally familiar fable of the wolf and the lamb, *Le Loup & l'Agneau*, in which the innocent lamb, drinking at a stream, is accused of muddying the wolf's water, although the wolf is actually upstream from the lamb. Despite the lamb's protestation of innocence here, and also of innocence of having done the same thing a year earlier, since he was not even born then, the wolf simply ripostes that if it was not this lamb then it was one of his family, and thus the inno-

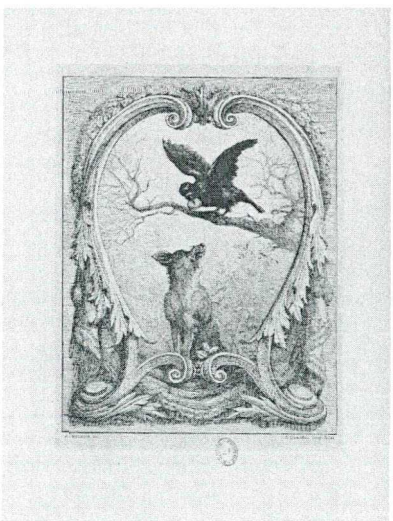

Figure 5: Jean de La Fontaine, *Fables de La Fontaine*, Paris, A. Quantin, 1883, 2 vols, vol. 1, engraving between pp 6 and 7.

[4] For online examples of bestiaries see <http://bestiary.ca> *(The Medieval Bestiary. Animals in the Middle Ages)*. See also <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/bestiary.hti> *(The Aberdeen Bestiary)*.

cent lamb must be punished by being eaten. In this particular fable the moral reflection on the social order and on the absence of any notion of human rights is given even more impact by being expressed at the very beginning of the fable: "La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure:/ Nous l'allons montrer tout à l'heure". (La Fontaine 22, Book 1, Fable 10, Aesop 17, Fable 26)

Lastly, another less commonly known ancient form, but one which became very influential in the Early-Modern period, in which the animal kingdom was used to provide meaningful messages for the benefit of mankind, is that of Egyptian hieroglyphs. The popularity of hieroglyphics was triggered by the discovery in the early 15th century on the Greek island of Andros of a supposedly 4th-century manuscript of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo. Greek and Latin versions of the text were published at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, but the form became much more accessible when a French translation, with woodcut illustrations of a large number of animals accompanied by text explaining the symbolic meaning reportedly conveyed by the representation of these animals in these supposed ideograms was published in Paris in 1543. In some cases we are simply told that 'by the representation of 'x' the ancient Egyptians conveyed 'y', basing this on the animal's appearance, but in other cases we are also given a brief narrative account of a particular behavioural characteristic of the animal, as an explanation of why it was used by the Egyptians to denote this particular thing. A number of hieroglyphs are based on the depiction of different sections of the anatomy of the lion curiously truncated from the rest of the body. Among these, for example, is the representation of the front section only of a lion, under the heading *Comment ilz denotoient force*, with the explanation that this is because the lion's front legs are stronger than its back legs: "Pour signifier force ilz paignoient le devant d'un lyon pource qu'il a les membres du devant plus fors que les aultres" (*Orus Apollo,* b5v)

But in another hieroglyphic representation of a part of the anatomy of the lion, the approach is more similar to that of bestiary, since here not just the appearance of the animal, but also its supposed behaviour is cited as the rationale for the choice of the feature to symbolise something. Under the heading *Comment ilz signifioient l'homme veillant* the representation of a lion's head, in isolation from the rest of the body, is explained as denoting vigilance, since the lion supposedly sleeps with its eyes open:

> Quant ilz voulloient demonstrer ung homme veillant ou de bon guet ilz paignoient la teste du lyon pource que le lyon quant il veille a les yeulx cloz, quant il dort il les a ouvers qui est signe de vigillence par quoy non sans cause ilz mectoient les lyons comme gardes es temples et cloistres des dieux. (*Orus Apollo,* b6r)

We mentioned earlier the beaver as described in bestiary, who practises self mutilation in order to save his life. That same behaviour on the part of the beaver is also used in the hieroglyphics of Horapollo to convey exactly the same message under the title *Comment ilz signifioient lhomme qui a soymesmes faict dommage*: "Pour signifier lhomme qui a soymesmes faict dommage ilz paignoient une beste appellee castor pource que estant chassé il arrache ses genitoires & les laisse aux veneurs qui le suyvent." (*Orus Apollo,* i8r)

In the case of the beaver, therefore, we see already the same animal being used to express the same message to mankind via two quite distinct channels – ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs on the one hand, and mediaeval bestiary on the other. And indeed if we go back and consult Pliny we find the same behaviour on the part of the beaver being described, but – as usual – without the interpretative moralising gloss for the benefit of mankind. (Pliny 297, Vol 2, Book 8, Ch 47) Similarly the behaviour of the mother bear and the monkey which we saw evoked in bestiary, is found also in the hieroglyphics of Horapollo. (*Orus Apollo* l1r, i8v) But to what extent are other animal-inspired messages as consistent as these? To what extent do we find more broadly such a common code?

Turning to the first part of the title of this paper, we are all familiar with the phrase 'Law of the Jungle', but are we all of one opinion as to what that phrase actually means? In common parlance nowadays it is used to mean ruthless behaviour on the part of one individual towards another in order to ensure success in getting what he or she wants. Ethics play no part. The strong dominate the weak and the unscrupulously crafty triumph over the innocent or gullible. As expressed in La Fontaine's fable on the wolf and the lamb which we quoted earlier, "La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure". The phrase in fact, as used in common parlance, matches other well known phrases used to describe perceived patterns of social behaviour in the animal world: 'Nature red in tooth and claw' – a phrase coined by Tennyson in his 1849 *In memoriam A.H.H.* (Tennyson 1928, 247, Canto 56) ; or "The survival of the fittest" (Spencer 1864, 444) – a phrase coined by Herbert Spencer in 1864, inspired by Darwin's theory of "Natural selection" as expounded in his *Origin of Species* (1859), and indeed adopted by Darwin from 1869 as a synonym for his own original phrase,"Natural selection."

But the phrase 'Law of the Jungle' did not actually mean that when used by the writer who first coined the phrase. On the contrary, far from evoking a lawless society in which anything is permissible in the fight for survival, Rudyard Kipling's 'Law of the Jungle' – as taught to the young Mowgli – is a clearly elaborated set of rules, or code of conduct which all must obey in order to ensure a social structure in which all can coexist harmoniously. The Law of the Jungle is initially expressed as a code of behaviour for the survival and well-being of the wolf pack into which Mowgli is integrated:

Now this is the Law of the Jungle – as old and as true as the sky;
And the Wolf that shall keep it may prosper, but the Wolf that shall break it must die.

As the creeper that girdles the tree-trunk the Law runneth forward and back –
For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack.

Wash daily from nose-tip to tail-tip; drink deeply, but never too deep;
And remember the night is for hunting, and forget not the day is for sleep.

The Jackal may follow the Tiger, but, Cub, when thy whiskers are grown
Remember the Wolf is a hunter – go forth and get food of thine own.

Keep peace with the Lords of the Jungle – the Tiger, the Panther, the Bear;
And trouble not Hathi the Silent, and mock not the Boar in his lair.

When Pack meets with Pack in the Jungle, and neither will go from the trail,
Lie down till the leaders have spoken – it may be fair words shall prevail.

When ye fight with a wolf of the Pack, ye must fight him alone and afar,
Lest others take part in the quarrel, and the Pack be diminished by war.

The Lair of the Wolf is his refuge, and where he has made him his home,
Not even the Head Wolf may enter, not even the Council may come.

The Lair of the Wolf is his refuge, but where he has digged it too plain,
The Council shall send him a message, and so he shall change it again.

If ye kill before midnight, be silent, and wake not the woods with your bay,
Lest ye frighten the deer from the crops, and the brothers go empty away.

Ye may kill for yourselves and your mates, and your cubs as they need, and ye can;
But kill not for pleasure of killing, and *seven times never kill Man.*

If ye plunder his Kill from a weaker, devour not all in thy pride;
Pack-Right is the right of the meanest; so leave him the head and the hide.

The Kill of the Pack is the meat of the Pack. Ye must eat where it lies;
And no-one may carry away of that meat to his lair, or he dies.

The Kill of the Wolf is the meat of the Wolf. He may do what he will,
But, till he has given permission, the Pack may not eat of that Kill.

Cub-Right is the right of the Yearling. From all of his Pack he may claim
Full-gorge when the killer has eaten; and none may refuse him the same.

Lair-Right is the right of the Mother. From all of her year she may claim
One haunch of each kill for her litter, and none may deny her the same.

Cave-Right is the right of the Father – to hunt by himself for his own;
He is freed of all calls to the Pack; he is judged by the Council alone.

Because of his age and his cunning, because of his gripe and his paw,
In all that the Law leaveth open, the word of the Head Wolf is Law.

Now these are the Laws of the Jungle, and many and mighty are they;
But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch and the hump is – Obey![5]

In fact the code extends beyond the wolf pack alone and covers the whole Jungle, and once Mowgli has learned from his teacher, Baloo the Brown Bear, the Master Words of the Jungle enabling him to communicate not just with the wolf pack, but with all the other species as well, he is able to say to every species "We be of one blood, ye and I" and coexist in equally structured harmony with all of them. Certainly the representatives of the different animal species as depicted in the *Jungle Book* retain their familiar characteristics – Shere Khan, the fierce and untrustworthy tiger; Bagheera, the fierce but law-imposing black panther; Hathi the sage elephant; Kaa the wise serpentine python; Tabaqui the trouble-making jackal; and the foolish man-aping monkey people, the Bandar-Log – but since all are subject to the overarching law of obedience to the social code, their potential for aggression and anarchic behaviour is contained. So Kipling's Jungle is not by any means a pre-lapsarian earthly paradise where all animals live happily together under the unquestioning God-given authority of Man. Nor yet is it a post-Messianic Holy Mountain where as Isaiah evokes it "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together... and the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox." (*The Bible*: Isaiah xi, 6–7.) Kipling's jungle animals retain their fierce natural characters, and all behave consistently within that character, but they are contained by the Law of the Jungle to which they all submit for the mutual benefit of all.

But Kipling's clearly articulated systematic code of behaviour laid down in his Law of the Jungle designed for the good of all is totally different from the code of behaviour evoked, for example, by La Fontaine in his *Fables* – a code of behaviour which is purely self-motivated: "If I want it, then I shall get it, by any means I care to use, provided I am stronger or more cunning than the person who currently possesses what I want". Conversely: "If I am one of the weak and vulnerable, then the most I can hope to do is keep out of trouble's way", but in the vast majority of fables the normal outcome is victory for the strong, the cunning and the ruthless rather than 'just reward' for the weak and innocent.

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[5] *The Law of the Jungle*, in *The Second Jungle Book*, London: Macmillan, 1895, ch.2.

This is not the place to open up a discussion about whether the Law of the Jungle evoked by Kipling was intended to reflect his own late 19th-/ early 20th-century human society where – superficially at least – the law was seen to constrain the behaviour of the strong and protect the weak. What is clear, though, is that this possible parallelism between a structured animal society and a structured human society governed by mutual obedience to an agreed and consistent set of laws is not one which is evoked by Early-Modern writers. So let us now now leave Kipling's structured and consistent jungle society and look at Early-Modern representations of the animal world, focussing on certain commonly depicted animals in order to see the sort of messages that they are found to convey. Let us begin with the strongest of the beasts, the one which habitually figures first in bestiaries, the lion – an animal which does not, of course, feature in Kipling's Jungle Book since there are no lions in India. (For Kipling it is the Elephant which is the strongest animal and therefore the Lord of the Jungle.)

Certainly lions are strong and therefore powerful. But how are they shown to use that strength? As a power for good in society – the strong authoritative role exercised by the lion? Or as a bullying ruthless figure who uses his strength not for the greater good of society but for his own personal benefit? And does the lion ever display weakness or tantrums, or melancholy? In common with other bestiaries, the *Aberdeen Bestiary* describes the lion as "the mightiest of beasts" and explains that "the Greek word for lion is translated 'king' in Latin, because the lion is the king of all beasts".[6] And for the most part the bestiary tradition does give the lion a good press. To continue quoting the *Aberdeen Bestiary*:

> The lion takes pride in the strength of its nature; it does not know how to join in the ferocity of other kinds of wild beasts, but like a king disdains the company of large numbers;
> Where men are concerned it is the nature of lions not to grow angry unless they are. An example which thoughtful men should heed; for men grow angry even when they have not been harmed, and they oppress the innocent, although Christian law bids them set even the guilty free. The compassion of lions is apparent from endless examples. They spare those whom they have brought down. They allow captives whom they encounter to return home. They vent their rage on men rather than women. They do not kill children except in time of great hunger.[7]

As represented by Aesop, however, the lion has a much less good press. In fable after fable he is depicted as cruel and ruthless, using his strength not for the good of all but rather for his own personal gain. And it is this picture of the lion as a greedy and brutal self-seeking individual, exploiting his greater physical strength to get what he wants to the detriment of others that La Fontaine picks up for the most part in his fables, as for example in *La Genisse, la Chevre, & la Brebis, en Société avec le Lion* in which the four animals together catch a stag. The lion takes the lead in dividing the prey into four equal shares and then apportioning each of those four shares to himself, explaining his logic in so doing, and spelling out quite explicitly the more commonly understood sense of the phrase Law of the Jungle ("Ce droit, vous le sçavez, c'est le droit du plus fort") :

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[6] <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary> (*The Aberdeen Bestiary*), f.7r: "Leo fortissimus bestiarum... Leo enim grece, latine rex interpretatur, eo quod princeps est omnium bestiarum".

[7] <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary> (*The Aberdeen Bestiary*), f. 7r–v: "Leo nature sue vi superbus, ferocitatem sui aliarum ferarum generibus miscere nescit, sed quasi rex quidam plurimorum dedignatur consortium"; "Circa hominem leonum natura est ut nisi lesi nequant irasci. Ad cuius exemplum rationabiles homines respicere debent, qui non lesi irascuntur, et innocentes opprimunt, cum iubeat Christiana lex noxios dimittere liberos. Patet enim leonum misericordia exemplis assiduis, prostratis enim parcunt, captivos obvios repatriare permittunt. In viros potius quam in feminas seviunt. Infantes non nisi in magna fame perimunt".

Eux venus, le Lion par ses ongles compta,
Et dit: Nous sommes quatre à partager la proye;
Puis en autant de parts le Cerf il dépeça;
Prit pour lui la première en qualité de Sire.
Elle doit étre à moy, dit-il; & la raison,
C'est que je m'appelle Lion,
A cela l'on n'a rien à dire.
La seconde, par droit, me doit échoir encor:
Ce droit, vous le sçavez, c'est le droit du plus fort.
Comme le plus vaillant, je pretens la troisiéme.
Si quelqu'un de vous touche à la quatriéme,
Je l'étranglerai tout d'abord.
(La Fontaine 13–14, Book 1, Fable 6)

This tale must presumably be at the origin of the phrase "the lion's share". Yet although this representation of the lion as the dominant overlord of society is the image of it which we most frequently find in La Fontaine, nevertheless we also find him occasionally depicting a quite contradictory image of the lion as victim of a creature much weaker than himself. In *Le Lion & le Moucheron* the lion is reduced to a hysterical state of self mutilation in his attempts to rid himself of the triumphant gnat, buzzing in and out of his nostrils, in and out of his ears and stinging him all over:

La rage alors se trouve à son faiste montée.
L'invisible ennemi triomphe & rit de voir,
Qu'il n'est griffe ni dent en la béte irritée,
Qui de la mettre en sang ne fasse son devoir.
Le mal-heureux Lion se déchire lui-méme,
Fait résonner sa queue à l'entour de ses flancs,
Bat l'air qui n'en peut mais; & sa fureur extréme
Le fatigue, l'abat: le voila sur les dents.
L'insecte du combat se retire avec gloire:
Comme il sonna la charge, il sonne la victoire.
(64, Book 2, Fable 9)

From this La Fontaine draws the moral lesson that it is paradoxically often the smallest enemies that are the most redoubtable. In yet another of La Fontaine's Aesop-inspired fables, *Le Lion & le Rat*, we see the lion again as dominant king of the beasts, but this time he is shown as a benevolent despot as opposed to a tyrant. In this particular fable the focus is actually less on the lion than on the rat, since what we see in the opening lines is the rat getting under the feet of the lion and fearing the worst, but (perhaps echoing the bestiary reference to the lion's humane treatment of its captives) the lion lets the rat go. When later the rat finds the lion trapped in a snare, the rat is able to repay the earlier favour by gnawing through the ropes of the snare to free the lion, and the overall moral lesson is that slow patient gnawing through the rope by the rat is more effective than the angry rantings of the lion when he finds himself trapped: "Patience & longueur de temps/ Font plus que force ni que rage." (68–69, Book 2, Fable 12)

Interestingly we find an earlier Early-Modern writer, Gilles Corrozet, also dealing with this same fable in his 1542 'translation' of *Les fables du tresancien Esope*, but using the same tale to present a quite different moral lesson. Under the overall title *Les grandz ont affaire des moindres,* he warns the mighty not to ignore the well-being of their inferiors because you never know when you will need them:

Sy tu es grand garde toy bien
De faire au petit desplaisir,
Pource que tu ne sçais combien
Il te peult faire de plaisir. (C5v)

So even within one single Early-Modern author, La Fontaine, and within two reworkings of one single Aesop fable by different authors, we find conflicting or divergent messages being derived from the behaviour of the lion.

But what other lessons can be extrapolated from the behaviour and characteristics of the lion? Early-Modern emblem books can usually be depended on as a rich source of examples of the ways in which different phenomena could be exploited to provide allegorical lessons for society, and indeed a large number of emblems by different writers do exploit the figure of the lion in a number of different ways. The lion as a strong leader features in Guillaume de la Perrière's *Theatre des bons engins* where the woodcut figure depicts an army of stags led by a lion, confronting an army of lions led by a stag, and the text makes the point that a strong army without a strong leader will be defeated by a weak army under a strong leader:

Si le Lyon conduict une bataille,
Posé qu'il n'ayt avec luy que des cerfz:
Et d'autre part vient ung cerf qui l'assaille
Accompaigné de lyons bien expers:
Le seul lyon rendra les autres serfz,
D'autant qu'ung cerf porte leur estandart:
Car gens hardiz, ayans ung chef couard
En combatant n'auront jamais estime,
Et gens craintifz se mettront en hazard,
S'ilz sont conduictz par ung chef magnanime. (1540, emblem 39)

Yet in another emblem in the same work a rather different message about the leadership qualities of the lion is conveyed by La Perrière. In emblem 22 we are told that merely the strength of the lion is not enough to give him authority. The woodcut figure depicts a king accompanied by a lion on one side and a fox on the other, (See Figure 6) and the text echoes Machiavelli's comment that a strong monarch must not only possess the strength of a lion but also the cunning of the fox:

Le Lyon est de cueur & de stature
Fort & puissant, noble, vaillant & preux.
Le Regnard est de sa propre nature
En tous endroictz subtil & cauteleux.
Le Prince doibt resembler à tous deux
S'il veult pays en triumphe conquerre,
Et meriter ung honneur non pareil:
Monstrer se doit (comme vray chef de guerre)
Lyon en force, & regnard en conseil.[8]

a point which is also echoed in Barthélemy Aneau's *Imagination poetique* emblem, *Les deux bastons de guerre*, in which the figure depicts two banners, one of which bears the figure of a rampant lion and the other the figure of an alert fox, accompanied by the explanatory text:

Ou de la force, ou de fraude regne art,
Du Lyon l'une, & l'autre est du Regnard.
Pour l'ennemy rendre en guerre abbatu.
Mais que chault il si c'est vice, ou vertu?
Ne soient donc plus en signes militaires,

[8] See Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. George Bull, London: Penguin Classics, 1981, chap. 18: "So, as a prince is forced to know how to act like a beast, he must learn from the fox and the lion; because the lion is defenceless against traps and a fox is defenceless against wolves. Therefore one must be a fox in order to recognize traps, and a lion to frighten off wolves. Those who simply act like lions are stupid."

Aigles, Loups, Ours, Minotors solitaires,
Mais es Guydons, Enseignes, Estandars,
Soient fors Lyons & cauteleux Regnars. (Aneau 1552, 63)

Less desirable aspects of the lion appear also in emblems. Both Pliny and bestiary recount that the lion is subject to bouts of sudden rage; that his breath smells horrible; and that when he feels sick his favoured remedy is to devour a monkey. They also tell us that the lion is frightened of only two things – fire and the crowing of a cockerel. (Pliny 267–269, Book 8, Vol 2, Ch 19, *Aberdeen Bestiary* ff. 7r-8r) These latter two features do not, to the best of my knowledge, figure in emblems, but the lion's propensity for violent and unreasonable tail-thrashing anger forms the basis of an emblem on the subject of anger by Alciato, the very earliest emblematist. In Barthélemy Aneau's French translation of this Latin emblem by Alciato, simply entitled *Ire* (1549 ed., F3v) a short moral gloss is added explaining that violent unreasonable anger reduces mankind to the state of a self-destructive wild animal:

Du fier Lyon la queue est dicte ALCE,
D'ond il se bat, quand il est courroucé,
Quand la cholere, & le fiel amer monte,
Fureur s'esmeut que raison point ne dompte.

Ire faict oublyer raison, & ainsi transmue l'homme en beste furieuse qui se nuyct à elle mesme. (Alciato 1549, f.86r)

The lion's habit of eating monkeys for medicinal purposes features in Junius's collection of *Emblesmes* while his bad breath and potential for anger both feature in Guillaume Guéroult's *Premier livre des emblemes.* In *Le flateur est insuportable en la republique* Junius ingeniously interprets the lion restoring himself to good health by eating a monkey as the king restoring wellbeing to his country by the destruction of flatterers:

Tout ainsi qu'un lion se sent fort soulagé
De son mal incogneu, apres qu'il a mengé
Le singe qui va viste: ainsi le Roy netoye
Son regne d'un venin qui en peste flamboye,
Alors que de sa court il chasse le flateur,
Qui des bons plus-souvent se rend accusateur.
(Junius 1567, 26, emblem 22)

while Guéroult's emblem *Quelque fois il fait bon dissimuler le vice du Prince cruel pour ne l'esmouvoir à courroux* (31, emblem 11) takes the form of a fable in which in a fit of anger the despotic lion commands other animals (which have been shunning his company because of his bad breath) to come and tell him whether or not his breath smells. The innocent lamb obliges and is promptly devoured whereas the more cunning fox dissimulates, and explains that as a result of illness he has such a thick head that he cannot smell anything. In Guéroult's emblem, therefore, we see once again the lion as a cruel and tyrannical leader, killing an innocent lamb for his own gratification. Yet in another lion/lamb emblem – by Corrozet – we find this picture reversed. In his *Hecatomgraphie* emblem *Triumphe d'humilité* the woodcut figure depicts the great lion making obeissance to a small lamb, (See Figure 7) and the text makes the point that humility can conquer even the kings of the world:

Ung doulx Aigneau soubz son pied tient
Le Lyon des bestes le prince,
Humilite maistrie & vince
Les plus grands que terre soustient. (1540, F2v–F3r)

Figure 6: Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons engins, auquel sont contenus cent Emblemes*, Paris, D. Janot, n.d. (1540), D3v.

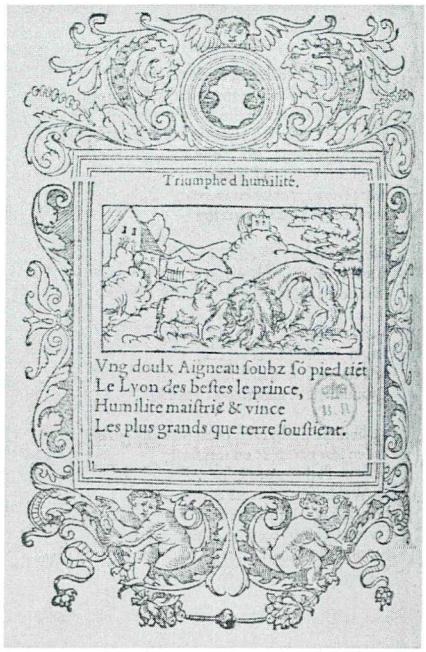

Figure 7: Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie. C'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures & hystoires, contenantes plusieurs appophtegmes proverbes, sentences & dictz tant des anciens que des modernes,* Paris, D. Janot, 1540, F2v

It is clear from all this, therefore, that as far as the lion at least is concerned there is no single or consistent message being delivered. Although the lion is consistently depicted as being physically strong, he is not necessarily invincible. While for the most part his strength gives him power over the rest of the animal world it does not always do so – as in the case of him being vanquished by a gnat on the one hand and a lamb on the other. In some cases the powerful lion as king of the beasts is used positively to represent socially responsible royal authority, but more frequently the message is a negative one with the lion being represented as a cruel and tyrannical figure, using his strength and power over the weaker members of the animal world solely for his own personal gratification rather than for the benefit of a social structure. However, although physically more powerful than other animals so that he cannot be vanquished by rival strength, cunning and guile can be used effectively against him, in particular by the fox, and indeed it is interesting to see Machiavelli's comment about the highly effective combination for effective kingship of the strength of the one and the cunnning of the other being revived in more than one emblem book. So here we have clear indication that – unlike in Kipling's ordered jungle world where every creature has its place in the hierarchy – despite the fact that the lion is frequently referred to as the king of the beasts, his range of representation is very varied, and – following from that fact – the range of messages which are derived from his behaviour are equivalently varied, and often contradictory.

Let us look now – rather more briefly – at two other animals whose perceived characteristics and behaviour are not altogether dissimilar. These are the fox and the wolf, both of whom are traditionally associated with subtlety, cunning and – particularly in the case of the wolf – cruelty. Once again, therefore, a very different perception from Kipling's fierce but essentially upright and law-abiding structured society of wolves. Certainly in the representation and interpretation

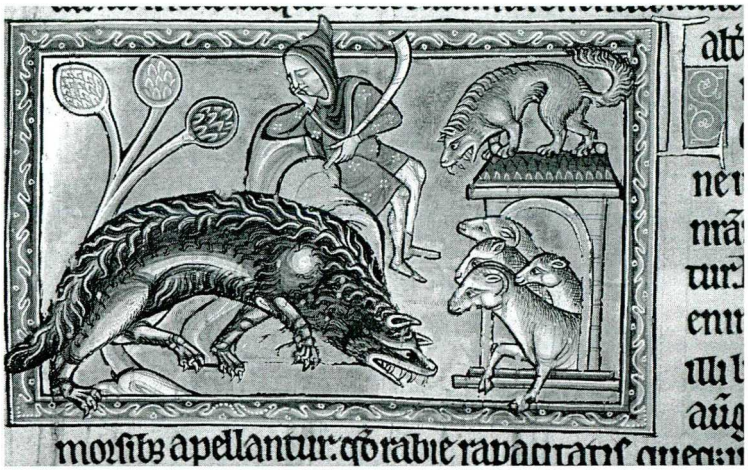

Figure 8: *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, f.16v.

of the behaviour and characteristics of the wolf, at least, there is – in striking contrast to the lion, who can on occasion be depicted as a force for good in the social structure – a consistent pattern of nastiness and destructive antisocial activity. (See Figure 8) In the various traditions that we have been considering there are no nice wolves. Though of course in a quite different tradition we must remember the story of Romulus and Remus, raised by a benevolent she-wolf, not unlike the benevolent Mother-Wolf who rears Mowgli together with her own cubs in the *Jungle Book*.

Pliny has little to say on the subject of wolves, and on the whole what he does say is not significantly carried through into Early-Modern exploitations of the figure of the wolf. He is in fact most interested in discussing the phenomenon of werewolves, which impinge very little in Early-Modern iconography (although Barthélemy Aneau does include two emblems on werewolves, reflecting on their destructive impact on society). Pliny also refers to the supposedly aphrodisiac properties of a small lock of hair in the wolf's tail and to the evil impact of its stare, which reputedly can deprive man of the ability to speak – but again these are attributes of the wolf which are not picked up by Early-Modern writers. (Pliny 282–284, Book 8, Vol 2, Ch 34, Aneau 95–96) Bestiary descriptions of the wolf make these same points, but in much more detail, and they also include further information. The *Aberdeen Bestiary* stresses the rapacity and cunning of the wolf: "The wolf is a rapacious beast and craves blood… Such is the wolf's cunning that it does not catch food for its cubs near its lair but far away. If it has to hunt its prey at night, it goes like a tame dog here and there to a sheepfold, and lest the sheepdogs catch its scent and wake the shepherds, it goes upwind". Its ability to cast the evil eye on someone is associated with the Devil: "The Devil has the nature of a wolf; he always looks with an evil eye upon mankind and continually circles the sheepfold of the faithful of the Church, to ruin and destroy their souls".[9] Thus neither Pliny nor bestiary give any positive gloss at all on the nature and behaviour of the wolf, which is represented as wholly negative.

[9] <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary> (*The Aberdeen Bestiary)*, ff. 16v–17r: "Rapax autem bestia et cruores appetentes… Cuius astucia est tanta ut in vicinia sua predam non capiat catulis suis sed in longinquo. Quod si opus fuerit ut predam noctu querat, tanquam canis mansuetus passim ad ovile pergit, et ne fortuitu sui flatus odorem senciant canes, et evigilent pastores, contra ventum vadit… Lupi figuram diabolus portat, qui semper humano generi invidet, ac iugiter circuit caulas ecclesie fidelium, ut mactet et perdat eorum animas."

Aesop similarly depicts in his fables a fairly consistent picture of a cunning rapacious predator on the weaker members of society (usually represented by sheep or lambs), as for example in Fable 26, *The Wolf and the Lamb*, mentioned earlier in this paper, (Aesop 17, Fable 26, see above pp 153-4) or again in Fable 127, *The Wolf and the Shepherd*, in which the wolf deceives the shepherd into believing that he means no harm to the flock, and indeed should be treated as a friendly dog rather than as a threatening wolf. Reassured by this the shepherd entrusts the flock to the care of the wolf while he goes off to town, and returns to find that the wolf has destroyed his flock – the moral being that "There is more danger from a pretended friend than from an open enemy". (Aesop 90–91) However, occasionally Aesop does depict a slightly less violently antisocial and destructive picture of the wolf. In, for example, Fable 5, *The Wolf and the Crane*, the crane charitably takes pity on the suffering of the wolf who has got a bone stuck down his throat, and uses its long beak to poke down the wolf's neck and pull out the bone. When asked for a reward for this act of kindness, the wolf merely says that the crane should feel lucky to have emerged alive from having had its head in the wolf's jaws: a less violent denouement than might be expected, given the usual pattern of ingratitude taking the form of slaying. So certainly although this fable does not give a positive gloss on the behaviour of the wolf, it does give a less negative gloss than one might have been led to expect. (Aesop 4) Again not positive, but less negative than might be expected is the representation of the wolf in Fable 34, *The Housedog and the Wolf*. Here the wolf is at first seduced by the description of the comforts of warmth and guaranteed supply of good food which the dog tells him is the norm in his life but when he realises that this can only be achieved at the cost of loss of liberty (represented by the marks of the collar on the dog) the wolf decides that he prefers the discomfort of freedom to comfort that can come only with loss of freedom. (Aesop 23–24)

Certainly these latter two representations of the wolf are less negative than others, but they could still hardly be called positive. To what extent, then is this overall consistent representation of the wolf as a threat to the social order reflected also in Early-Modern writers. With La Fontaine, we find that the wolf is again depicted in the same terms of ruthless, cunning, rapacious animal, but interestingly there is a slightly more optimistic tone to several of La Fontaine's wolf-based fables, because several actually focus on the triumph of the weak over the ruthlessly strong in a way that was not so commonly the case in Aesop. Such is the case with La Fontaine's fable *Le Loup devenu Berger*, which has a quite different outcome from that of Aesop's *The Wolf and the Shepherd*. There the cruel wolf succeeded in slaughtering the flock, but here the wolf's cruel intention to do this is thwarted by the shepherd. The wolf attempts to gain access to the flock by pretending to be the shepherd. However when he is unable to imitate the voice of the shepherd effectively, his own roaring voice succeeds only in alerting the sleeping shepherd and sheepdog, and he has to beat a hasty retreat, greatly discomfited, and the fable ends with the moral comment that "Toujours par quelque endroit fourbes se laissent prendre". (94–95, Book 3, Fable 3) Similarly in *Le Loup, la Chevre & le Chevreau* he is again thwarted in his cunning plans to devour an innocent goat's kid in the absence of its mother. Overhearing the mother goat telling the kid not to open the door, in her absence, to anyone unless that person gives the particular password, when he sees the mother goat leave, the wolf attempts to use the password to gain entry, but is foiled when the (uncharacteristically suspicious) kid asks him to show a white paw before he can be admitted. Since wolves do not have white paws, the wolf is again discomfited in his attempt to gain his prey. (173–4, Book 4, Fable 15) In both these fables by La Fontaine, therefore, the wolf is certainly still depicted as a threat to the social structure, but as a threat that can sometimes be resisted. In La Fontaine, therefore, the wolf is not used consistently to convey a message that the strong and ruthless will always triumph against the weak. As we saw earlier with the lamb and the lion, the wolf can also be used to convey the opposite message of the triumph of innocence over superior strength.

And what of emblems? In fact the crop of emblematic wolves is disappointingly sparse and – other than Aneau's two emblems – primarily derived from sources in fable, as in Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* emblem *Amour faincte,* on the fable of the wolf and the lamb, in which the astute lamb resists the cunning wolf's invitation to friendship, recognising the hypocrisy on the part of the wolf and its consequent threat to the lamb's own safety:

Le Loup semond la brebis fainctement
Disant, ayons bonne amytié ensemble
Dit la brebis cela bon ne me semble,
Tu veulx aymer, mais c'est cruellement.
(*Hecatomgraphie,* H2v)

or Guéroult's emblem in his *Premier livre des emblemes* on the subject of the lion, the wolf and the ass, *Les riches sont supportés & les povres oppressés*, with its clear expression of "nature red in tooth and claw", and "survival of the fittest", as opposed to a consistent "Law of the Jungle". Here all three animals in turn confess their transgressions – serious in the case of the lion and the wolf, and trivial in the case of the ass. The wolf exonerates the lion from any blame for what he has done, with the justificatory comments that the mighty can do what they like: as king of the animals it is the lion's right to set the law:

Comment (dist il) Seigneur pleine d'excellence
Puis que tu es sur toutes bestes Roy,
Te peut aucun establir quelque loy
Veu que tu as sur icelle puissance?
Il est loysible à un prince de faire
Ce qu'il luy plaist sans contradiction.
(Guéroult 1550, 40–42, emblem 15)

In turn the lion exonerates the wolf from all blame for the carnage he has wrought in society. But lastly, the largely innocent ass, whose sole crime is to have stolen some of his master's straw in desperation for food, is condemned by the other two and savaged to death in punishment.

And finally what of foxes? Unusually Pliny does not devote a specific section to foxes and only refers to them fleetingly in his chapter on generation, in which he notes that foxes, like bears, are born in an unformed shape and the mother has to lick them into shape – a characteristic which is not picked up by Early-Modern writers. (Pliny 542, Book 10, Vol 2, Ch 83) However bestiary focuses on the more obvious character of the fox as a cunning antisocial animal which preys on others for its own personal advantage, citing as a manifestation of this its habit of rolling in red mud to make itself look as though it is covered in blood, and then lying on its back as if dead, in order to lure birds to approach it – which it can then seize and devour. The fox is then allegorised as representing the Devil – as we saw earlier the wolf was also. As the *Aberdeen Bestiary* explains: 'The Devil is of a similar nature. For to all who live by the flesh he represents himself as dead until he has them in his gullet and punishes them'.[10] Again, perhaps surprisingly, this is not an aspect of the fox's behaviour that is referred to by Early-Modern writers, who tend to focus more on the fable tradition, as in Aesop's *The Fox and the Crow*, which – as we saw earlier – was adapted by La Fontaine as *Le Corbeau & le Renard*;[11] or likewise his *The Fox and the Goat*; *The Sick Lion*; and *The Fox and the Stork* (Aesop 3, Fable 4; 101, Fable 143; 110, Fable 157; 104, Fable 148). which were also adapted by La Fontaine as *Le Renard & le Bouc* (98–99,

[10] <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary> (*The Aberdeen Bestiary)*, f.16r: "Istius eiusdemque figuram diabolus possidet. Omnibus enim viventibus secundum carnem vixeritis esse, mortuum quoadusque inter guttur suum habeat et puniat".

[11] See above, p. 153.

Book 3, Fable 5); *Le Lion malade & le Renard* (255–256, Book 6, Fable 14); *Le Renard & la Cicogne* (38–39, Book 1, Fable 18). In the fable tradition, both as practised by Aesop and as reworked by La Fontaine, the cunning nature of the fox is accentuated, but for the most part it is not such a socially destructive form of cunning as that of the bestiary tradition, but rather a form of cunning that the fox uses – at one level simply to ensure his own survival in a dangerous world, and at another level to make sure that his life can be as comfortable as possible (with little attention paid to whether or not this impacts adversely on the life of others). An example of the first category of exploitation would be *The Fox and the Goat/Le Renard & le Bouc,* narrating the tale of the fox who has fallen into a well, exploiting the gullibility of the goat to persuade him to come into the well also, so that the fox can use him as a stepladder to escape, cheerfully leaving the goat to the fate from which he has just escaped; or using cunning more purely for self preservation in *The Sick Lion/Le Lion malade & le Renard* in which the fox resists the invitation to come into the lion's den as have done other animals, since he is astute enough to see numerous animal tracks entering the den, but none coming out from it. Examples of the second category of social exploitation by cunning or mischief would be the fox tricking the crow out of his piece of cheese in *The Fox and the Crow/ Le Corbeau & le Renard*; or the fox serving the stork with a meal which he is unable to eat because his long beak cannot cope with soup in a shallow dish in *The Fox and the Stork/Le Renard & la Cicogne.* (See Figures 9 and 10) Here however, the focus of the fable is actually on the stork getting his revenge for this by serving the fox in return with a meal which he similarly is unable to eat because it is contained in a narrow-necked jug suitable for a long-beaked stork but not for a short-muzzled fox. So in this particular fable we see that the wily cunning fox is defeated by other members of society rather than triumphing over them by the exercise of his cunning.

Looking at what the emblem writers do with the fox, we find that – as with the wolf – they also focus in large part on fable, with Guéroult including Aesop's fable (also adapted by La Fontaine) of the fox trying to entice the cock out of his position of safety in the tree and the cock outstripping him in cunning by warning him in turn of the dangers of an approaching hunting

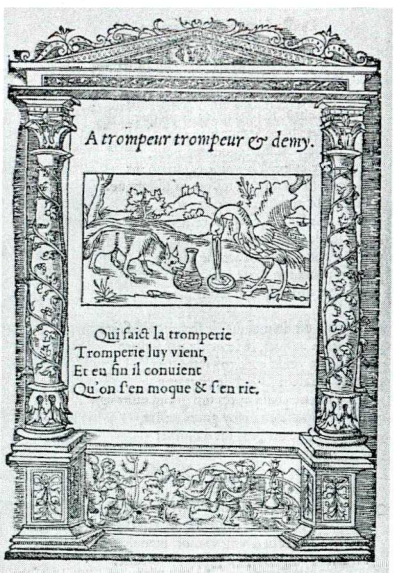

Figure 9: Gilles Corrozet, *Les Fables du tresancien Esope phrigien premierement escriptes en Graec, et depuis mises en rithme Françoise*, Paris, D. Janot, 1542, E2v.

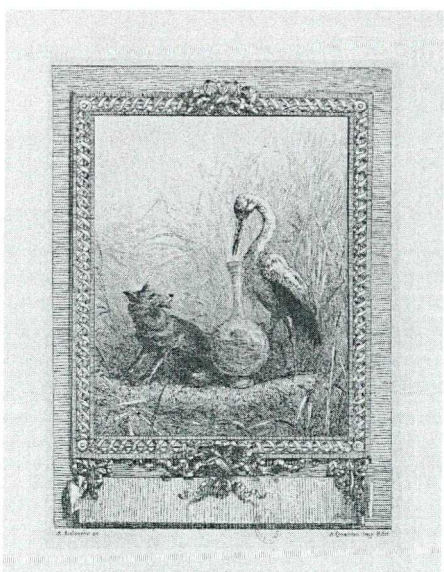

Figure 10: Jean de La Fontaine, *Fables de La Fontaine*, Paris, A. Quantin, 1883, 2 vols, vol. 1, engraving between pp 42 and 43.

dog *(The Dog, the Cock and the Fox; Le Coq & le Renard)* in his *Premier livre des emblemes* under the title *A trompeur trompeur et demy.* (Aesop 22, Fable 32, La Fontaine 74–75, Book 2, Fable 15, Guéroult 7–11, Emblem 2) Similarly Corrozet includes in his *Hecatomgraphie* a reworking of Aesop's *Sick Lion* under the title *Deffiance non moins utile que prudence* with the woodcut figure showing the cunning fox turning away from the lion's den, the entry to which is heavily marked with one-way animal footsteps, and with the odd skull, and the moral quatrain explaining the thought process in the mind of the fox:

> Le fin regnard appercevant les pas
> De mainte beste allant à la tasniere
> Du fort Lyon, en reculant arriere
> Dict à part soy, certes je n'y vois pas.
> (*Hecatomgraphie*, H5v)

So what can we conclude at the end of this lengthy analysis of the ways in which the perceived behaviour and characteristics of certain members of the animal kingdom, as traditionally expressed in Pliny, Aesop, Hieroglyphics and mediaeval bestiary were exploited by Early-Modern writers such as La Fontaine and the emblem writers to depict a coherent or consistent social order? Certainly we do not see anything resembling Kipling's carefully worked out social structure in which each animal conforms to a set of rules with which all are familiar and which are specifically designed to ensure the overall well-being of that society. There is certainly no overall Law of the Jungle in that sense. But can we perceive a Law of the Jungle in the other sense of the word – a representation of a society which is red in tooth and claw, and where the law is that of the survival of the fittest? Certainly this does fit more clearly the very brutal picture of the animal world which we see evoked both by the Ancients and the Moderns where strong animals are frequently depicted as exercising their greater strength in order to gain what they want at the expense of weaker animals. But nevertheless there is a problem here, because the picture is – as we have seen – not a consistent picture. Certainly the lion is frequently described as the king of the beasts, and depicted as exercising his authority sometimes in order to preserve a social order, but much more commonly to advance his own particular wishes, and doing so often brutally and cruelly. But conversely, we also find instances where he is depicted as vulnerable and needing assistance from lesser animals, such as the rat; and other instances where despite his strength he is overcome by lesser animals, such as the gnat. Although he is possessed of strength, we are also told in some cases that strength is not enough for royal authority and that what is needed is also the cunning of the fox. He has weaknesses which subvert his image of royal authority – he is frightened of the cock crowing; he suffers from sudden uncontrollable rages or tantrums. And this inconsistent picture of the role played by animals in the social structure, which is so very marked in the case of the lion, is true in the case of other members of the animal world also, as epitomised by the wolf which certainly is uniformly cruel and savage, but not uniformly successful in achieving its aims even when the intended victim is less strong than it, and likewise by the fox whose cunning is constant, but whose success in using that cunning, even against those weaker than itself, is similarly not constant.

Certainly as far as Early-Modern writers are concerned, in neither sense of the word do we see a very effective 'Law of the Jungle' being evoked via the animal kingdom. What we see rather is a series of different pictures, and what we derive from what we see is a series of different and sometimes conflicting messages, to the extent that perhaps we should change our spelling and change our pronunciation of the three-letter word 'Law' and instead adopt the 4-letter word 'Lore'. The very rich, but essentially diverse fabric of animal-based reflections on codes of behaviour is better summed up by the phrase 'Lore of the Jungle' than by the more common phrase 'Law of the Jungle'.

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Gerhard F. Strasser

Livre d'Enigmes

Legal and Cosmic Order in an Early 17th-Century Para-Emblematic Manuscript by Jacques de Fonteny

I. Prefatory Remarks - the Manuscript

Looking through the subject indexes of any library catalog can net surprising results, and such a search for lemmata like hieroglyphs, emblems, or cryptography at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel led me to an interesting piece. Among the more recent additions to a group of manuscripts labeled "Extravagantes" *(nomen est omen),*[1] I discovered a rather unique collection of illustrated poems dated by the compiler of the Wolfenbüttel catalog to the "end of 16th/beginning of 17th century" and entitled, *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.* The manuscript may indeed have been written around 1600, consists of 45 letter-size sheets of which 44 have a small square engraving printed on the upper part. A Wolfenbüttel specialist has identified them as possibly originating in "northern France, end of 16th/beginning of 17th century," which would support the catalog dating. Unfortunately, a possible engraver's mark on fol. 4 r cannot be identified; the paper mark, perhaps a (paschal) lamb with a crown on its head, is not listed in any of the reference works, either. Only 26 of the 44 engraved pages sport a French sonnet, which on most pages is written in an excellent hand and on occasion includes corrections both in the same and in a different hand, perhaps the author's. Fol. 1 v° bears a 26-line text – possibly a poem – written in the same hand as the substantive corrections in the sonnets and also hardly legible; next to it there is a monogram that the editor of the Wolfenbüttel catalog tentatively read as "*J D F*". The fact that only 26 sonnets accompany the 44 engravings – leaving 18 pictures without text – does not necessarily invalidate the conjecture that the generally excellent, professional handwriting would identify the manuscript as an incomplete printer's copy in which the author himself might have made corrections.

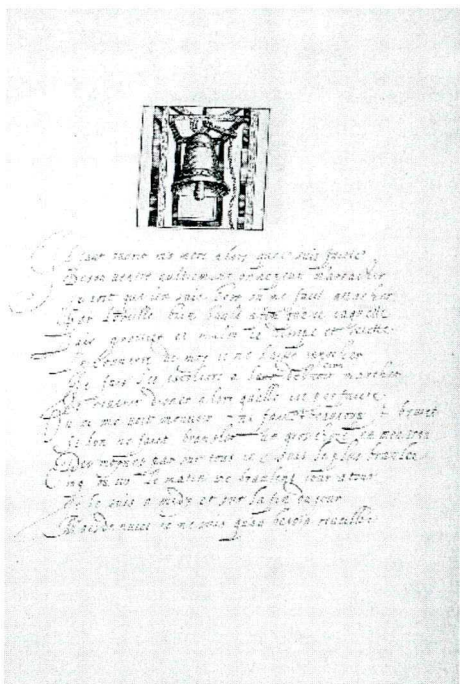

Figure 1: "Cloches." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

[1] *Herzog August Bibliothek: Die neueren Handschriften der Gruppe Extravagantes.* Teil 2. Bearbeitet von Wolf-Dieter Otte. Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, Neue Reihe, 18. Band. Frankfurt: Klostermann 1987, 63, ms. no. 117.5 Extrav.

The identification of this collection with the Jacques de Fonteny listed on the cover – and written in the hand of the professional scribe – along with the 3-letter monogram is supported by the publication in 1618 of one of the 26 sonnets listed in the manuscript's index as "*cloches*" (Figure 1) in a collection entitled, *Le Cabinet satyrique ou recueil des vers piquans et gaillards de ce temps.*[2] This publication – which his long-time friend Pierre de l'Estoille attributed to Fonteny – further supports Fonteny's authorship of the manuscript.

The fact that this particular sonnet would be included in a collection highlighting not only satirical but also somewhat piquant and even racy poetic pieces – but was eliminated from a second, expanded edition one year later, perhaps because it could be seen as too (homo)sexually charged – should alert us to a general undertone of at least half of the sonnets of Fonteny's *Livre d'Enigmes*, which we will not encounter in the selection here presented, though. Additionally, Fonteny's authorship is supported through the 1589 publication of a collection of verse poems "par I. de Fonteny. P." titled *L'Aenigme dv Songe*, which indicates his early interest in poetic enigmas.[3]

II. Jacques de Fonteny

Who, then, was this Fonteny? A recent publication overseen by Christian Biet on the *Théâtre de la Cruauté et récits sanglants en France (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)*[4] provides some biographical information on the author. Fonteny was born "in the second third of the 16th century and died around 1650," Biet reports, and apart from being an author of several plays and occasional poetry, he was the *impresario* or financial manager of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, where the oldest Paris theatre group performed and also rented out its hall. Early on in his life, Fonteny gained a certain notoriety in 1587 when he published what in later editions became known as the *Beau pasteur*, a dramatic pastoral, as the genre was known at that time.[5] While this "tragi-comédie pastorale," as Biet calls it, clearly displays the young author's erudition and was to introduce him to the court of Henri III, it is the first such piece that excludes shepherdesses from the main plot; it focuses instead on the amorous relationship between two shepherds and also features a riddle or *énigme* that the protagonists submit to a sorcerer for its solution. Indeed, Biet characterizes Fonteny as "one of the first gay and libertine theatrical authors," which may have been at the root of his problems as an *impresario.*[6] During much of his life, he continued writing occasional poetry that was often dedicated to members of the court, whom he also tried to interest in several of his historical publications.

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[2] Subtitle: *Tiré des secrets Cabinets des Sieurs de Sigognes, Regnier, Motin, Berthelot, Maynard, et autres des plus signalez Poëtes de ce Siecle.* Paris: A. Estoc 1618, rpt. Paris: 1924, 360–361. In his bibliography on *Les Recueils collectifs de Poésies libres et satiriques publiés depuis 1600 jusqu'à la mort de Théophile (1626). Le Libertinage au XVIIe siècle, V* (Paris 1929; reprint Geneva: Slatkine 1968, 212–216), Frédéric Lachèvre lists this reference to the 1618 *Cabinet* although on p. 43 he erroneously lists "Jean de Fonteny" as the author of the one sonnet published in this collection. The first line quoted by Lachèvre (*On ouvre et rompt ma mère alors que je suis faite*) differs slightly from the opening line of fol. 6, and while there are other minor textual differences the title listed in the *Cabinet*, "*Enigme. Une cloche (sonnet)*" further underlines the identity with the poem in the manuscript.

[3] A copy is kept in the British Library; another edition appeared in 1639.

[4] Paris: Laffont 2006, especially xxi–xxii and 880–888.

[5] The first edition – *L'Eumorphopémie* – has not survived, but the piece was republished in the same year in a poetry collection entitled, *La Première partie des Ébats poétiques de Jacques de Fonteny contenant une pastorelle du beau pasteur, éclogues, amours, sonets spirituels et autres poésies* (Mont Saint Hilaire: G. Linocier 1587). See Lachèvre: *Recueils* (see f.n. 2) and Christian Biet: "Le Rouge et le noir, le rose et le vert, ou la pastorale homosexuelle de Jacques de Fonteny (1587)." *Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Alcover.* Ed. by A. Mothu. Paris: Champion 2006, 1–12, here 3–4 and 8.

[6] Christian Biet, personal e-mail communication, July 20, 2007.

For the purposes of the authorship of the *Livre d'Enigmes,* a remark by his long-time friend Pierre de l'Estoile is relevant, who reported "que Fonteny adore ce genre,"[7] a suggestion supported by the 1589 publication of *L'Aenigme du Songe.*

III. The *Énigme* as a Literary Genre in the 17th Century

This brief overview of Fonteny's literary production was intended to highlight certain aspects of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript that can be traced back to his œuvre. One element that needs to be examined further is the genre of the *énigme* or literary riddle that Fonteny had already worked into the *Beau pasteur,* and which features in the title of the *Livre d'Enigmes* manuscript. Riddles – among the oldest and most universal of genres – had been part of folklore since antiquity.[8] In French Renaissance literature, a collection came out as early as 1557 in Charles Fontaine's *Odes, énigmes et épigrammes;*[9] 1568 saw the publication of the anonymous *Questions énigmatiques,*[10] both of them incorporating older folk materials which did not shy away from presenting obscene content. In the beginning of the 17th century, interest in the *énigme* grew stronger, doubtless under the influence of Italian models. *Énigmes* became fashionable in literary salons although the Jesuits early on saw their merits for instructional purposes and employed both verbal and visual riddles, for which they claimed relationship with the hieroglyph and, by extension, the new-fangled emblems.[11] Although *énigmes* were sometimes written in prose, verse form – usually the sonnet – was more common. The author of a 1638 edition of numerous enigmas, the Abbé Charles Cotin,[12] traced them throughout Greek and Roman times citing examples from Josephus, Herodot, Plutarch or even from the Bible. In two programmatic introductions, he discussed the proper subject matter of an enigma and excluded vulgarity and religious subjects – the latter in themselves obscure enough and not suited for the intended readership in the salons. In line with Aristotle's *Poetics,* he stressed that the enigma gives pleasure while at the same time both the visual and the verbal *énigmes* exercise the mind; it is the "deferred clarity," as Nicholas Cronk has called it, that "helps account for the reader's (transitory) pleasure."[13] This notion of a deferred clarity was Cotin's subterfuge in an era that witnessed an increased condemnation of poetic obscurity since the dogma of clarity began to gain the upper hand, as Pierre de Deimier, a contemporary of Malherbe, stated in his 1610 poetic treatise: "L'obscurité est un des plus grands vices qui se treuvent en la Poësie."[14]

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[7] Lachèvre, *Recueils* (see f.n. 2), 212–213.

[8] For the following overview see Nicholas Cronk, "The Enigma of French Classicism: A Platonic Current in Seventeenth-Century Poetic Theory." *French Studies* XL (1986), 269–286, here 270–271.

[9] See Archer Taylor, *The Literary Riddle before 1600.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California Press, 1948, 108–111, 7.

[10] Charles Fontaine, *Odes, énigmes et épigrammes.* Lyon 1557. The second collection was published by A. D. V. [Antoine de Verdier], *Questions énigmatiques, recréatives et propres pour deviner et y passer le temps aux viellées des longues nuicts.* Lyon 1568, 1583.

[11] Jennifer Montagu, "The Painted Enigma and French Seventeenth-Century Art." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968), 307–335, here 307–309.

[12] Charles Cotin, *Recveil des Enigmes de divers Autheurs, et leur explication.* 3 parts. Paris: P. David 1638, also titled *Recveil des énigmes de ce temps* (again in 3 parts). Paris: Quinet 1638, re-issued in Paris in 1646, 1655, 1658, 1661, and in other locations. The Biblical reference is to the riddle that Samson proposed to the Philistines (*Judges,* 14).

[13] Cronk, "The Enigma" (see. f.n. 8), 273–275.

[14] Pierre de Deimier, *L'Academie de l'art poëtique.* Paris: Jean de Bordeaulx 1610, quoted in Montagu, "The Painted Enigma" (see f.n. 11), 307.

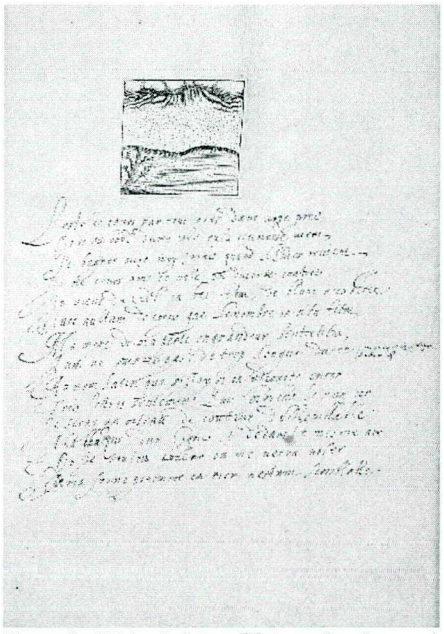

Figure 2: "Neige." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

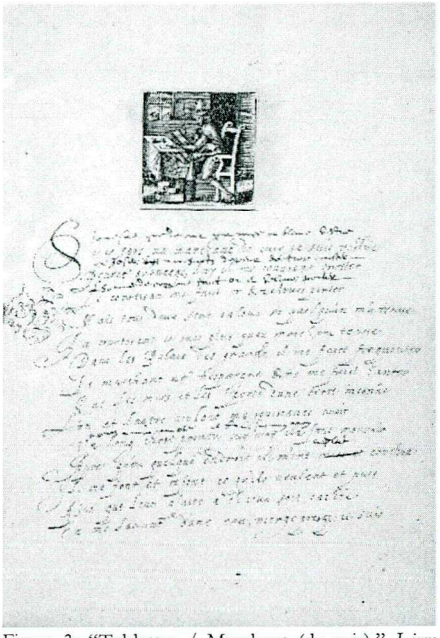

Figure 3: "Tablettes / Marchant (de cuir)." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny*

IV. Theoretical Analysis of the *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny*

Returning to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript after this brief overview of the genre of the French *énigme* and taking into consideration the title of this collection, we should assume that the 26 sonnets accompanying the small engravings do indeed contain such enigmas. This is not always the case, though. While Fonteny does incorporate *énigmes* in a number of the poems without overtly identifying them as such, there are only a few sonnets that explicitly invite the reader to find a solution for what appears to be a two-part riddle.[15] The most interesting of these enigmas occurs in the fifteenth poem (fol. 16 r, Figure 2) penned under an illustration of a bleak winter landscape with a barren tree on which snow is falling – appropriately titled "*neige*" in the index on the last page.

L'ésté ie cours par tout ores dans une pree
Ores au bord dune isle ou | la ieunesse uient
Se bagner auec moy, mais quand l'hiuer revient
Je ne cours ains ie uole en diuerse contree [Huguet : ains – mais (plutôt)
Je uiens du Ciel ca [ça] bas tout de blanc acoustree [H: bien disposé, arrangé, préparé
Auec aultam [autant] de corps que le | nombre on n'en tiene
Ma mere de ma perte en | grandeur s'entretiene,

[15] See Marcel Bernasconi, *Histoire des Énigmes.* «Que sais-je?», No. 1087. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1964, "Classification des jeux d'esprit," pp. 42–45. According to this classification, the two-part riddle posed in sonnet 15 is a *logogriphe* (Bernasconi's # 4) with the newly created word having a greater number of letters than the word initially sought.

Aussi ne suis-ie pas de trop longue duree [*marginal addition hard to decipher*: mon royaume [?] de [?] quelques lieux [?] est [?]
9 Au nom Latin que si J | ay si on adiouste encor
Trois lettres seulement qui forment le nom cor
Je seray un oiseau de couleur dissemblable.
12 A la blancheur d | un Cigne et dedans le mesme air
Ou je voulois couler on me uerra uoler
De ma forme premiere en rien n[?] estam [étant] semblable.

After having characterized the clouds that accompany young bathers in the summer and move to different lands in the winter, the poet introduces the only riddle in the entire collection for which he invites reader participation, a two-part *énigme*. It is worked into the couplet that precedes the third quatrain: First the reader has to adjust only three letters in the Latin word sought, the word for (masses of) snow, which is *nix, nivis* (but there is a Middle French form of *nyvyer,* "grande quantité de neige tombée à la fois," which works better).[16] The second part of the riddle requires the reader to adjust the three letters that form the root of the word, which produces the term for a bird "of a dissimilar color," as the text suggests, namely *nivereau* (m; or *niverolle,* f), the snow finch *(pinson de neige).*

When we consider that this is one of only two specific verbal riddles in the entire collection and that there certainly is not an *énigme* worked into every one of the remaining sonnets, are we to conclude that the overall title of the manuscript, *Livre d'Enigmes,* is a misnomer or that it was chosen in order to ride the crest of this new genre? The alphabetical index at the end of the manuscript (fol. 45 r) may provide a twofold answer: Its primary purpose, of course, is a more precise identification of the subject matter of each of the 44 engravings, although there not always is as clear and smooth a match between the engraving, the sonnet, and the title as had been the case with the example just analyzed, with "*neige.*" The first manuscript page, for instance (fol. 2 r, Figure 3) presumably shows a merchant keeping his books and writing on a tablet, but instead of listing the "*marchant (de cuir)*" identified in the first line of the sonnet, the index zeroes in on this detail when it has "*tablettes,*" (erasable) writing pads using beeswax. This is not the only example of its kind, which turns the index listings into more of an essential solution to the visual and verbal riddles than one might have thought.

Apart from this primary reason for the index listings, there is a secondary one which relates more directly to the purpose of this conference: While the bipartite arrangement of each manuscript page that carries an engraving and a sonnet could be seen as para-emblematic, the inclusion of the respective index entry in our considerations brings this collection much closer into the fold of emblematics proper. In the early 1600s, theoreticians began to stress the proximity of enigmas with emblems (and hieroglyphs, for that matter), a relationship that best shows in Claude-François Ménestrier's overview at the end of the century in his 1694 work, *La Philosophie des images énigmatiques, où il est traité des énigmes, hiéroglyphiques, oracles, prophéties* [...].[17] Both the enigma and the emblem, theoreticians stated in reference to earlier Neo-Platonists, were exempla of veiled expressions, and while Cotin is the only enigmatic theorist to cite Plato in his defense, the later Ménestrier refers more specifically to St. Augustine, whose major works had become accessible in French translations in the 17th century. While the actual set-up of Fonteny's manuscript pages thus does not follow the tripartite arrangement of an emblem proper, the incorporation of the 26 relevant "solutions" listed in the index – which, as I have tried to show above, often relate ra-

[16] Walther v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Basel: Zbinden, Vol. 7, 1955, 156–157. The only multi-volume dictionary listing *nivereau* and *niverelle* is Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française.* Paris: Gallimard, Hachette, Vol. 5, 1957, 742.

[17] Lyon: Guerrier; Baritel 1694; Paris: Veuve Daniel Horthemels 1694. For the following see Cronk, "The Enigma" (see f.n. 8), 278–281.

ther obliquely to both engraving and sonnet – complete the para-emblematic set-up of this manuscript even more. Last not least, the proximity to emblem materials becomes even more evident when we look at a number of illustrations that have clear emblematic sources, such as no. 3, a boy knocking down nuts from a tree (Figure 4); a spider in its web (fol. 24 r, Figure 5), or a swan by a pond (fol. 11 r, Figure 6).

Figure 4. "Noix." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

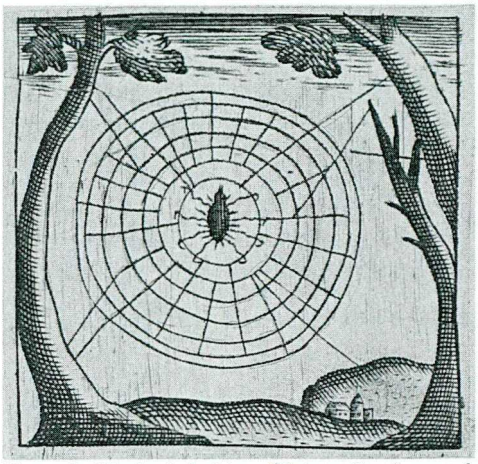

Figure 5: "Araignée." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

V. Analysis of Several *Énigmes* Relating to the Conference Theme of "Law and Order"

There are at least five instances where themes relate to legal and cosmic order through their visual and verbal illustrations although their one-word index listings can hardly convey such connotations. Their themes are taken from Greek or Roman mythology; they narrate the impact of punishments various gods – creating their own "laws" and engaging in often petty revenge actions – meted out among humans.

V. 1. Let us begin with "*cigne*" [cygne] (fol. 11 r, Figure 6). The text reads as follows:

Autresfois ie regne dedans | la Ligurie
Comme roy, maintenant par un hazard changé
Je me suis dans | les eaus en seurete logé
Du feu du Ciel encor redoutant la furie
Lors que ie veis [vis] finir la courte seigneurie
Ou Phaëton s | estoit temeraire ~~loge~~ erige [érigé]
Mon esprit de douleur fut long tant affligé
Que ie prray le Ciel ~~eut pitie de ma grand~~[2] de voir ma fascherie
~~Je devins Oyseau blanc dont Apollon faict cas~~
Pitoiable il la veit [voit] et me feit estre oiseau
Qui a le plumail blanc le col long le chant beau
Phœbus sur tous m | estime & des Dieus [!] le | grand maistre
Pour iouir de Léda se feit tel que ie suis
Par ce qui sort de moy les scauants peuuent mettre
En lumiere leur nom et eclairer leurs nuicts[.]

In what appears to be a rather straightforward mythological account, the sonnet narrates the fate of Leda – identified in the last quatrain –, the daughter of the Aetolian King Thestus and wife of King Tyndareus of Sparta. Her rape by Zeus, who approached her in the guise of a swan, is glossed over and called a "hasard." As if to reinforce the notion of the fury of the gods, a second mythological strand is introduced, that of Phaëton, who was elevated to the skies in the form of a swan after having been killed by the same Zeus who raped Leda when Phaëton lost control over his father Helios's chariot of the sun. Leda, terrified by Phaëton's fate, finally resorted to pleading with the gods, who transformed her into a swan; as such she is admired by Phœbus, also known as Apollo.

Well into the last quatrain, the author twice refers to the laws – or lawlessnesses – of the Greek gods, once when he only alludes to Leda's rape, which brought about a momentous change in her life and ended in her seeking refuge in the seas, the second time to the fate of Phaëton who incurred Zeus's wrath for having misguided the chariot of the sun. The unifying element in these two mythological strands is the figure of the swan into which Leda was transformed here on earth while Phaëton was immortalized in the skies in this constellation. As if to emphasize the eternal strife among the gods, Fonteny introduces what appears to be a vindication of Leda: Not only does her re-incarnation result in the supreme beauty of her white feathers and neck, but also in her beautiful song. And then – much in line with the overall theme of the *énigme* – the author adds another dimension to the swan's beauty when he works in a riddle in the last two lines: Even in death, Phœbus/Apollo has mankind benefit from the swan's beauty. It is not too difficult to solve the imbedded enigma: From a swan's remains, learned men can use the once so beautiful feathers to sign their names (to this day, swan quills are the strongest conventional writing instruments) and swan oil to illuminate their nights.

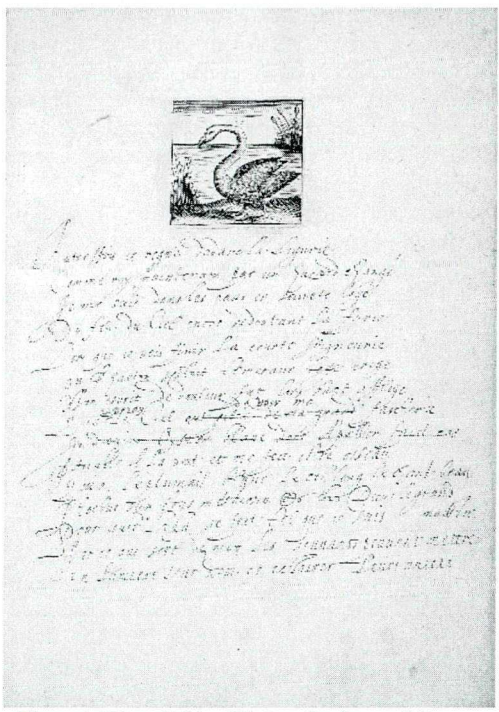

Figure 6: "Cigne." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

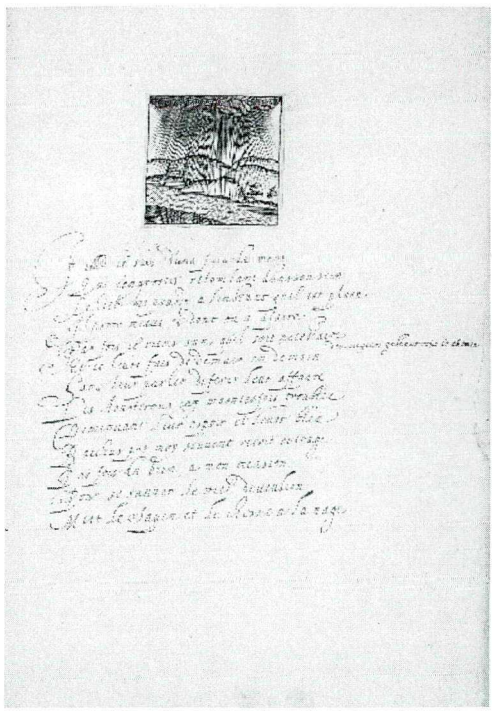

Figure 7: "Pluye." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

V. 2. In an engraving very close to that of the snows falling (Figure 2), rain ("*pluye*") is coming down from black skies on a hilly landscape and a river (fol. 17 r, Figure 7) – which, like the winter image, is not an intrinsically emblematic illustration. Keeping the theme of law and order in mind, let us have a look at the 16th sonnet:

1 Fille ie suis d'une fuiarde mere
Que i'engrossis retombant dans | son | sein
Le Ciel me pousse, a l | instant qu | il est plain.
Il porte mieus ce dont on a afaire
5 Par fois ie viens sans qu'il soit necessaire
Et ie leurs [!] fais de demain en demain [marginal insert, line skipped during copying]: des uoiageurs gastant tout le chemin
Sans leur parler diferer leur affaire.
9 Les Aousterons i | ay maintesfois troublez
Diminuant leur espoir et leurs blez
Bacchus par moy souuent recoit [reçoit] outrage
12 Par fois du bien, a mon occasion
Pour se sauuer le viel deucalion [Deucalion]
Meit [mit] le sapin et le chesne a la nage[.]

In this poem, Fonteny couches the birth and re-birth of the earth god in enigmatic language: In the first quatrain, the riddle consists of allusions to Greek mythology; the readers are called upon to recognize Gaia, the earth goddess, who gave birth to Uranus. In nightly rapes, Uranus visited Gaia, and his seeds produced all the seas, lakes, and rivers. In the second quatrain, Fonteny leaves the language of the riddle behind and has "*la pluye*" – one of Gaia's offspring – narrate how rain, without any regard for the needs of humans, spoils their travels. Even worse, in August rain lessens their hopes for a good harvest. To complicate matters further, rains even offend the god Bacchus and his crops although the god of wine sometimes profits from seasonally needed precipitation. In the last quatrain, Fonteny alludes to the ancient myth of the flood and introduces the Greek account in which Deucalion responded to the floods that Zeus unleashed upon mankind by heeding his father Prometheus's warnings and building an ark, thus "setting firs and oak trees afloat," as the last line of the sonnet suggests, and outwitting the torrents of rain for nine days before landing his ark on top of a Greek mountain.

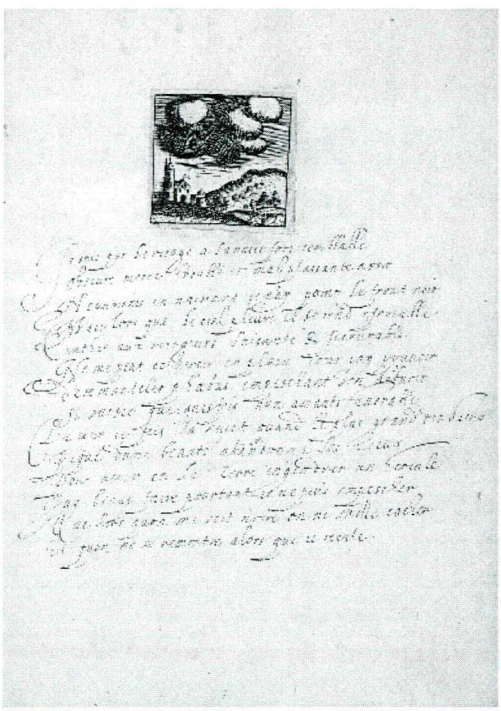

Figure 8: "Nuee." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

The reference to the theme of this conference can be seen in the Greek account of the flood, which comes into play when Deucalion is forewarned of Zeus's revenge on the Pelasgians for their barbaric acts, which caused Zeus to mete out widespread punishment in a flood and thereby undertake the cleansing of the earth. Contrary to the

previous sonnet, where Zeus is seen as a vengeful, unpredictable god, he is shown here as the guardian of human dignity. The flood actually is a means of restoring law and order on earth – with the help of "*la pluye.*"

V. 3. A third engraving – after the snow and rain images – emphasizes the power of nature: In what appears to be a partially lit night scene, white, puffy clouds give way to dark, ominous formations that threaten a church and a few houses by a small, tree-lined river (fol. 20 r, Figure 8). The index reference to this scene is appropriately "*nuee,*" an older term for *nuages*, clouds. The 19th sonnet reads:

1 Je suis par le visage a la | nuict fort semblable
Obscure morne troublé et mal plaisante a | voir
Neaumoins en naissant ie n'ay point le front noir
Mais | lors que le ciel pleure il | se rend efroiable[.]
5 Cinthie aux voiageurs luisante & secourable
Ne me peut eclaircir en plain iour i | ay pouuoir
D'emmanteler phœbus [!] empeschant son debvoir
Si suis[-]ie quelquesfois aux amants fauorable
9 Du iour ie feis la nuict[.] [Q]and le plus grand des dieux
Piqué d | une beauté abandonna les Cieux
Pour uenir en la terre engendrer un Hercule
12 J | ay beaux [sic] faire[.] [P]ourtant ie ne puis empescher
Que lors qu | on me voit noire on ne s'aille cacher
Et qu | on ne se remontre alors que ie recule.

In the first quatrain, the narrating clouds suggest that their ominously dark nocturnal appearance is not their original color; only when the skies are filled with moisture do they take on such a frightening look. The clouds explain how Cynthia, the moon, cannot lend her rays to illuminate the earth during the day, when the clouds sometimes undercut Phœbus's light bringing task. In a charming aside, the clouds then explain that they sometimes favor young lovers by darkening the skies for them. They mustered all their powers to turn day into night when Zeus came down from the heavens to seduce Alcmene and thus create Hercules. And while the clouds may have been successful in facilitating such a dalliance by the gods, they regretfully admit to their limitations as far as ordinary men are concerned since these no longer go into hiding when they see threatening black formations – and consequently do not have to come out of their refuge when the clouds disappear.

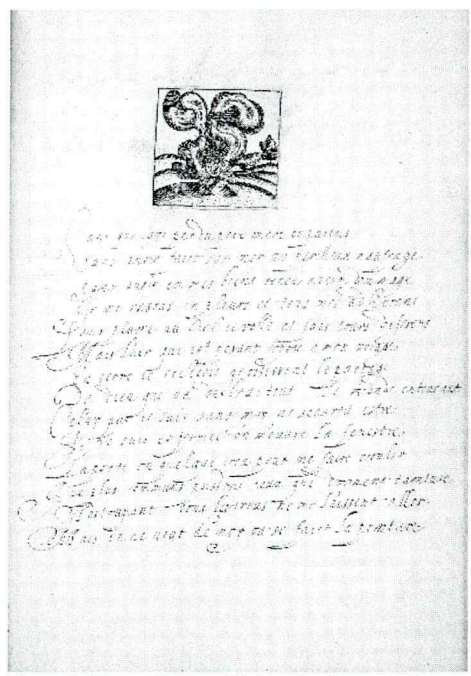

Figure 9: "Fumee." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

In this sonnet, nature's powers to impose its will and order are strangely curtailed: While the clouds can indeed facilitate young lovers' tryst and can act on orders from Zeus by temporarily suspending the sequence of night and day, they no longer exert enough power over ordinary humans to instill ungodly fear in them. Men have

learned to live with the threat of nature and will no longer be terrorized by threatening clouds – nature (acting at times on behest of the gods) cannot indiscriminately impose its order on mankind any longer, sonnet 16 seems to suggest.

V. 4. Yet another engraving deals with elemental powers, namely fire and even more the resulting smoke, with smoke rising from a wood fire in the countryside – but instead of billowing straight up smoke is shown in a rather twisted, curled fashion (fol. 26 r, Figure 9). Once again this kind of illustration is known from emblematics, but it takes sonnet 25 to clarify the full meaning of the billows of smoke, the "*fumee*," which is how the index lists the page:

1 Sans que i'aye perdu | pere mere ou | parens
Sans auoir faict sur mer un perilleux naufrage
Sans auoir en mes biens receu aucun dommage
Je me resous en pleurs et tous mes adherens
5 Sans plume au Ciel je volle et fais tours diferens
Mais l'aer qui est pesant s'opose a mon voiage
En terre ie recheois grossissant le partage
Du dieu qui ua des bras tout le monde entourant
9 Celuy par ie suis [sais?] sans moy ne scauroit estre.
Si je suis enfermee on m'ouure la fenestre
La | porte ou quelque trou pour me faire ecouler
12 Aux plus communs poissons ceux qui donnent tainture [?]
M'estoupant tous | les trous ne me laissent aller. [H: boucher, fermer]
Mais on ne ueut de moy ou se faict la peinture.

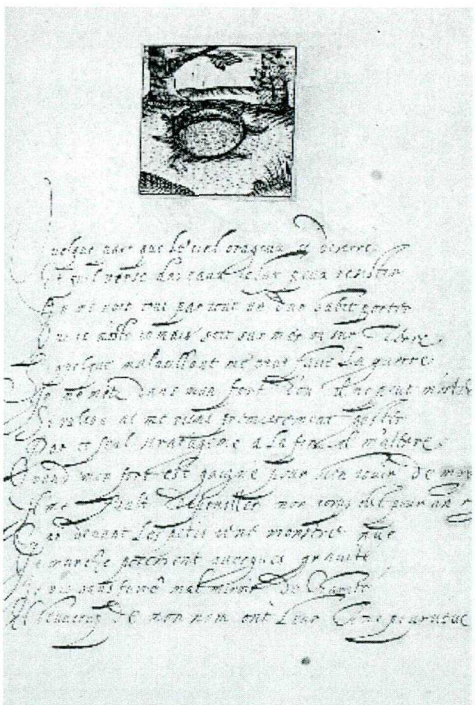

Figure 10: "Tortue." *Livre d'Enigmes Par Jacques de Fonteny.*

In the opening quatrain, smoke – "*fumee,*" the narrator – deplores its plume being rejected by the heavens above although smoke had otherwise been spared many earthly hardships and had been treated kindly by fate. But heavy air hinders the free passage of the smoke plumes to the heavens even though on earth fire and smoke are reaping all the benefits of a god (the unnamed Vulcan), who could not exist without their help. We then learn how smoke is driven out of people's homes and how it was even prevented from participating in the August 23 Vulcanalia celebrations, when live fish were thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to Vulcan. As if all of this were not enough of an insult, the sonnet ends by deploring that smoke is not wanted in the painters' ateliers either.

For the modern reader not deeply steeped in ancient myths, this is one of the more difficult poems in the collection, and it is so enigmatic that both the engraving and the index listing can only provide partial help: The sonnet mostly defines the qualities of smoke – which is always connected with fire and thus associated with one of the elemental powers – in negative terms. Solely one god – who can be identified as Vulcan – shares his wealth with fire and smoke

as he depends on them, while humans ban smoke from their homes and curtail it at festivities. In this light, the fire in the engraving may well represent a sacrificial offering whose downward spiraling plumes of smoke would indicate that the gods, or Vulcan, did not accept the sacrifice. Ultimately the narrator leaves the question unanswered as to which laws or decisions might cause the gods to reject such a possible offering as not acceptable.

V. 5. The last set of engravings and sonnets marks the end of the commented pages; there are nine more illustrations without poems left in the collection. The index listing – "*tortue,*" the turtle – clearly identifies the subject; a (land) turtle crosses a sandy spot in the shade of trees (fol. 35 r, Figure 10). Beyond that, however, the sonnet is again highly enigmatic, filled with riddles. More than other poems, it is written in an exquisite hand and bears no corrections:

Quelque part que le ciel orageux se deserre
Et qu'il verse des eaux ie luy peux resister
On me uoit tout partout un dur habit porter
Que ie n'oste iamais soit sur mer ou sur terre
Si quelque malueillant me veut faire la guerre
Je me metz dans mon fort d'ou [où] il ne peut m'oster
Si vulcan [!] ne me vient premierement gaster
Par ce seul stratageme a la fin il m'aterre
Quand mon fort est gaigné pour bien iouir de moy
Il me fault depouiller[.] mon corps est pour un roy
Car deuant les petis une monstre nûe
Je marche posement auecques grauité
Je vis sans faire mal miroir de charité
Et beaucoup de mon nom ont leur Ame pourueue[.]

Once again, the speaker of the sonnet is its subject, "*la tortue.*" The turtle informs us that both on land and in the water it never sheds its protective shell; it withdraws under it when danger approaches. Only Vulcan can overturn and conquer the turtle. Once overcome one can enjoy it after it has been emptied out. Its shell is indeed worthy of kings. Children see it as a monstrous cloud. It moves with dignity, lives like a mirror of charity, does not harm anyone, and many people have their souls saved with its name.

This summary glosses over some of the enigmas that puzzle the reader. As so often, the first quatrain introduces the subject in rather straightforward ways and shows the turtle as a symbol of determinedness, patience, and ability to navigate through life. It takes Vulcan with his "singular stratagem" (l. 8) to throw the turtle down (he probably overturns it), which presents a first difficulty. It is also not clear why the tortoise would appear as a "monstrous cloud" to young children (l. 11), and the last line introduces one final riddle: "Many people have their souls saved with my name." Since turtle shells allegedly protected men, this could be a reference to amulets made of tortoise shells to guard the souls. While not all the *énigmes* have been solved in this sonnet, it is clear, though, that it is once again a god who alone can interfere with life on earth and in this instance threaten the existence of a peaceful, symbolic animal – once more, the laws of the gods wreak havoc here on earth, as we have seen in three out of the preceding four sonnets.

VI. Closing Remarks

The analysis of five of the 26 illustrated sonnets in Fonteny's *Livre d'Enigmes* focused more on the verbal than the visual representations of legal and cosmic order in this 17th-century manuscript. It became clear that such order was imposed on man and nature by the Greek and Roman gods, and in three out of the five poems the various decisions made by these gods were highly arbitrary

and whimsical. Shakespeare's line from *King Lear* comes to mind, "As flies to wanton boys, are we to gods; / They kill us for their sport" (IV, 1, 43–44).

There are two instances when the gods – in both cases Zeus himself – act out of responsibility and uphold what might be called law and order: The one example is Zeus's smiting of Phaëton with a thunderbolt when Helios's son lost control over his father's chariot of the sun, which could be seen as such an act of wantonness had there not been Zeus's justifiable concern that the wayward chariot might destroy the earth. And a second act in which Zeus acted out of justifiable wrath and upheld what may be termed eternal ethical laws can be found in the Greek account of the flood: Having had to witness the cannibalistic behavior of the Pelasgians, he vowed to annihilate them with torrential rains that ultimately flooded the land, a deluge that also cleansed the earth and ended the Bronze Age.

In these two accounts – in the sonnets indexed as "*pluye*" and "*cygne*" – we can see that the gods did at times uphold what one might call human dignity or law and order on earth or in the universe although these rare acts cannot fully detract from the frequent arbitrariness and even wantonness in their dealings with humans – and for that matter with each other.

All images are the courtesy of Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

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Lubomír Konečný

Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *La Justice et la Vengeance divine poursuivant le Crime* and the Emblem Tradition

The picture which is the subject of this paper, Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* (Figure 1), can without exaggeration be extolled as an icon of French justice (Weston 1975; L 1986; Kirchner 1991; L 1998, 222–32). Dated 1808, the painting is today to be found in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. In clarifying and interpreting the genesis of Prud'hon's composition we are helped by three texts and a number of preparatory sketches both for the picture as a whole and for some of its individual figures.

So far as the theme is concerned, a key testimony is provided by a recollection by Charles Blanc from the year 1842 (L 1986, 14)[1]:

> One day, as Prud'hon was dining at his table, M. Frochot talked to him about a picture for the criminal courtroom [*la salle de la cour criminelle*] and during the conversation recited this verse from Horace: "Raro antecedentem scelestum / Deseruit Poena [...]". He had still not finished when Prud'hon rose from the table and, with the permission of the Prefect, retired to the latter's study, where with a pen he sketched on paper the composition [which...] he had in mind. With his inner vision he saw Crime pursued by *antecedentem scelestum* and a flying Justice. In a mere quarter of an hour he had outlined the figures and their gestures, and sketched roughly the way the light fell in the picture. He then brought the drawing back to M. Frochot, who was surprised and captivated by it.

Figure 1: Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime [La Justice et la Vengeance divine poursouivant le Crime]* (1804–08). Paris, Musée du Louvre. From: Laveissiere 1986, 41, Figure 23.

[1] References to the original of Blanc's information are given in L 1986, 111, notes 2 and 3.

Prud'hon's host was Nicolas-Thérese-Benôit Frochot, who in the years 1800–1812 was the Prefect of the Département of the Seine and thus the person who had the authority to commission a picture for the criminal court (today the superior court) at the Palais de Justice in Paris. It was intended that Proud'hon's "Allegory of Justice" should take the place of the picture of the Crucifixion in the Palais, which had been removed from the courtroom during the Revolution (but later reinstated under the Restoration) and replaced by the single word *Loi* [Law]. To put it briefly: according to Charles Blanc, the Prefect Frochot recommended the theme for the painting when he quoted Horace's verses (*Ode* 3, part 2, lines 31–32): "Raro antecedentem scelestum / deseruit Poena claudo [Punishment with her lame foot rarely forsakes the fleeing criminal]". The composition itself is described only in broad outline and without details. The main difficulty with Blanc's "recollection" is that it cannot be verified and is not dated. From which the question necessarily arises: when was Prud'hon's painting actually commissioned?

By contrast, we do have the dates for two letters by Prud'hon that relate to the painting. On 30 April 1805 the artist wrote to the Prefect (L 1998, 224):

> [The goal is] to represent at the same time victims, judges, and culprits, and to depict these objects with expressive force that gives the soul a shock [...]. Imbued with this idea, but little satisfied with what history has left us on this subject, which in any case would consist only of obscure or obsolete facts, I concentrated on the nature of the thing itself to fill all the requirements and produce the strongest painting. It has always existed, belongs to all peoples, is self-evident and self-explanatory, and presents at once cause and its effect. Imagine the embodiment of public Vengeance, Nemesis with her vulture-like wings, whose mission is to pursue criminals, and drag Crime and Villainy before the court! Justice, armed with a sword, and flanked by Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, unflinchingly pronounces the death sentence. The bloodstained victim of Crime, a knife in her breast, lies motionless on the very steps of the court, in front of the eyes of the murderer, who quakes with fear and horror!

Prud'hon's proposal for the same painting in a letter dated 24 June 1805 is somewhat different (L 1998, 227):

> Justice pursues Crime without respite; it will never escape. In a wild and lonely place, greedy Crime murders his Victim under cover of darkness, steals his gold, and glances backward to see if the Victim could still betray his foul deed. The fool! He does not see that Nemesis, that formidable agent of Justice, swoops down on him like a vulture on its prey, pursues him, and will seize him to turn him over to her inflexible companion.

A comparison of these two texts calls out for clarification both of their chronology and of their relationship to the painting in the Louvre and the preparatory work for it. The third text was written on 24 June 1805, but it describes a different picture from the text written on 30 April of the same year. The most probable explanation, therefore, is that "the artist originally submitted two proposals, each making notably different use of the same cast of [...] characters: Justice (Themis), Divine Vengeance (Nemesis), Crime, and the Victim" (L 1998, 222).

The first proposal is documented by three drawings showing how Prud'hon developed and modified his composition (L 1986, 20–21; L 1998, 227). Its basic elements, however, remained the same. It portrays Themis, the goddess of law and order (with a sword and scales), looking down from her throne on Nemesis dragging Crime and Villainy by the hair (in the Patit Palais version, only Crime). She is surrounded by personifications of Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, which together with her form the group of four cardinal virtues of Christian iconography. At the foot of the throne lies the dead body of a woman and her child.

Prud'hon's second proposal is known from three studies of the overall picture, from which leads the path to the final painting (L 1986, 33–48; L 1998, 226–32). Its iconography corresponds to how the artist described the proposal in his letter of 24 June 1805 to Prefect Frochot which

we quoted earlier: Justice, armed with a sword, pursues Crime, who has murdered his victim for gain and is now fleeing with the latter's money pouch. But he will not escape, for at any moment he will be seized by Nemesis, "cette agente terrible de la Justice", who is equipped with a torch.

It has been very aptly observed that "these [two] compositions seem to come from different worlds" (L 1998, 222). *Themis and Nemesis* comes from the classical tradition; it has "a classical order and grandeur, but it remains abstract; it would have worked better as a statue group or a relief than a painting" (L 1998, 224). No doubt it is for this reason that the origin of this severe, hieratic composition has been sought in the works of Raphael and his school. By contrast, *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* is characterised by a dynamic conception; it is an allegorical drama played out in a sinister nocturnal landscape, dimly lit by the light of the moon. If we take into account all these differences in conception and execution, it is more than surprising that both drafts were created more or less at the same time – as is indicated by texts 2 and 3 dated 30 April and 24 June 1805. In addition, we should mention a letter by Prud'hon dated 5 November 1804 and addressed to his mistress, the painter Constance Mayer. In it, the artist informs her that Frochot had approved his proposal for the painting two days earlier, but with the proviso that "instead of the shoulders and averted head of the corpse, it would be preferable to see the chest and face" (L 1998, 226) – and this is the motif that we find in the second proposal, which must therefore have already existed in some form by the end of 1804.

The preceding analysis has shown that Prud'hon's *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* is an extremely original work, but in my view it would be an exaggeration to say that "The scene he ultimately depicted eschews any idea of tradition, [...] (L 1998, 222)." This is in any case refuted by the assertion by Charles Blanc, quoted above, that the theme of the picture was inspired by two verses by Horace. And here we come to the heart of the matter. Quintus Horatius Flaccus was not only one of the most famous Roman poets, but also one of those who most inspired subsequent generations. This Horatian inspiration is to be seen not only in a whole series of later poems, especially Renaissance and baroque ones, but also in a number of Horatian elaborations in other literary genres than strictly poetical ones. A significant place among them is occupied by emblematics and books of emblems. And an outstanding work among the books of emblems inspired by Horace is one by the Flemish humanist and painter Otto van Veen (Otto Vaenius), the teacher of Rubens, who first published his emblematic tribute to Horace in Antwerp in 1607: *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata* (Praz 1964, 523–524). Many further editions, translations and revisions of this book followed, and it served as a model for poets and painters from Brazil to Sweden.[2]

When looking through Vaenius's book it is impossible to overlook an emblem with the inscription CULPAM POENA PREMIT COMES

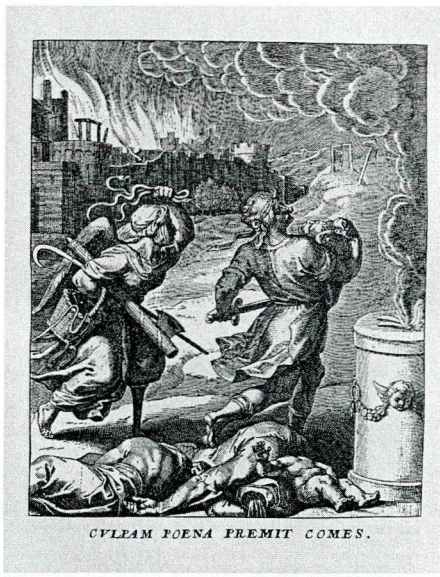

Figure 2: Otto Vaenius, *Q. Horatii Flaci Emblemata* (Antwerp 1607), 181, no.21: "Culpam poena premit comes"

[2] There is an extensive bibliography of secondary literature dealing with this book and its impact on early modern visual arts, of which I here refer only to several most important and/or recent titles: Gerards Nelissen 1971, Glendinning 1976, Forster 1981, Sebastián López 1983, Moffitt 1995, 35–36, Bath 1997, Kandt 2000, McKeon 2003 and 2006.

["Punishment comes in the footsteps of guilt"] (Figure 2), taken from Horace's *Ode* 4 (Vaenius 1607, 180–81, no. 20). Its *imago* or *pictura* shows a criminal with a drawn sword and a severed woman's head, fleeing from a lame woman with wings. The woman carries under her right arm a basket containing a bridle, fasces and a walking stick, while with her left hand she chases the fleeing villain with a scourge of snakes. Needless to say, this scene instantly recalls Prud'hon's picture for the Palais de Justice – the more so because a further quotation from Horace cited by Vaenius consists of the same verses from *Ode* 3. 2, which Frochot suggested to Prud'hon as the basic idea for his picture. Moreover, in this context the Flemish author also quotes a similar saying by Valerius Maximus on the inexorability of divine punishment: "Divine wrath proceeds to vengeance with slow step; but it makes up for its slowness with its severity."

There are a number of other similarities between the painting and the emblem, such as the victim in the foreground, but also more than one difference. In particular, there is no wooden leg with the figure of Justice. And furthermore: Vaenius's Crime is being pursued by only one figure and not by two (as in the painting). However, the composite figure in Vaenius's emblem simultaneously personifies Punishment (see its scourge of snakes and lameness), Vengeance or Nemesis (see the bridle in its basket), and Law (its fasces). The orientation of the two otherwise identical compositions also differs: the figures in Prud'hon's painting are moving from right to left, while on the emblem they are making their way to the right.

This difference, however, can easily be explained. In 1646 a French version of Vaenius's book was published in Paris, compiled by Marin Le Roy de Gomberville. The book does not mention Vaenius's authorship anywhere, but it reproduces all 103 *picturae* from his first edition (1607), although in a different order. However, they are printed in a mirror image of those in the *editio princeps*, and thus have the same orientation from right to left as the figures in Prud'hon's picture. The French edition reprints the same quotations from Horace and Valerius Maximus (Gomberville 1646, no. 20), and the "explanation" for the emblem in question is a translation of the text from the German version of Vaenius, which Philipp von Zessen prepared and published in Amsterdam in 1656 (38):

> All bad people are punished. Eternal justice does not spare a single one; & if hangmen put an end to the torture of the guilty, they themselves are condemned to be tortured, for they are no more innocent than the rest. The horrors of this picture announce these truths to you. Look at this burning town. Count these murdered men, women and children. Observe these gallows and these wheels. They are no less a punishment than a result of our crimes. Punishment pursues evil like a shadow pursues a body. Even if punishment lags behind; even if it does not always move so swiftly as a criminal, still it constantly pursues him; & even if it does not come for a long time, this is a certain proof that punishment reflected for a long time on the kind of torture with which it should punish those inhuman pursuers who were the instruments of divine vengeance.

There is no doubt that Prud'hon's picture is not only an icon of French justice, but also one of the key works of 19th-century French painting. Its complex genesis is proof of the fact that the artist approached the theme from various, often conflicting, viewpoints, and consulted various sources, which he then either abandoned or elaborated further. The traditions of antiquity, the Renaissance and neo-classicism all left their mark on the "static" proposal for the composition, but previous research has been unable to explain sufficiently "what prompted the radical change in Prud'hon's design" (L 1998, 222) towards the "dynamic" solution adopted for the final painting. A helping hand was provided for us, however, by the information furnished by Charles Blanc about the two verses from Horace which the prefect Frochot suggested as a "programme" for the picture intended for the Palais de Justice in Paris. And from Horace the trail led to emblematics and from there to Prud'hon's composition – not only to its iconography, but also to its visual design. However, be that as it may, *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* is an extraordinarily

effective image and as such has been often copied and referred to.[3] The attraction and inspirational character of this work lies in the fact that "The subject's allegorical treatment linked it to a Renaissance tradition regenerated by the ideals of the French Revolution. However, [...] it was not really pure allegory; the flying figures of Justice and Vengeance are indeed personifications of abstract concepts, but Crime and its Victim are portrayed as thoroughly human, the former in his guilt, the latter in his vulnerability. The idea of Justice rises above the reality of the evil act. Distilled to its essence, this image remains striking." (L 1998, 228)[4]

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[3] On this emblem book, see Pace 1976, Russell 1997, Teyssendier 1999, 2001 and 2002.

[4] As commented upon by L 1998, 222, "The extent to which this painting was copied and referred to by other artists—particularly political caricaturists—is a gauge of the extraordinary effectiveness of the image." Similarly Weston 1975, 362: "An allegorical work, the picture succeeded in combining realism and imagination to exciting and dramatic effect and it is not hard to see why Géricault, Delacroix and Daumier should all have referred to it subsequently." Accordingly we find Prud'hon's painting represented, for instance, in the background of a drawing by Honoré Daumier, in which the defending advocate is pointing to it (Maison 1968, II, pl. 249; Weston 1975, 362, Figure 40). The political potential of Prud'hon's composition is shown by an illustration of the "Franco-Russian alliance", dedicated to Bismarck and printed in the magazine *Le Forum* in March 1888. I am indebted to my Ph.D. student Petra Kolářová for having brought this image to my attention.

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Márton Szentpéteri

Temple of Encyclopaedia

A Symbol of Universal Wisdom in Johann Heinrich Alsted's Works*

History of images or pictorial images as historical sources have gained particular importance in intellectual–and–cultural history in the recent past. (See e. g. Baxandall, 1985; Haskell, 1993; Burke, 2001) One of the most tantalising issues in this respect is to better understand the special role iconographic sources play in the context of cultural products of an architectural and textual sort.[1] It has recently been discussed with increasing significance whether iconographic sources are solely illustrations to architectural and written sources or, on the contrary, whether they have their own, distinctive function in intellectual–and–cultural history. In the followings, I intend to examine a case in which textual sources seem controversial enough to turn to iconographic sources instead in order to shed more light on the exciting problem of architectural symbolism in theological and philosophical discourses in the encyclopaedic culture of the early modern era. More precisely, I plan to reconstruct some of the early modern meanings of the Temple of Solomon restored in visual representations available mostly in bibles and encyclopaedias of the age.

In general, the Temple as microcosm was long regarded as a highly impressive symbol of the perfect and ideal architecture of the universe. (See e. g. Rosenau, 1979; Naredi-Rainer, 1994;

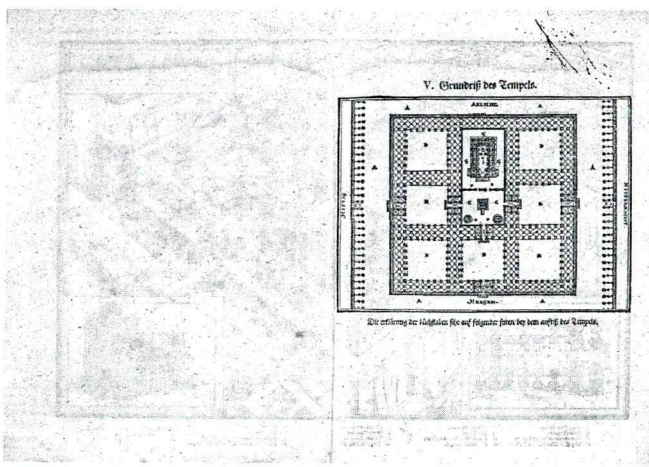

Figure 5: *Grundriß des tempels Salomonis.* Cf. *Ichnographia Templi Salomonis.* Alsted, 1620, 1593. Alsted, 1630, 2199.

* This is a shorter version of a previously published Hungarian paper (Szentpéteri, 2007). During the completion of this version I worked at Oxford as an EC Marie-Curie Intra-European Fellow (2010/2011). This research was supported by a Marie Curie Intra European Fellowship within the 7th European Community Framework Programme under grant agreement n° 254162. I wish to thank Howard Hotson for his invaluable comments and corrections.

[1] Following Umberto Eco I regard every three dimensional cultural product as architectural (Id., 1986, 57).

Miletto, 2004) The reconstructed Temple, in turn, often symbolised the new Jerusalem descending from Heaven at the end of sacred history. With respect to some 17th–century reconstructions such as that of Jan Amos Comenius, however, one has to bear in mind the restoration of the Temple as a visual representation of the millenarian idea of great instauration, and in particular, the instauration of the image of God in man.[2] It is more than presumable that in these cases we encounter late offsprings of the medieval "monastic architectural mnemonic" tradition that were almost exclusively based on the meditative use of *picturae* or *loci Tabernaculi.* (Carruthers, 1998, 212-276)

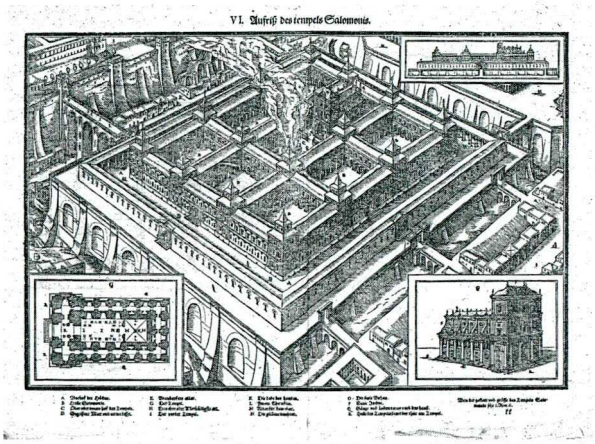

Figure 6: *Aufriß des tempels Salomonis.* Cf. *Orthographia Templi Salomonis.* Alsted, 1620, 1593. Alsted, 1630, 2199.

My concrete philological question refers to some early modern engravings reproduced in one of the most influential encyclopaedias ever published, namely, in Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Cursus philosophici Encyclopaedia*, and in its enlarged and reworked version, the *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta.* In the chapters devoted to architecture *(architectonica)* of these encyclopaedias one repeatedly encounters a ground-plan (Figure 5) and a bird's-eye view of the Temple (Figure 6) together with a *veduta*-like map of Jerusalem (Figure 4).[3] Since in these encyclopaedias such woodcuts appear very scarcely, their function must have been of particular importance, especially in the case when images were not conceived as illustrations to geometry, geography or other disciplines of natural philosophy and mathematics. My basic aim in this paper is to understand this special function.

The underlying iconographic program of the frontispiece of Alsted's 1630 encyclopaedia is now relatively clear to scholars. (See Schmidt-Biggemann, 1983, 68. Angelini, 2003, 265-266, 267, 286.) Already in its earliest form the encyclopaedia had served the intellectual program of "the

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[2] See similar conclusions with respect to Jacob Jehuda Leon Templo (Offenberg, 1988, 101). See also Popkin, 1994, 120-121; Ramírez, 1991b, 100-103 and Szentpéteri, 2007, 55-56, 70-72.

[3] "Orthographia Templi Salomonis; pertinens ad paginam 1593. sub signo ☽." (Alsted, 1620, 1593) "Orthographia Templi Salomonis; pertinens ad paginam 2199. sub signo ☽." (Alsted, 1630, 2199) "Ichnographia Templi Salomonis." (Alsted, 1620, 1593-1594) "Ichnographia Templi Salomonis." (Alsted, 1630, 2199) "Urbs Hierosolyma; pertinens ad paginam 1591. sub signo ☉." (Alsted, 1620, 1591) "Urbs Hierosolyma; pertinens ad paginam 2198. sub signo ☉." (Alsted, 1630, 2198) See also the posthumous edition (1649, 4 vol., 238).

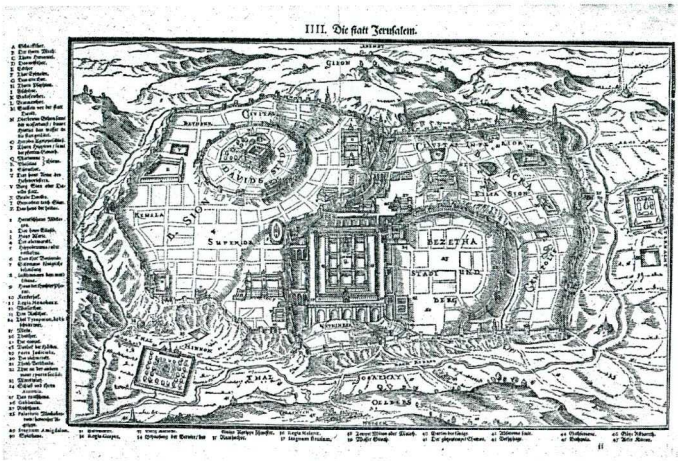

Figure 4: *Die statt Jerusalem.* Cf. *Urbs Hierosolyma.* Alsted, 1620, 1591. Alsted, 1630, 2198.

instauration of the image of God in man *(instauratio imaginis Dei ad hominem)*", the restitution of the Adamite wisdom and moral that was partially destroyed by the fall. From the second half of the 1620's on this idea took a new perspective of Alsted's Millenarian hopes, therefore the instauration apparently became an effort which could prepare or even accelerate the Second Coming of Christ, in harmony with universalistic pedagogical reforms aimed at fostering an ideal society. (Hotson, 2000; 2001, Szentpéteri, 2008) According to that book of the *Encyclopaedia* which deals with the basic principles of disciplines—entitled *Archelogia*—the major goals of the disciplines are first the "glory of God *(gloria Dei)*", then subordinated to it, the "eternal salvation of man *(salus aeterna hominis)*", and finally the *instauratio imaginis Dei.*[4] One could not find better proof of the fact that the perfect encyclopaedia was designed to serve these goals than the emblematic frontispiece itself which makes it clear when read vertically that the place of the encyclopaedia in the long run of sacred history is located between the Creation and the Second Coming. When read horizontally, it becomes apparent, on the other hand, that the encyclopaedia is driven by a certain perennial philosophy, in which piety and humanity, theological and philosophical truth respectively complements one another. Consequently, the emblematic message encoded in the frontispiece reveals that those who read through the pages of the topical encyclopaedia or wind the knowledge contained in it in a combinatorial fashion will move closer to salvation. It is particularly interesting how the frontispiece plays with the symbolic meanings of the geometrical forms. The very beginnings of sacred history are represented in a circular frame, whereas the Last Judgement at the end of the story finds its place in a rectangular frame. As I argued elsewhere—discussing the problems of *ratio circularis* and *memoria stabilis*—the circle in Alsted's symbolic geometry always refers to movement, while the rectangular relates to tranquillity. (Szentpéteri, 2008, 192-194) Here, this emblematic encoding might refer to the seventh, Sabbatical millennia of the Thousand Year Kingdom of Christ on Earth that will be the final period of tranquillity, the end of sacred history. The rectangular frame could symbolize the Heavenly Jerusalem as well,

[4] "*Omnes disciplinae suo modo faciunt ad instaurationem imaginis Dei in homine.* Nam imago Dei praecipueposita est in sapientia et justitia, seu sanitate intellectus, et sanctitate voluntatis. Jam vero propositum est omnibus disciplinis, ut alterutrum in nobis promoveant. Itaque omnes, pro sua quaeque rata, instaurant imaginem Dei, in nobis collapsam [...] Prima [causa disciplinarum] est Deus, qui imaginem suam homini comunicavit, et eam in nobis collapsam instaurat." (Alsted, 1630, 74)

as in the interpretation of the most influential early modern reconstructor of the Temple, Juan Bautista Villalpando: "[T]his is the new city descending from Heaven, which was seen by John the Evangelist; and its length, width and height was the same."[5] In the perspective provided by the frontispiece, it may not have been a simple coincidence that the reconstruction of Solomon's Temple turned up in Alsted's encyclopaedias.

In order to better understand how and why these images found their way into the encyclopaedias, one first has to locate their origins. It is now clear that the woodcuts were recycled when they first appeared in Alsted's *Cursus* in 1620. (Szentpéteri, 2007, 57) Originally they were published in an appendix to Johannes Piscator's bible translation, the famous *Piscatorbibel*.[6] (Piscator, 1602-1610) The two volume *Anhang des Herbornischen Biblischen werks* were first published in 1610 and consisted of one volume with a biblical commonplace-book and another one with a biblical chronology by Johann Jacob Hermann, a biblical numismatics by Tobias Adami and a series of seven woodcuts among which one finds the above mentioned Temple representations and the map of Jerusalem as well. Due to its pagination the chapter providing the series of woodcuts could be regarded at first sight as an illustration to Hermann's *Chronologia: Das ist Jaarrechnung oder Zeitregister.* (It is worth mentioning that Alsted's brother, Justus, delivered his *disputa* under Hermann, see Justus Alsted, 1611. See also Hotson, 2001, 17.) "Folgen die Landtafeln"—so

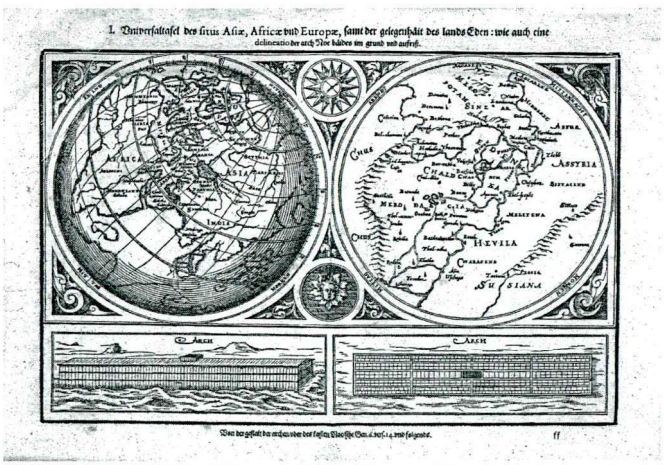

Figure 1. *Ein universal tafel des situs Asiae, Africae, und Europae, samt der gelegenheit des lands Eden, wie auch ein entwerffung der Arch Noe, baeides im grund und auffriß.* Cf. *Planisphaerium Geographicum, exhibens situm Europae, Africae et Asiae.* Alsted, 1620, 1412. Alsted, 1630, 1136.

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[5] „Haec est enim nova civitas, quam descendentem de caelo vidit Sanctissimus Ioannes Evangelista: cuius longitudo, latitudo, et altitudo aequalia sunt." Prado, Jerónimo–Villalpando, Juan Bautista, 1596–1604 [recte 1605], 2. vol., 476. See the modern edition in Spanish: Antonio Ramirez, 1991. On Villalpando in general see Taylor, 1952, 1967, 1992. Kravtsov, 2005. Alberto Pérez-Gómez, 1999. Compare Villalpando's above citation with Alsted's views on the Heavenly Jerusalem: „Quadrata figura valde convenit iis rebus, quae debent esse immota vel stabilia. *vers. 16.* [scil. *Rev*, 21. 16]". (Alsted, 1625, 160-161)

[6] The *Chronologia* and *Landtafeln* mentioned in the title of the *Piscatorbibel* is not available in the first and second editions. The first *Piscatorbibel* was actually published between 1602 and 1604, the volumes of the second edition saw the light between 1605 and 1606 and finally in 1610 the two volumes of the *Anhang* followed (Piscator, 1610). This edition was then republished in an unaltered version in 1624 (Piscator, 1624).

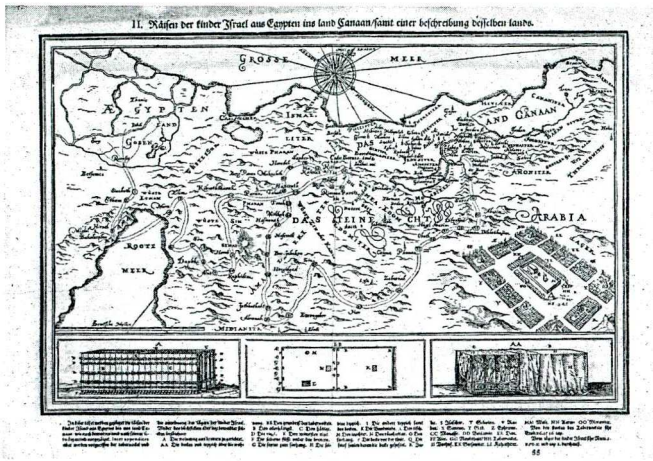

Figure 2: *Raeisen der kinder Izrael aus Egypten ins land Canaan, samt einer beschreibung desselben landes. In welcher auch ist der Tabernakel, und die anordnung des laegers der Kinder Izrael.*

begins the chapter with woodcuts on the 39th page though without pagination, and then comes the contents of the *Landtafeln* on page 40. After this comes Adami's numismatics, the *Bericht von den Münzen, deren in der H. Schrift meldung geschicht* with a completely new pagination. In so doing, the series of seven woodcuts has a clear-cut iconographic program; it summarizes the sacred history registered by Hermann's previous *Zeitregister*. The first engraving represents the globe with the Ark of Noah. (Figure 1) The second depicts the Exodus in the desert with the Tabernacle of Moses with the Jewish tribes around it. (Figure 2) The third stands for Palestine before and after the settlements of the Jews together with images of the High Priest and ritual instruments. (Figure 3) The fourth is the previously mentioned map of Jerusalem. (Figure 4) The fifth is the ground-plan of the Temple (Figure 5), the sixth (Figure 6), the above mentioned bird's eye view

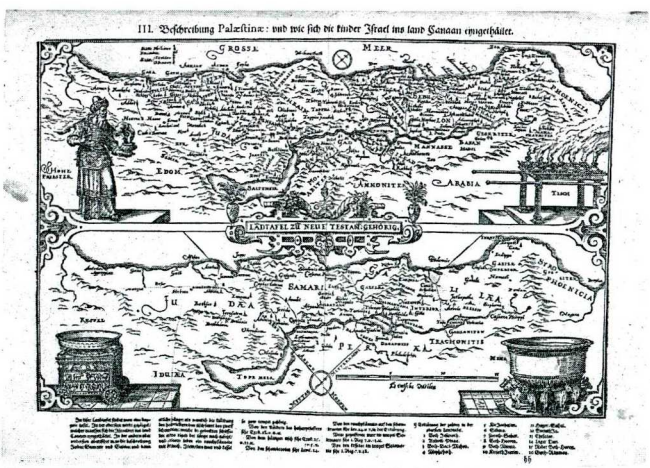

Figure 3: *Beschreibung Palaestinae: und wie sich die kinder Izrael ins land Canaan eingethaeilet. Dabei etliche anhaenge, als nemlich, die klaeidung des Hohenpriesters, der tisch samt den zwelf schawbrooten, das gegossene meer und kessel im tempel Salomonis.* Cf. *Descriptio Palaestinae.* Alsted, 1620, 1416. Alsted, 1630, 1138.

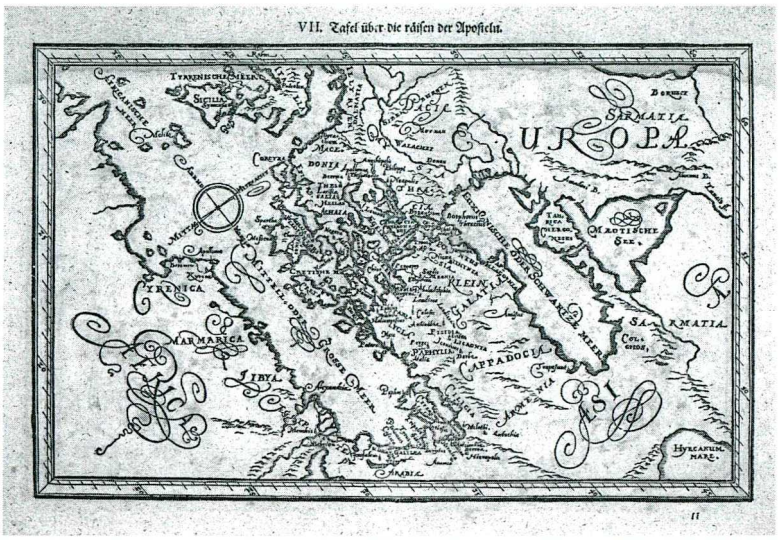

Figure 7. *Tafel ueber die raeisen der Aposteln.*Cf. *Hydrographia maris mediterranei.* Alsted, 1620, 1412. Alsted, 1630, 1136.

together with a side elevation, a ground-plan and a perspective of the sanctuary. Taken together, the series provides a kind of visual summary of the Old and New Testaments, and it is perhaps no coincidence that this series of symbolic images numbered seven. Just like the medieval *biblia pauperum*, this *Landtafeln* is also a theological aid that not only visually retells the story of the bible, but also elucidates it in a symbolic language. This is at least one possible interpretation of the *Landtafeln* to which its subtitle alludes as follows: "some maps and also other images serving to explain Holy Scripture *(etliche Landtafeln, und auch andere figuren, so zu erklaerung der H. Schrift dienlich)*". The "useful *(dienlich)*" interpretation of the *Landtafeln* could also be regarded as a memory aid by which one could visually memorize and recapitulate the salvation story. Not to mention that the direct textual context of the woodcuts is nothing else than an appendix to the *Piscatorbibel* that helps the reader to better understand the bible itself.

On six of the seven woodcuts we encounter the major topoi of biblical architecture—or to put it in Alsted's terms, the *architectura sacra*. The Ark of Noah on the *mappamundi*, the Tabernacle of Moses on the map depicting the Exodus, the map of Jerusalem and the three images of the Temple follow each other in sequence. Here we are dealing with different versions of the very same archetype: the Ark, the Tabernacle, the City and the Temple all stand for the microcosm, the miniaturized form of the universe, or as Villalpando put it following Jerome's commentary to Ezekiel, the Tabernacle and the Temple are nothing other than models, "images *(imagines)*", "resemblances *(similitudines)*" or "figures *(figurae)*" by which we can imagine the spiritual edifice of the Heavenly Temple.[7] This conception perfectly harmonizes with Villalpando's ideas concerning the particular importance of pictorial visualization in Ezekiel's vision embodied in the reconstruction of the Temple: "According to Mathematicians this vision could not be perceived

[7] "Audiant huiusmodi disputatores sanctissimum Hieronymum, qui ipsis lapidibus ac lignis, non tam templum, quam templi imaginem exstructam fuisse constanter affirmat. Moyses, inquit, in tabernaculo, et Salomon in aedificio, non veritatem tentorii et templi, sed similitudinem, figuramque fecerunt: ut per haec, quae minora sunt et terrena, ea quae in caelestibus, et in spirituali aedificio sunt, intelligere possimus." (Prado-Villalpando, 1596–1604 [recte 1605], 2. vol. 26)

without images *(Mathematicis perspectum est, sine imaginibus hanc non posse percipi visionem).*"[8] This matches the theory of one of Alsted's major precursors, the Swiss reformed theologian, Ludwig Lavater as well, according to which those obscure biblical places where Ezekiel applies "architectural terms *(verbis ad architectonicen pertinentibus)*" could be better understood *ex pictura*, that is, by means of pictorial images.[9] In these cases, one finds an elaborate theoretical differentiation between the verbal and visual forms of communication. These kinds of theoretical reflections had been common to European intellectuals since the first incunabula period of print culture. Hartmann Schedel's one folio print advertising his *Weltchronik* is telling in this respect. Schedel drew the attention of his future readers to the fact that in his world chronic they could see those things that only had been described in previous chronicles, since in his book one could not only read the flow of all times, but could also see it embodied in pictures (est ist möglich "*die Abfolge aller Zeiten nicht zu lesen, sondern leibhaftig zu schauen*"). (Schedel, [1493] 2001, 8-9) It is also true, on the other hand, that the *Landtafeln* provides an architectural mnemonic scheme which could have been used for meditative purposes as well, following the Pauline "wise master-builder" tradition still lingering on in the early modern era. (Carruthers, 1998, 16-24, 221-276)

As for the designer of the images, only partial information is available. Due to limited space here, I can only summarize my previous paper published in Hungarian stating that the seven woodcuts were most probably conceived, designed or purchased for the *Anhang des Herbornischen Biblischen werks* as early as 1605 and as late as 1610 by Christoph Rabe—Corvinus—the Herborn printer following the suggestions of the elder Piscator who is indicated on the title page as the one who presents the engravings: *Etliche Landtafeln und auch andere figuren so zu erklaerung der H. Schrift dienlich: aus angebung Johann Piscators.* (Following Schlosser and especially Bos in details see Szentpéteri, 2007, 59-60. Bos, 1932, 47-48. Schlosser, 1908, 61-63.) We do know from Heinrich Schlosser that Rabe reused these images in his quarto edition of the *Lutherbibel*, and it is also clear now that in 1620 and 1630 he recycled them into Alsted's encyclopaedias as well. What is more important to us here - and has been overlooked both by Schlosser and Bos - is the tantalising fact that the temple representations and the map of Jerusalem are clearly stemming from the Ezekiel-commentary by the Jesuit authors Villalpando and Jerónimo Prado, the most influential temple reconstruction of the early modern era published between 1596 and 1605 in Rome. (For a detailed concordance between the *Landtafeln* and the Villalpandian images cf. Szentpéteri, 2007, 76-77.) In so doing, the series of woodcuts in the *Anhang* seems to be the earliest German example of the reception of Villalpando's conception of the temple that were described by Robert Jan van Pelt as a "perfect Hermetic Christian utopia" and by René Taylor as a project influenced by millenarian ideas as well. (Jan van Pelt, 1988. Taylor, 1972) Though Jan van Pelt apparently omitted interpreting the odd combination between Hermeticism and millenarianism typical of the late Alsted, and Taylor's assumption with respect to Villalpando's possible millenarian attitude is not based on firm philological facts, one could still have a look on the *Anhang* in this perspective. The direct textual context of the seven woodcuts is not millenarian; nevertheless the *Beschluss* of Hermann's chronology is clearly of apocalyptic and eschatological sort. (Piscator, 1610, 2. vol., 38) It is also highly important for us when trying to detect the plausible intentions of the authors of

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[8] *Op. cit*, 38. To a certain extent this also answers why did Villalpando and his colleagues prepare fifteen detailed delineations of his reconstruction attached to his volume. Villalpando worked not only as exegete, but as an architect as well being a disciple of the famous Juan de Herrera and member of the *Escorial*-circle. Not by chance, the style of Villalpando's reconstruction could clearly be associated with the so called *estilo herreriano,* of which the best example is, of course, the *Escorial* itself which, by the way, so much resembles Villalpando's temple reconstruction. See Taylor, 1967; 1992. The unparalleled popularity of Villalpando's work which went well beyond confessional boundaries could also be best regarded as a result of its set of detailed pictorial documentation. See Taylor, 1967, 90.

[9] "Vix autem alius est Scripturae locus difficilior et obscurior: utitur enim Propheta verbis ad architectonicen pertinentibus, quae ex pictura melius possent intelligi." (Lavater, 1581, 197)

the *Landtafeln* that Piscator's millenarian commentary to John's Revelations first published in 1613 had been drafted by its author since 1604—that is, during the conception of the *Anhang* itself—and his commentaries to the relevant places of the bible are also of millenarian kind, among others, in the biblical commonplace-book of the *Anhang*. (Hotson, 2001, 16-17.) It is highly possible, thus, that the editor of the *Anhang* was influenced by millenarianism when conceived and finalised the appendix to his bible translation together with the seven woodcuts as well. Therefore we could state that it may not have been a simple *ad hoc* decision by Alsted and Rabe to put these images into the 1620 encyclopaedia a decade later. In order to shed more light on their possible intentions, however, we have to highlight Alsted's conception of the temple in both theological and architectural discourses.

The first publication in which one finds a brief exposition of a theory of architecture by Alsted is the *Methodus admirandorum mathematicorum* from 1613. Within it, the author ranks the temple architecture in the highest level, but as a good Reformed intellectual he nevertheless denies that the Temple of Solomon is an appropriate model for contemporary temple architects.[10] In so doing, he rejects, along with contemporary Reformed attitudes, the highly influential tradition represented by the most significant Tridentine theologian, Roberto Bellarmino. (Vogelsang, 1981, 193. On Bellarmino see Ibid., 169-171) His rejection of Bellarmino's ideas remained apparent in all the later editions of the *Methodus* (1623, 1641, 1657). That is why it is so surprising that in his 1620 encyclopaedia—in which Alsted first published the Villalpandian images of the Temple and Jerusalem originally designed for Piscator's bible project—the criticism of Bellarmino disappears from the direct textual context that repeats word by word the otherwise unchanged statements on the temple. In the chapter on *Architectonica*, Alsted republishes verbatim the passage already familiar from the *Methodus*, but instead of refuting Bellarmino, this time he states that the Temple of Solomon must be regarded as the ultimate paradigm for all sacred architecture and especially of temple architecture, since it was designed by the "wisest architect *(architectus sapientissimus)*" and has a crucial as an "image of the Kingdom of Christ *(typus regni Christi)*".[11] "That is why we present the figure of that temple here *(figuram istius templi hic tibi hanc ob causam exhibemus)*"—so continues Alsted referring to the engravings. Before stating with enthusiasm that Alsted had a "Bellarminian" paradigm shift in 1620 with respect to the temple, one has to bear in mind that in the very same year he published the *Theologia polemica* as well, in which he firmly refutes the Bellarminian conception of the temple. (Alsted, 1620b, 396-397.) Nevertheless, in his 1625 biblical encyclopaedia—entitled *Triumphus bibliorum*—he endorses again ideas so much reminding us to Bellarminianism. (Alsted, 1625, 155-163)

As for the architectural discourse, it is also highly important that Alsted republished his Bellarminian version of sacred architecture in the 1630 encyclopaedia together with the Villalpandian images. (Alsted, 1630, 2199) The *Architectonica* this time ends with an appendix arranged in points of which ten directly stem from the Jesuit Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta* summarizing the Vitruvian rules of classical architecture. The rest of the points is a mixture of Possevino and Alsted's *Triumphus bibliorum* devoted to sacred architecture, according to which the basic—Vitruvian!—principles of the perfect and ideal architecture "shine out *(elucent)*" from the Ark of Noah, the Tabernacle of Moses, the City of Jerusalem, the Temple of Solomon and the

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[10] "Hic occurrit quaestio, an ex templi Salomonici structura ratio architecturae sacrae petenda sit? Negamus, duas ob causas. 1. Quia sacrificiis erat dicatum, ideoque varia loca habebat illis destinata. 2. Quia porticus illius distinguebantur pro varietate gentium, itemque sacrificiorum. Mysticum itaque hoc templum non erit idea nostra." (Alsted, 1613, 509-510) On Alsted's matchematical views with excerpts from the *Methodus* see Crapulli, 1969, 125-143, 243-273.

[11] "*Templum Salomonis esto idea cujusque templi, et omnino aedificii splendidi.* Tametsi enim templum istud sacrificiis fuit dicatum, ideoque varia habuit loca iis destinata: negari tamen non potest, quod in eo fuerit adhibitum summum artificium: quia et a sapientissimo architecto fuit extructum, et ad eminentissimum finem fuit ordinatum, ut nempe typus esset regni Christi." (Alsted, 1620, 1593-1594)

Temple of Ezekiel. Alsted adds at the very same time, following Possevino, that these examples could not provide all the required knowledge for contemporary architects, hence one has to have firm "reasoning power *(judicium)*" to apply these examples. (Alsted, 1630, 2206. Cf. Possevino, 1603, 287) The architectural aphorisms of the *Triumphus* could shed more light on this seemingly contradiction, since they scrutinize how contemporary architects should study the eminent examples of sacred architecture—as the Ark of Noah, the Tabernacle of Moses, the City of Jerusalem, the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Ezekiel and the Heavenly Jerusalem—; and those illustrations that one finds in books of such distinct scholars as Villalpando, Agostino Torniello and Lavater among others.[12] (Alsted, 1625, 161-162) Having studied the ground-plans *(ichnographia)*, the elevations *(ortographia)* and the sections *(sciagraphia or scenographia)*, contemporary architects could begin to design their own plans. In the fifth aphorism, moral and spiritual issues elucidate Alsted's views on sacred examples:

> That is how the student or master of architecture contemplates the sacred examples [...] so that he translates this contemplation into moral and spiritual education truly considering how the beautifully erected buildings [...] urge us partly to the study of morals and piety as in the case of the temples and tabernacles of the Holy Spirit, in which God dwells [...] partly on the beauty and perfection of the militant and victorious Church [...] We could apply the 40th chapter of Ezekiel for example to illustrate the following spiritual wisdom: the man who set out the length, the width and the height of the walls is the Christ who set in order by his spirit the length, the width and the height of the Church to make it either more crowded or more spacious remunerating each and every member according to measurement. The rectangular wall stands for the firm state of the Church. The way emerges from the Atrium to inner parts of the Temple, that is, it unfolds from the first principles of faith to the higher mysteries. There are those who remain in the Court of the Temple, and there are those who enter the interior of the Temple, namely, a few participates in more mysteries than the others.[13]

We could encounter similar views on spiritually and morally conceived architecture at the end of the architectural chapter of the 1630 *Encyclopaedia* as well. The *Peroratio architectonices* claims that the study of architecture elevates us to the "heavenly home *(domus coelestis)*", the architect of which is God, its foundation is Christ, its walls stand for mercy, its ceiling is glory, its inhabitants are the joyful angels and the blessed saints. (Alsted, 1630, 2208) No doubt, this spiritual conception of architecture stemms from medieval traditions of monastic architectural mnemonic which was founded on a key text by St. Paul (1 Corinthians 3:10–17), where he identifies himself as "a wise master-builder", who laid the foundation, that is Jesus Christ, upon which anyone has to build her or his own temple of God. (Carruthers, 1998, 17)

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[12] The uncritical juxtaposition of Villalpando and Torniello in the typographic space is rather awkward—though very typical of the arch-eclectic Alsted—, since they were as fierce opponents of one another's view on the Temple as Villalpando and Benito Arias Montano. Not to speak about the fact that Lavater's conception also differs from that of Villalpando and Torniello. See Herrmann, 1967, 144-145. Torniello, 1616; 1616-1622.

[13] "Architectonicae studiosus et magister sic versetur in contemplatione [...] exemplarium sacrorum [...] ut illa transferat ad institutionem moralem et spiritualem: ita nempe, ut dispiciat, quomodo aedificia [...] pulchre extructa nos admoneant partim de studio virtutis et pietatis, ut simus templa Spiritus sancti et tabernacula, in quibus inhabitet Dominus I. *Cor.* 3. *vers.* 16. et *cap.* 6. *vers.* 19. 2. *Cor.* 6. *v.* 16. partim de ecclesiae militantis et triumphantis perfectione et pulchritudine 1. *Cor.* 5. *v.* 1. *Heb.* 13. *v.* 14. Sic. v. g. ex *cap.* 40. *Ezech.* haec monita spiritualia possunt desumi. Vir, qui metitur longitudinem, latitudinem et altitudinem murorum est Christus, qui spiritu suo ordinat longitudinem, latitudinem et altitudinem ecclesiae, facitque ut illa nunc angustior, nunc latior existat, singulisque membris sua dona secundum mensuram largitur. Murus quadratus significat stabilem esse conditionem ecclesiae. Ab atriis ascenditur in templi interiora, hoc est, a primis fidei elementis sit progressus ad altiora mysteria. Quidam manent in atriis, quidam penetrant interiora templi, h[oc]. e[st]. uni plus incognitione mysteriorum tribuitur quam alteri." (Alsted, 1625, 162-163)

The above discussed views of Alsted seem rather controversial. For from several publications we have learned that the Temple of Solomon could not have provided an ultimate model for the works of the early modern architects, at the very same time we have also learned that the spiritual role of sacred architecture was of particular importance for Alsted in a sense that every building finds its mystical archetype in the work of the "architect God *(Deus architectus)*", that is, in the "building of the Universe *(opificium mundi)*" and especially in the "heavenly home *(domus coelestis)*" symbolised by such examples as the Temple of Solomon. Turning from architectural and theological discourses to iconographic sources we might have a clearer view of our case. Whereas the written sources are rather ambivalent and controversial, the story represented by the pictorial images is quite unequivocal. Both in the 1620 and 1630 encyclopaedias one finds that set of the Villalpandian images of the Temple and Jerusalem which was first prepared for Piscator's appendix to his bible translation with a clear-cut iconographic program providing a mystical view of the temple which was so much popular among millenarian intellectuals of the age. It is absolutely not possible that Alsted had no firm knowledge of the Villalpandian origins of these images, for he proved to be a distinct, though rather critical reader of the Jesuit, referring to him several times from 1620 on. He even brought his three volume Prado-Villalpando to Transylvania as we learned from a letter by István Tolnai from Sárospatak to Prince György Rákóczi I. (Szilágyi, 1875, 619). Furthermore, parallel to this paradigm shift clearly apparent in the use of images Alsted gradually accepted millenarian ideas beginning with the quasi millenarian passages of the *Theologia prophetica* of 1622 and arriving at the full millenarianism of the 1627 *Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis*, one of the most influential books of continental millenarianism, and that of the late Transylvanian publications such as the *Prodromus religionis triumphantis* and the millenarian commentaries of the *Trifolium propheticum.* (On Alsted's millenarianism see Hotson, 2001.)

To sum up, at the end of his career in Transylvania, Alsted as a millenarian thinker most probably regarded the allegory of the mentally restored Temple of Solomon—visually represented by the Villalpandian iconographic tradition—as an underlying spiritual and meditative symbol of the second coming of Christ. To him the reconstructed Temple of Solomon most likely became the Temple of the New Jerusalem, that is the Christ of the Revelations. More precisely, Alsted claimed that John envisioned the same temple as Ezekiel.[14] It is fairly clear, nevertheless, that in written sources he explicitly refused the Villalpandian idea that Ezekiel saw the Temple of Solomon in his vision.[15] At any rate, Alsted regarded the most important Old Testament topoi of the Temple of Solomon as types of Christ, that is, sacraments which are "visible signs of the invisible mercy of Christ".[16] While written sources seem to deny any identification of the Temple of Solomon with that of Ezekiel/John, the Villalpandian iconographic tradition apparent in Alsted's encyclopaedias, however, clearly associates all of these temples.

It has to be researched yet whether the idea of the *instauratio templi* proved also to be a symbol of the *instauratio scientiarum* for Alsted, nevertheless, the above discussed architectural symbolism attributing distinct spiritual role to architecture foreshadows in many respect the ideas of Alsted's well known disciple, Jan Amos Comenius' conception of the "Temple of Christian Pansophy *(Templum Christianae Pansophiae)*", which undoubtedly combines the two topoi. (Comenius, 1639,

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[14] "Templum Ezechielis proculdubio Johanni fuit oblatum in visione." (Alsted, 1640, 78)

[15] "Templum novum, seu Ezechielis, est figura Ecclesiae Novi Testamenti, ac imprimis illius, quae futura est tempore conversionis Judaeorum, Apocal. 21. et 22. ut merito Pradus et Villalpandus errasse censendi sint, quando dicunt in commentario super Ezechielem, templum Salomonis fuisse ostensum Ezechieli, et ipsi ostendam esse hac visione, templi, urbis, regionis, Levitici ordinis, legis, ac reipublicae instaurationem." (Alsted, 1641, 291)

[16] "1. Reg. 7. templum Salomonis, 2. Chron. 3. erant typi Christi. Ergo erant sacramenta. Ratio consequentiae est: quia erant signa visibilia invisibilis gratiae per Christum. Antecedens probatur partim ex epistola ad Hebraeos, partim ex aliis N. T. locis. v. g. cum Christus Iohan. 2. corpus suum vocat templum." (Alsted, 1634, 280-281)

240-281. Comenius, 1645) From this point of view, it is highly useful to return to Alsted's *Prodromus* in which the author distinguishes between two ways of the instauration of the image of God in man. (Alsted, 1641, 677) Accordingly, the instauration could be pursued in natural and supernatural ways. The first of which is nothing else than studying and learning in schools, colleges and universities conversing with erudite and wise people, or to put it differently, studying the perfect encyclopaedia.[17] The second way, naturally, is to accept the "illumination driven by the Holy Spirit *(illuminatio Spiritu sancti)*" and the "Redemption *(renovatio hominis)*". In this conception the two ways of the instauration stay in beautiful harmony, for our "natural reason *(lumen naturae)*" could not grasp all the beauty and truth of the Creation without the help of the supernatural "light of mercy and glory *(lumen gratiae et gloriae)*". In the light of all these, the symbol of the Temple restored with dignity stands for the second coming of Christ, but at the very same time it could also be regarded as a symbol of the "encyclopaedia worthily restored *(encylopaedia digne restituta)*", which is the best instrument of natural instauration of the image of God in man, that is to say, the *instauratio templi* could by all means stand for the *instauratio scientiarum* as well. This conception seems to be an important precursor of Comenius' pansophic temple or the "temple of encyclopaedia *(templum encyclopaediae)*" which became so popular among German Freemasons—such as Karl Christian Friedrich Krause—in the 19th century, but this is a story to be told in an other paper. (On Masonic cult of Comenius see Szentpéteri, 2008b.)

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[17] Cf. with one of Alsted's late encyclopedic student guides, *Usus praecipuarum Encyclopaediae partium*: "Instauratio imaginis Dei est theoretica vel practica. Haec in Decalogo, illa in quinque Encyclopediae partibus." (Szentpéteri, 2008, 90, 470)

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István Berszán

Representation as making believable

I will investigate the representation of order in a film by Rolf de Heer (*The Tracker,* 2002) in respect of some ideas of Michel de Certeau, Immanuel Lévinas, Alain Badiou and my own. The film tries to convince us that the colonialist idea to civilize aboriginal tribes is not reliable; in the same time it underlines the authority of "wild" people's culture, especially their social rules. As for me, I also will try to convince the honorable audience about the main point of my paper that representation of order cannot be reduced to an iconology of legal or cosmic authorities. The question is: Has ethics an iconology, or rather iconology has an ethics?

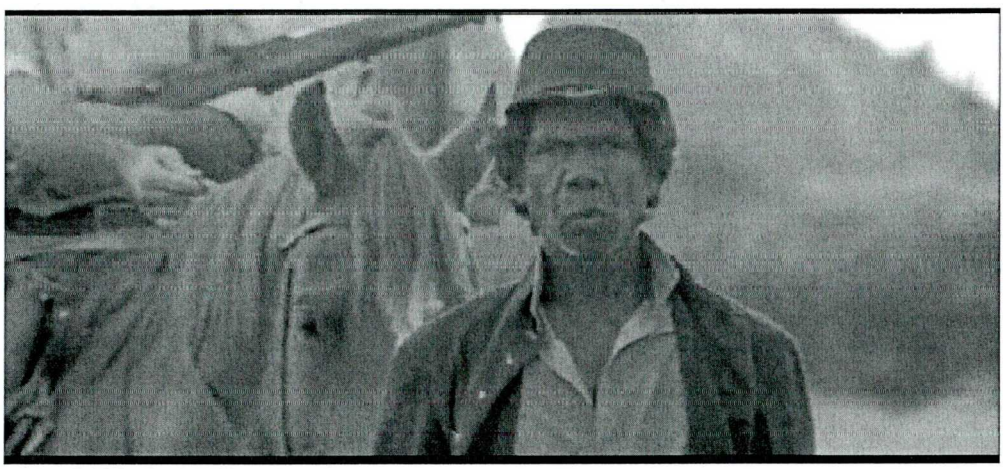

Figure 1.

Let us have a look at the presentation of order as it appears in the first images of the film: white people are riding horses, the black one is walking; they have guns, the black man is dressed in the white man's cloths, which are attributes of his new identity subjected to a role usually played by a dog: he is a tracker who helps the authorities to catch another aboriginal man. (Figure 1) At the beginning the young soldier obeys his authoritarian boss in everything and despises the skills of the black tracker. But after the slay of some innocent aboriginal people he cannot believe in the legal order represented by the boss anymore; his orientation becomes more and more dependent on the increasing authority of the tracker.

There is a turn when the authority of the boss in his relation to an injured fellow is replaced by the authority of the black man's attitude. In this episode of the film there appear different kind of orders and different kind of representations: on one hand the colonial regime and its connections with the order of the army and legacy, on the other hand there is the tribal order and the moral order of the aboriginal tracker. Beyond the one by one representation of authorities we could investigate what these orders themselves are representing. The order as a severe hierarchy supported by the boss is a representation of the entrusting power as an identity model, as well as the noble order of civilization is a representation of the colonialist supremacy. Further on we

could speak about the lingual representations of the order. In Hungarian it is represented as subjection (alá*rend*elés) which etimologically means *'ordering sg. down'*; another representation of the order is directing a film: Hungarian *'rend*ezni' means 'making order'. Finally I suppose that the representation of the idea of the interculturality was of great account when the film was awarded with multiple Prizes in 2002.[1]

We could read on the homepage of the conference: "Papers will reflect on artists' and user communities' verbal and visual representations of legal and cosmic order as reflected in the arts and literatures of Western and Eastern Europe throughout the centuries". Surely, in an iconological approach representation of order refers to patterns formed in different media or configurations of media. My question is: does the rhetoric, the iconography or the media history of representation discover entirely what happens in the time of representation of order?

I quote Michel de Certeau's essay about authorities: the infinite task is "to reconstitute in common language, and through a critique of traditional stereotypes and powers that have become unthinkable, circuits that make a reciprocal recognition *possible.* Some common points must foster this circulation and mark off its paths. Thus a network of authorities is organized that are at once produced and received." (Certeau 1997, 14) This "communication" needs a necessary link between the relation with a truth and the relation with others. How does this link work in a film that criticizes colonialism and makes the intercultural cooperation believable? In a circuit of the renewed social relations the main role of the film of a white director is distributed to an aboriginal man. Instead of the supremacy of the colonizing power the white director's authority is based on his professional, technological and institutional background, while the aboriginal's authority comes back to his recognized talent instead of his simple curiosity. His virtuous dancing which presents the values of the aboriginal culture, the immediacy of his play neutralizing the presence of the camera and the authenticity of his gestures now are more than exotic features of the tribal conditions, they are considered as the skillfulness of an artist.

But answering the previous question we could say as well that *The tracker* represents the history of a cultural revolution which takes place in this case in the life of a young man "new to the frontier". The values of a community considered inferior to Western culture become believable for him, and the authorities which have despised these values are shaken. First, he treats the black tracker as he learned it from his boss. According to the current order you may not trust the wild aboriginals, but you have to be hard with them to obtain something useful. Realizing that the boundless violence of the boss towards aboriginals as well as towards him as an inferior, and recognizing that the mounted policeman and his company could not manage to orient themselves in the wild without the help of the aboriginal man, make him less and less committed to his superior and he begins to act upon the black tracker's order.

According to Certeau, communication needs a network of authorities. Does it mean that authority must be something more than a discourse? Our answer could be that the network of authorities is equal to the rules of the discourse, but appears another question: What are these "rules"? Are they discursive rules which establish relations? Is the implicit rule discovered by the analyzing process simply the speech-object of the explicit one? It declares something from the very beginning that has to be translated into the analytic language? Or we have to deal with a non-discursive way of making connections that prevails even in a discourse as practical orientation as much as we are acting upon them. This *acting upon* is involved into investigation of authorities when practice research follows the representation of order.

Representation is more than certain patterns or observable images formed in different media. Hungarian language draws our attention to its specificity by calling it *kép-viselés,* that is, 'image-

[1] Venice Film Festival – SIGNIS Award – Honorable Mention; Flanders International Film Festival – winner of Best Screenplay Award; Valladolid International Film Festival – winner Jury Special Prize; IF Awards – winner Best Feature Film (with producer Julie Ryan)

wearing'. It is not enough to identify patterns to speak about representation. The image in itself remains a presentation, something that we can realize – what makes it believable is the way it is worn. How can people who represent an order make it believable that there is an order? One can enforce or validate order by power, but it can become believable only by the obedience of those who represent it. No order is reliable unless authorities representing it bear witness, in the sense given to the term by Lévinas, to its emergence (Lévinas 1998). The unconditioned or absolute responsibility to the other's need remains unconditioned as well in any practical decision by which we turn towards a rhythm of impulsions. The gesture of Abraham "here I am" bears witness to the rhythm of an occurrence. It is more than an answer, it resonates with something that began to happen in that very moment: the sacrifice. (See Kierkegaard 1974 and Derrida 1993)

In the same way, representation makes believable the work of an order by bearing witness to it. Belief requires a common rhythm of one who represents order and those who follow his authority; this is not merely a common language, recognizable signs or references, but common rites. Those authorities can become credible who can initiate and support such common rhythms. It is not enough for an order to have a certain form, it needs a rhythm as well. That is why its representation is not only an image, but the way this image is worn by the authorities. We cannot regard the image as a referential system or a map which explains the way of practice; following a believable authority means resonance by bearing witness to an order which is working in the gestures of its followers.

An order may set up patterns, but in the same time it opens new paths. Is this relation that of a map and the sense of walking as Michel de Certeau suggests? Yes, however this time the *map* (Hungarian *tér-kép*/ 'space-image') is not mediation, but the rhythm of gestures by which we get in the space of a practice. In other words, it is a practical example: those alone can enter into the time of these gestures who follow their *space-images* as a rhythm.

The tracker's reading in the wild cannot be reduced to representation in the sense of linguistic signs. What he read is the trace of the other's orientation. The art of the tracker is that he does not read signs, but gestures. The sharpness of his senses is tantamount to this skillfulness – he has the same sensitive organs as the white people around him, but his eyes and ears are much more trained.

It is true that the attention always needs a trace to follow, but it doesn't necessarily need to function as a language. The map guiding our attention between different practices or keeping it inside a space of a practice according to the rhythm we are tuned to consists of impulsions produced by gestures. It is not only maping image, but a representation as bearing witness to the occurrence of an impulsive rhythm. In the same way, following the *map* resonates with impulsions. Not only in the case of almost invisible, yet orientating tracks in the wild, but also concerning any impulsion by which we get in touch with occurrences. The signs always must be written or read. I do not mean coding and decoding function, I rather suggest that signs become *space-images* by practice. This is why reading is not the same practice all the time – it is not necessarily interpretation.

How does the tracker read? He makes something believable and thus possible to follow; all the time he has to persuade the others to follow his reading. At the beginning the young soldier considers the tracker's job a totally fortuitous searching for invisible footprints: "Anyone can see he is not really tracking. He is following his nose, hoping for the best." He thinks this because being unexperienced in tracking he cannot see what the tracker follows. But how does he read when he follows the tracker? He tries to rely on the persuasive gestures in a practical way. When the tracker shows him the place of a stone kicked away about two hours before (the place is not dry yet), he is not becoming an experienced tracker, he cannot see further tracks, but he begins to follow the master's indications. (Figure 2, Figure 3) And by this he becomes a disciple of the tracker, ceasing to be a disciple of his boss. The boss does not follow, but employ the tracker. By contrast, the young soldier gives up following his boss to learn how to follow the tracker.

Figure 2.

The refrain of the narrative song says: "All the men chose the path they walk." The *path* refers to the way the protagonists get orientation in the world. To choose does not mean to be independent: we always need a paths we can believe in. The film makes us trust the aboriginal orientation and deny credulity towards the colonial one. The director of the film (who is also the screenwriter) and the actors try to follow or wear the motions of these ways of orientation bearing witness to their *space-images*. Such approach to the film makes it a ritual, rather than a production.

But we could say: In fact, one of the ways of orientation is represented (i.e. mediated) in the film as reliable and the other one as being unreliable. Sometimes yes, but when it happens to be so, the story loses its density. Have a look at the episode in which the white boss is represented or mediated as a stupid fellow (to be sure, stupidity never is a pattern to follow). He is reciting pompous verses and continues with haranguing. Even though a few days earlier he recognized the tracker's attempt against him masked as an accident, now he does not realize what is going on, even when the noose is already around his neck. He stops reciting the "white mythology" at the last moment when he cannot breathe any more. This mediation becomes disbelieving because it does not follow the mounted policeman's behavior, but falls into declamation.

Figure 3.

How could become disbelieving someone's practical orientation in the film, if the director and the actor follow it genuinely? By the genuine following of another practical orientation which will displace the former one. Otherwise we fall out from the practice of the mounted policeman and step into an equally or even more disbelieving one. But if we enter the practical orientation of the tracker, we get beyond of the boss' order.

The white boss confronts his power actions as the only possible order with the "disorder" of aboriginal life. Nevertheless the black tracker is gradually affirmed the authority of another order as well in the sight of the young soldier as from the perspective of the viewer. His authenticity increases because no constraint imposed by the power can displace him from the rhythm he follows. Despite the official authority of the boss and the chain on the tracker's neck, it is clear that the latter obeys another authority in his practical orientation. Even though there are a lot of other stimuli around all the time, he does not miss or lose what he follows, he always avoids disorientation. Not merely by endurance or steadiness, but rather by genuine practical decisions which maintain him in the rhythm of what he follows. As he does not miss the tracks by obeying deceptive impulsions, he keeps himself apart from the power actions of the boss and from the temptation to flee as well.

This is what moves us from the order of the boss to another one that should not be there according to the former. In Badiou's *Ethics* the truth-process brings into being the void of a situation, something that is impossible inside it. He calls this event an *immanent break* because truth proceeds *in* the situation, but does not belong to it. (Badiou 2001, 42–43) But the radically different *event* does not necessarily succeed from the situation, it could happen that the "objective" situation appears by ignoring it. If we want to situate an order inside another one, we ignore what is radically different in the first one. This is why the power actions of the boss are disbelieving. They are unmasked when we realize something that has no room inside the extended order. Until now it remained invisible similarly to the tracks for the young soldier. As soon as we learn how to follow what we have not seen before we get beyond the order that ignores what we are following now. As long as we cannot see the tracks we are disposed, like the young soldier, to say: There are no such tracks there. Or: It is impossible to find them. In fact the problem is that we are not trained (enough) in tracking. Practice research is based on this recognition: medial functioning as representation and the practice of establishing discursive relations limit our readiness to find out other ways of getting in touch with occurrences. I do not mean that we have to fight against the mentioned orientations but it is worth to learn how to get in the spaces of other practices as well where getting in touch follows other kind of authorities.

According to Michel de Certeau, a community requires conviction beside the representation of an order. One cannot replace the veracity of authorities with their utility – if a conviction is sustained only by the argument that we need a conviction and the reason of the rules is to support authorities, it is a "strange inversion" (Certeau 1997, 6). Normally it is the task of authorities to support a system of norms and similarly, values should be sustained by conviction alone. When the young soldier faces his boss for the sake of his injured fellow, the boss replies: "You are to come with me. That's an order. He can do what he likes. Do you understand?" And repeating the last question he aims the gun at him. In this moment it is not the boss who sustains a system of norms, on the contrary, he wants to make the soldier accept that the norms are supposed to sustain his authority. Rebellion is not wrong according to what it contradicts, it is unacceptable *per definitionem* because it does not accept that any norm is for sustaining the authority. There is another "strange inversion" when the boss tries to legitimate the murder of harmless aboriginal people by saying: "Kid, I have to do my job. I was supplied by men, rifles and ammunition in abundance. I'm expected to use them." The positive value of the action is not sustained by a common conviction – the boss is reasoning just to have an argument.

Credibility is necessary because an order is justified by loyalty and devotion. If authorities are not able any more to embody the requirements they represent, then loyalty "emigrates", and this

will produce "displacement within affiliation" (Certeau 1997, 12) According to Certeau we must not conclude from the crisis of authorities that "an absence prevails in the relation of humans with themselves, or even in the loss of fundamental references that organize collective consciousness and personal life. We can deduce, rather, a lack of coordination between these references and the functioning of socio-cultural 'authorities'". (Certeau 1997, 9) The latter no longer represent (bear witness to) any believable meaning.

Figure 4.

Whether alienation is a historical necessity or not? If it had been so, the change of the young soldier's orientation could not be credible. He chooses conviction instead of pretexts when he already is used to act upon alienated practices. When he "interrogates" defenseless aboriginals he also validates the tautological legitimacy of power alienated from the represented norms. (Figure 4) Then realizing that power without conviction is only a harsh and corrupted violence, he is panicked and from now on he confronts it with conviction. When the boss aims his gun at harmless people again, he stops him killing even at the expense of the rebellion and its consequences. Alienation is not a historical necessity, it depends on one's orientation. Even as a historical phenomenon it results from the practical choices of one or more generations. It could be hard to displace some well drilled rituals, but not historically impossible. Rather, the 'history' as a super- or impersonal construction risks to be unmasked in this respect as a projection of our own alienated practices. The more practices we have out of conviction, the greater the need for historical processes to explain what is going on.

In a certain sense, this might be the case of the critical scientific inquiry as well. We cannot examine representation of an order as pure function of mediation unless we do not believe in that order. But arts, despite their recent theories, demand credibility. Of course we can watch this film as a complex media configuration – a utopian harmony between the aboriginal culture and the Western techno-cultural achievements and, we can show how incompatibility emerges in the documentary[2] about David Gulpilil, the aboriginal man playing the tracker's role. The money or working on the basis of a contract cannot be integrated in the tribal culture where every value is a common heritage. The aboriginal artist has no "immunity" against drugs (such as alcohol and narcotics), his urban concubine and his wife according to the ancient rules are incompatible parts

[2] Darlene Johnson and David Gulpilil: *One Red Blood*, 2002.

of his life. By the way, we could say that the documentary is also a "representation", thus this incompatibility is mediated as well, probably under the egis of the illusory idea of an unmixed essence.

The iconology of representation makes us skeptical towards the objectivity of an order, but this doubt can be achieved only by the authority of a new order created in the theories of signs and cultural media. It seems that one who is not alienated must be naive. Yes, because the new authorities open special spaces for ethical (or practical) orientation that cannot be exceeded except by changing those authorities. This is why the theory of medial representation is able to include "everything" or to declare itself as unavoidable because, in fact, any event followed by it is limited to the same space of practice.

We can realize this by changing the rhythm of the research. If we pay attention to the *image-bearing*, we find out that medial representation objectifies practice. The practiced faith scarcely can be represented by signs, or it is possible only inside the space of a discourse. Belief opens another space of practice: that of bearing witness to an occurrence. Following a 'primary' rhythm and observing relations cannot be reduced to one another, but they can be replaced by each other in our practice.

Maybe this is the reason why according to Certeau, signs of authorities can have the form of texts or personalities: "The former opens a space of words; the latter maps out a topology of action." (Certeau 1997, 12) Everyday life as well as the official policy or philosophy, need such signs and authorities, because they open the spaces of thinking and living. Credibility of authorities is indispensable and bound to the practice because the *sign* of authority must be worn to become or remain believable. The white boss has many signs of his authority, but the young soldier resonates to the *walk* of the tracker, because this is what makes him believe in an order. The main condition for a community is this affiliation based on the faith as a practice.

Finally, let us find out how can the representation of a discredited orientation (the colonial one) become credible in a film? Very hard, because it can appear as a fake, that we are not able to follow. We face again the difference between representation as pure mediation and as bearing witness to an occurrence. When we are not disposed to follow an impulsion we reduce it to a pure sign – the aggressive sequences of the film turn in such a way into images deprived of the rhythm (pictures instead of moving pictures or *space-images*). (Figure 5) The white boss becomes one-sided or a stereotypic character in the same way and of course, even the rhythm we follow in the film is threatened by this turn as well, because credibility is based at any moment on delicate resonances.

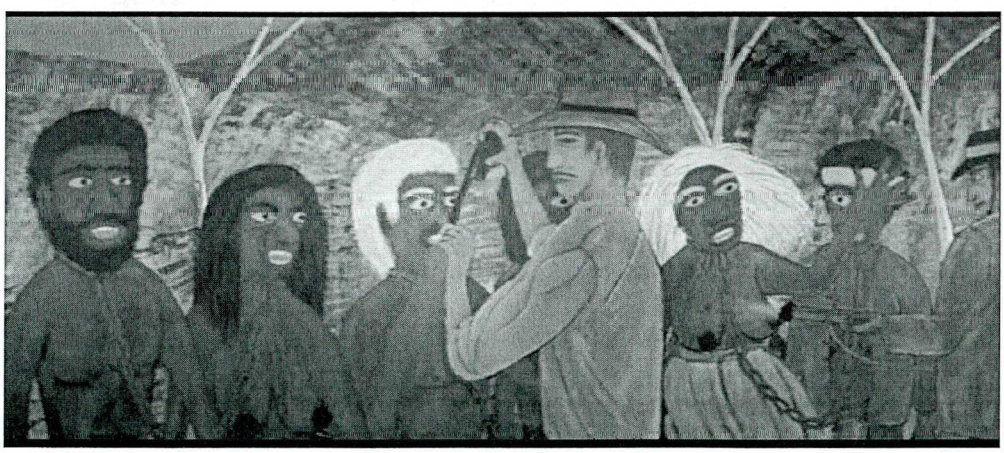

Figure 5.

The representation of legal order is discredited when the boss represents it without bearing witness to its working. An order always needs conviction to become more than a system of signs. Being convinced is to be conquered by the rhythm one follows, but conviction is never produced by violence, but obedience. The boss think that he can do anything because he represents the order. This is why he is conquered by his own violence instead of conviction: when he tries to represent the power by legacy and not the legacy by the power he obeys violence and not the legal order which has effect by its credibility. Choosing this *path* he cannot make the law believable any more.

We can follow the representation of the negative characters only if the actor who is playing learns how to believe in something he doesn't have faith in for the sake of the rite. He makes a routine of practicing in a space of motions from where, however, he can find his way back to what he believes in any time. To be able to do this he needs the authority of the 'tracker' who follows precisely the other's gesture. This aboriginal man is the absolute believable representation of himself in the movie. He becomes an authority due to his practical skills both as someone represented and as someone who represents something. Authority is the measure of credibility in representation – not due respect, claimed obedience, but the dignity of skills acquired in following the order; the dignity of someone who never loses a track, or if he does he finds it again. Representation as *image-wearing* or credibility cannot be separated from ethical (practical) orientation that is never a mere reference point or a recognizable sign but following, conviction and resonance.

What I have proposed here I call *practice research*. (See Berszán 2007, 2009) This project is an ethical approach to the question: How to get in touch with something that happens, how can we get into the space of a practice, into the time of a rhythm? My answer is that there are manifold rituals of paying attention in every culture and we get in touch with occurrences by practicing them. These rituals are heterogeneous, one of them cannot be reduced to the other because they have different rhythms: when we practice one of them something else happens than in case of practicing another one. They cannot have relations inside the space of a system or in the time of one research practice. I do not claim that there is no connection between them, but these connections are not relations. What makes a connection between them is practical orientation: the passage from the rhythm of one into the rhythm of the other by changing our ritual of paying attention.

There are dominant rituals in any culture which make difficult to get out of their rhythm and make very easy to enter these rhythms. A dominant ritual of our culture today is the critical inquiry. When we investigate occurrences and rituals we are used to pointing out patterns, models, codes and discursive relations. By doing this we do not enter the space or time of different rhythms, but the rhythm of interpretation. Arts can help us to enlarge our space of practice limited to the dominant rituals by inviting us to gestural resonance. Following the practical orientation of authorities and their disciples in *The tracker* I tried to draw attention to such events in the space of representation as making believable.

Figures 1–5: Rolf de Heer, dir. *The Tracker*. 2002. Vertigo Productions.

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Daniela Carpi

Iconological subversion of the law in P.D. James's *A Certain Justice*

The law loves and fears images, it both prohibits and organizes its own operation in a highly spectacular and visual manner. (Douzinas 1977, 12)

"Iconology" turned out to be not just the science of icons, but the political psychology of icons, the study of iconophobia, iconophilia, and the struggle between iconoclasm and idolatry. (Mitchell 1986, 3)

Introduction

If for centuries philosophers stressed the difference between law and art (art is sensuality and freedom, frivolity, extravagance; law is reason and power, social and political necessity, conventions and rules), still law has always been concerned with the control of images, with a governance of perception, with the regulation of the visible as strictly linked to the invisible. The control of images became a means of influencing ideologies, of guiding mental *idola.* Although the law had to keep people under control, it also had to have recourse to a kind of official self-fashioning consisting in ritualistic behaviour and language, in codes and stereotypes which would make the legal system immediately recognisable and intimidating. The important effects of images on the public imagination are too great for the law not to try to exploit them in its favour: therefore if a rebellion against the law is plotted that rebellion too must take place through images.

The appearance of the *Law ands* trend of thought is part of the broadening self- awareness of legalistic studies and comes into the sphere of competing perspectives of inquiry: "law and society," "law and economics," "law and literature" are by now well assessed. "Law and art" is probably the most recent of those interdisciplinary research studies; it situates scholars into a community of inquiry. As law has always been concerned with the visual, and since law and aesthetics are strictly intertwined, lately a host of critical studies has arisen developing a specific iconology of law. Law is made up of spoken and unspoken contents, of verbal and non-verbal (or iconic) elements. The emphasis put on the complementarity between law and its self-fashioning is consistent with the use of imagery by the justice system, by power itself. We are dealing with the imposition of a model of law on society as a model of great prestige, with its symbolic power as one of the forces permanently at work in all systems of law.

A Certain Justice

P.D.James's novel *A Certain Justice* (1997) belongs to the genre of the legal-thriller, that is, a thriller grounded in the world of law and lawyers, in particular in the world of a law firm. A famous lawyer, Venetia Aldridge, is killed in her studio, behind a locked door; her head is covered with the typical court wig, and is drenched with blood. In the course of the novel we realize that she had been a very skilful lawyer, very devoted to her profession, even to the point of sacrificing her family life to it. The law had been for her a sort of religion: she seemed to be a high priestess of

that lay religion. But her very ability had allowed a murderer to go unacquitted, hence a subsequent new murder. The plot is further complicated by a subplot, that represents the web of revenge which ensnares Venetia and her daughter Octavia.

All through the novel we have frequent statements concerning the power of the law, its insistence on public images, its ability to perform. Law takes on iconic aspects; it is rooted in performance, in self-fashioning, in well-measured behaviour. At the same time the widespread hatred of the law, considered unjust, is transformed into a desecration of the image of the law itself, which in this case consists in the defilement of the lawyer's body.

Such defilement has a symbolic function: this perturbing image, that comes back over and over again in the text, represents a palympsest of significations. On the one hand it reproduces the iconology of the lawyer, sitting at her desk intent on work, papers in hand, wig on her head. On the other hand, given the desecration of the body with blood poured over the wig, it represents a violent reaction to the power of law and a subversion of its decree "Do not kill." Such a decree represents a binding rule both in ethics and in the justice system, so the murderer becomes the symbol of a violent mutiny against a social code. The death scene, in its statuary aspect, is a work of art; its negativity requires decoding. If the law needs to be set right, if it requires an investigation which could make sense of its violation and restore the subverted social order (an interpretation, a reading of details, a thorough investigation), so the scene, in its artistic setting (the placing of the body, the wig, the surroundings) represents a sort of literary/dramatic text to be deconstructed. In both texts, the legal and the literary, the essence of meaning is concealed by its very accessibility.

The presentation of imagistic elements in texts, textual elements in images is, in other words, a familiar practice which might be 'defamiliarized' by understanding it as a transgression, an act of (sometimes ritual) violence involving an incorporation of the symbolic Other into the generic Self. (Mitchell 157)

The Iconography of Law as Connected to Power

PD James' novel is centred on law, seen in its iconographic mode, and strictly connected to an idea of power and to the control of the image. "He looked more like a professional rugger player than a lawyer, though not when he wore his wig. Then the face became an impressive mask of judicial gravitas." (James 162)

The edifice, "on the western boundary of the Middle Temple" where the law offices are located, creates an actual space that epitomizes law itself: it not only represents the threshold and the vehicle to justice, but it also embodies the legal system; it establishes boundaries between the "within" and the "beyond" the law. The building where Venetia has her studio establishes the place of legality, the theatre, *ecclesia,* the site of enunciation. It becomes the place of reference where the power of the law can be enacted. The structure of the building is at the same time the representation of social power and of its legitimacy, it constitutes the conjunction of reason and law. Therefore the violation of the body of a lawyer within her own room becomes a symbolic threat to the sacrality of the law itself, a violation of boundaries, the breaking down of a barrier against the socially unacceptable. The description of long corridors and series of rooms leading up to the lawyer's studio suggests architectonically how deeply within the legal system the violation has taken place. This layering of spaces suggests a contraposition between an exterior space, common to all the clerks and cleaning staff, and an inner, secluded space, limited to authorised

practitioners. Venetia Aldridge's closed door, which is still locked, reminds us of Kafka's "Before the Law," where the closed door opens only to the "custodians" of the law.[1]

Iconographically, the door separates those who are within the law from those who are not, from the "lay" ones. The endless succession of corridors and doors makes us feel constantly on edge, on bifurcating thresholds that produce a sensation of being at once inside and outside the law. The murder that has violated this "sanctified" threshold, because of the intent to kill, brings its attack against the very foundations of the law. In fact the first gesture of justice is architectonic and symbolic: it delimits an actual space which attempts to keep moral indignation and public passions at bay; it aims at establishing "the rules of the game" as well as the actors of the legal performance. The legal space (the court in particular) serves to create barriers between the public and the actors of the legal event and the impurity of the criminal act, which is as ambivalent as the sacred act.

The architectural complex of legal offices, seen in its symbolic function, does not merely indicate the presence of authority, but it also has a prescriptive function, enforcing the signs of power. The judicial space is centred on a vacuum, a sacred circle (in this case the lawyer's room) which must necessarily be distanced from the profane space. Absence (the interdiction to enter the lawyer's room unless invited) enhances the sacred: this distance represents the "dieu caché" of justice. The separation from the rest of the world is the essence of the "temple" of justice of the lawyers'space and of the tribunal palace.

The essence of good judgement depends on the ritual frame; the act of judging and the ritual connected with it share a common attempt to reach a double distancing: both from primeval violence and from the injustice lurking inside a legal response. (see Garapon 2001)

Such architectural space epitomizes the attempt to re-create the world by reorganizing it according to certain rules. The relationship between form and norm constitutes the essential experience of justice: it represents the sacralization of an order that has been violated by the crime. The connection between form and norm reveals the vulnerability of the social group: the violation of the norm often leads to conflict. What society tries to conquer through this sacralization of space is order; it is almost a way of organizing the universe. Such a concept of order allows us to define the nature of the crime, the social response to it (the ritual), the aim pursued by the rite (universal harmony), the intellectual instruments which will be used (the law) and the material ones (the ritualistic tools). (Garapon 29)

Unusual professional constraints surround the figure of a lawyer, who must often work in isolation in order to study and apply the law rigorously. "The law is fully formed and hidden, waiting for the act of judgement to reveal it. The Common Law might then be imagined as an on-going form of ritual revelation." (Evans 6)

Aldridge's room therefore represents the continuous deferral of the law, represents the "sancta sanctorum" in which religion and law are intertwined. In fact very few people are admitted inside Aldridge's studio and the room is always kept locked.

> The heavy oak door was locked. This was not in itself particularly surprising; members of Chambers who wanted to leave important papers on their desks did sometimes lock their rooms before leaving. But it was more usual to leave the oak unlocked and to secure only the inner door. (James 117)

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[1] Derrida asserts that not only does literature simultaneously depend on and interrogate laws, but the law –the continual subject of narratives– can only be understood as self-contradictory, lacking in pure essence, and structurally related to what Derrida terms *différance* or, in its non-metaphysical sense, "literature". Being before the law is therefore not wholly distinguishable from being before the literary text . This is what Derrida asserts in "Before the Law" where he re-examines Kafka's parable.

The Ritual of the Law and of the Desecration of the Law

The ritual of the law is the very force of the law itself: the law is embedded in ritual, in custom, in repetition and also, according to what Freud asserts in "The Future of an Illusion," on repression of man's instincts. Being a means to keep violence at bay, the law is instituted in violence and itself reflects violence. In fact the purpose of trials is to prosecute and punish, to condemn or acquit; hence the fear of the law that men experience whenever they happen to clash against it. "Law's rites, vestments, ceremonies, and texts depict the face or screen of a series of institutional violences." (Goodrich 68)

Because the law is embedded in ritual, even the killing of a lawyer has to be ritualistic: the statuary image of the dead lawyer gives form to an antirrhetic polemical image that brings to the forefront the trauma of repressed powerlessness. If the icon is rooted in pomp and circumstance (see the paraphernalia generally connected to the iconic vision of the law), the idol is linked to obscenity, immodesty and concupiscence of the eye. The will to subvert the official image of the law is made evident here: the "rhetoric of iconoclasm" that pervades Western criticism finds a climax in this scene. The antirrhetic gives face to evil, to the sedition that is harboured within any positive form. "The horror. The abomination of that blood-bloated wig now seemed a grotesque but not unfitting comment on a career which had begun so full of promise [...]" (James 205)

A ritual activity can be defined as the creation of a correspondence between an image and a physical reality which turns ordinary things into a matter of revelation. Therefore the slaughter of Venetia follows the pattern of a wilful act that becomes iconographic because it attacks point by point the paraphernalia pertaining to a lawyer's characteristic activity and his/her jurisdictional power. The particularly visual scene of Venetia's murdered body, with its insistence on colours and smell, makes this central passage in the book a focal antirrhetic image of the violation of law.

The antirrhetic image connected to the rebellion against the law runs throughout the novel. In fact we have another potent image of blood that challenges the orderly universe of the law: Garry Ashe's picture of his dead aunt. The picture is particularly obscene and it suggests a strongly voyeuristic and even psychopathic pathology in Ashe who has taken it. Besides indulging in gory details – the gaping mouth of the corpse, the gash that severs the woman's throat, the blood dripping to the floor – the picture is by Octavia[2] immediately connected to fear of the police, that is of the law: "Who took it? [...] you phoned the police? [...] weren't you afraid the police would find it?" [...] A strip of film is easy to hide." (James 80)

The violence of the picture is so subversive that when Octavia hears some knocking at the door she panics, grabs the print, cuts it into pieces and throws the fragments into the lavatory. Once again the obscenity, the mocking of the law, is enhanced by an image that reveals more about the murder of Garry Ashes' aunt than what we have suspected so far.

The taboo of the law is another interesting topic triggered by this scene. Garry has evidently displaced his murderous action into a rationalized system of discourse, where the bloody scene itself is elaborated and translated into the institutional dimension of limits. For Garry the picture is inserted into the limits imposed by the law ("You cannot be tried twice for the same offence"): the beyond the law (the murder, the obscene voyeuristic picture) is circumscribed "within the legal system," while Octavia is still aware of the category of the negative. She still views the "inside" and the "beyond" philologically: thus for her the picture is particularly subversive. She connects it to the category of "crime and punishment," to the problematic of interdiction.

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[2] Octavia in the text is in love with Garry Ashe. This love represents Garry's revenge against a society that had always rejected him; but it also represents Janet Carpenter's revenge against Venetia Aldrige, who had acquitted Garry Ashe of her granddaughter's murder. "I didn't use the word "revenge" then. I saw myself in a less ignoble role, setting out to redress an injustice, to teach a lesson" writes Janet Carpenter in her letter (James 342).

> [...] the state is the sacred place of the Totem, wherever it takes hold, whatever its constitutional form may be, the religious or mythical space of the discourse called upon to guarantee the foundations without which the law would remain unthinkable. (Legendre 952)

The Taboo of the Law

The viewing of the picture makes Octavia feel separated from the space of the law: she feels an emptiness and an "écart" through the category of negativity. This representation of death creates a vacuum, a diverse cultural space that re-organizes symbolic life. The picture gives form to a new language that re-reads the law, even the language of representation. What emerges is the other dimension of the law, that of the taboo: the interdictions expressed by the law are in fact connected to the idea of the taboo. The fact itself that Octavia views this picture encircles her inside the forbidden space of the taboo. She has the impression that she is partaking of the criminal act implicit in the picture and reacts to the knocking on the door as if she herself were the culprit. The crime (abstract because not committed on the spot) and the representation of the crime (physical in the materiality of the picture) come to coincide: it is an endless repetition. The forbidden by the law and enacted by the picture "soils" the viewer, enwraps her in a dimension of blood and sin, creates in her a bond with the crime itself, what Legendre calls the "binding bond". (954)[3] She is in the grip of the representation of incest and of murder: Garry in fact had been reared by a series of foster parents. He has lived with his aunt only for about a year, but she filled to some extent the role of a mother, so we are facing a case of Oedipal incest ending in murder. In this case the law undergoes a treble violation: violation of the filial sexual norms, violation of the decree not to kill, violation of the legal system itself through an iconological representation of a violent death. What is particularly perturbing in this scene is the surfacing through an icon (the photograph) of a displaced impulse towards the murder of the "father" ingrained in humankind (Octavia herself hated her mother) which is kept at bay by legal institutions.

The bafflement, and the sardonic grin connected to Garry's success in evading punishment, is shockingly evident in the sentence quoted in part above: "You cannot be tried twice for the same offence. Didn't you know that?" (James 82), where he exploits the law in order to evade it. He sounds exultant in his final challenge to the law and here we can really speak of psychic investment in the power of the image.

Moreover, another interpretation is suggested by this horrific picture: the photo witnesses a truth that exists only as a trace. Such morbid insistence on death is the mark of the failure of the law that did not manage to bring the culprit to justice. The image here becomes a potent denunciation of the absence of the law: it is an image that testifies to an absence of justice; it is the representability of an absence. It does not testifiy to a success of the juridical system but to its failure: so much so that Octavia immediately connects it to Garry's so far unproved crime. The absence of the law is made visible by this defiled body. Both bodies (Garry's aunt's and Venetia's) therefore converge towards this terrible denunciation of the law.

Law as Archaic Ritual

The whole paraphernalia of the trial, with the intimidating presence of wigs and robes, is defined in the text as an "archaic ritual" (James, 7). But still the ritual process testifies to the imperatives of justice and whenever some parts of this ritual are discredited justice itself is "tainted with

[3] "By the expression 'binding bond' I mean therefore the part of the juridical system which binds these elements, in order to institute the subject".

distrust". (James 8) The insistence on ritualistic performance is very much stressed in the novel, for example in the passage when Garry Ashe is going to be cross-examined.

> He wasn't going to be cheated out of his final public performance.[...] He was the most important person in the courtroom. It was for him that a judge in his scarlet robe sat to the right of the carved royal arms, for him that twelve men and women sat there listening patiently for hour after hour, for him that the distinguished members of the Bar in their wigs and gowns questioned, cross-questioned and argued. (James 17)

The lawyer herself, Venetia Aldridge, thinks of her positon and of her defendant's as that of actors working together,

> who had played opposite each other for years, recognizing each other's signals, judging each pause for its effectiveness, being careful not to spoil the other's most powerful moment, not because of affection or even mutual respect, but because this was a double act and its success depended on that instinctive understanding in which each contributed to the desired end. (James 18)

Trials are constantly described as performance, where each participant occupies a definite position: the judge on the bench, the two lawyers sitting facing the judge's seat at the two sides, the witness sitting facing the audience, and the lawyers acting out their speeches through body language, gesture and emphatic tone of voice, all rhetorical devices. Therefore Ashe's insistence on his part being played correctly suggests his being aware of the theatricality of the whole situation.

What the law represents for the stability of society is emphasised over and over again: "law has to do with justice, with people's rights, their liberty, their freedom" (James 26): the law is necessary to make society whole, to create stability. People need to believe in justice: if justice is denied this would imperil the freedom of the state (as we read in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*).

"Legal theory creates an imaginary picture of law as ordered, systemic, closed, coherent and hermeneutically stable, while art and literature are anarchic, open and free." (Douzinas 1977, 6) The control of the image has always been connected to power. Throughout the history of Western culture art has been variously treated: either with caution and hostility by some religions (Judaism for example) or as a means of education (the Good and the Beautiful for the Greeks); either as dangerous to the spiritual growth of the young (Plato) or as a model of perfection. P.D.James' novel contraposes these two opposite views of the image. On the one hand the theatrical/artistic mode in the lawyer's action connects it to an accepted iconology of the law; on the other hand the degradation of this image brings about a strong criticism of the lawyer's action itself. The horror of the artistic construction of Venetia's death is particularly subversive precisely because, according to classic interpretations, such as those of the Greeks and of Lessing, art should portray beauty. If law wishes to control society through a rhetorical/artistic self-fashioning, the subversion of the law can take place through the subversion of the image. We view the replacement of the legal word with the legal image: the dreadful image of the law at the sight of Venetia's dead body is connected to juridical hermeneutics because in fact it represents a revenge against a bad or sinful use of the law (according to the person who had to bear with the injustice of justice). If tyrannical power uses the control of images for its ends, in this novel the legal power, perceived as tyrannical, is fought against precisely through the breaking down of an accepted iconological image.

As Goodrich asserts, "The writing and re-writing of the law took place around the destruction of an idol." (ix) Goodrich contraposes icon to idol, saying that "the icon represented the exclusion of a difference that the image threatened to express;" (224) we may therefore infer that the

ritualistic performance in trials represents the accepted icon of the law, where the law manages to transmit a sense of power that would otherwise be physically invisible. In the same way if the "idol was a feigned image, it was *res mortua*, the image of a dead thing, and its very death, or better still repression, allowed the direct opposition of the idol to the icon." (224) Therefore the image of the dead lawyer annihilates the official image of the law, brings to the surface the repressed antagonism to the law, stresses the alienation from the law; it becomes idolatrous and subversive. It gives rise to the presence of an opposed order of imagination.

The murderer[4] does not accept the rigid application of the law, which has brought about an unjust sentence; therefore he destroys the lawyer, considered as the idol of the law. In the same way Mrs. Carpenter wishes to destroy the lawyer because she in her turn considers Venetia as the iconic figure of the law, its embodiment. "The regulation of exterior images was directed at control of interior images, mental idols or unseen signs." (Goodrich, x) The iconic figure of the lawyer becomes the projection of law seen as an inner image, an immaterial image made tangible.

"Just as the canon law held that the church did not inhabit a territory *(ecclesia non habet territorium)* the law of the land was also conceived as extending from the realm of appearance and of corporeal presence to a territory and space of the mind." (Goodrich 9) The desecration of the lawyer is the trace of an "ancient grudge" against law itself.

> [...]this murder, bloody, obscene, with its overtones of madness and revenge, to demonstrate how fragile was that elegant, complicated bridge of order and reason which the law had constructed down the centuries over the abyss of social and psychological chaos. (James 205)

The excess of leniency on the part of the law (in the past, the murder by Garry Ashe had led to acquittal because of the law's incapacity to bring justice) becomes a symptom of in-equity. In this case the concept of equity[5] implies the application of more rigorous rules, because it is their missing application which has caused injustice. Paradoxically, here equity means going back to the rigid application of the law. The "spirit of the law" is invoked as the grounding principle of institutional life: rethinking the legal institution in terms of the history of its failure. "MOAB killed Aldridge because of her job. The quarrel wasn't with the woman, it was with the lawyer." (James 226)

Damnatio Memoriae

Another important point is at stake in the scene of Venetia's desecrated body: the law is based on the word (written or oral), on *logos*, language and reason; images speak directly to the senses and to the psyche. Here the relationship law/images goes upside down, in so far as the dialectical model centred on the axis icon/word becomes a dialectic of presence (of the law) and absence (the loss of the law in the murder). The experience of this new image of the law as refusal and absence, where the revenge against the injustice of justice becomes an iconic revenge, is a revenge

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[4] Venetia's actual murderer is a lawyer, Ulrick, whose brother committed suicide in the past because of Venetia's father and now he sees his own adored niece threatened by Venetia again. "My turn to continue this interesting fabrication. So let us suppose that all the suppressed emotions of an essentially private man come together. Long years of guilt, disgust with himself, anger that this woman whose family have already harmed his so irrevocably should be planning more destruction. The paper knife was on the desk[...]" (James 429).

[5] The concept of equity has been the subject of a long debate across the centuries. Generally it has been asserted that equity is more subjective and redresses the rigour of the law. See Daniela Carpi ed., *The Concept of Equity. An Interdisciplinary Assessment*, Winter, Heidelberg, 2007; Daniela Carpi ed., *Practising Equity, Addressing Law. Equity in Law and Literature*, Winter, Heidelberg, 2008.

that tries to kill the law by insisting on its iconic aspect; it denounces the absence of a presence (law should be at the roots of society). As in the case of statues of tyrants that are overturned once these tyrants are deposed, in the novel the figure of the law, whose emblem is the figure of the lawyer, is overturned in a real process of *damnatio memoriae*, where the iconic aspect of the law is effaced by means of a disgusting substance (Hubert's fial of blood). The statuary effect of Venetia in her death takes on an emblematic character: the attack is waged against the legal system of representation. The situation is that of a rebellion against a "system of symbolic representations that reflects an historical situation of domination by a particular class, and which serves to conceal the historical character and class bias of that system under guises of naturalness and universality". (Mitchell 4)

The law appears to be an ideological system marked by falsity and oppression, and also rooted in imagery which re-enacts the ancient struggle between idolatry and iconoclasm. "As in Kafka's story *Before the Law* the law is always somewhere else, in the next room, deferred and unseen, awesome in its power, a sign of the transcendent apprehended in its absence." (Douzinas 2000, 825)

As the law itself is unrepresentable, we can only know it through its paraphernalia of wig, robes, fur or silk. It becomes a paradox of blindness and insight, to use an expression by Paul De Man. Moreover, the "mental image" of hatred for the lawyer nourished by the murderer becomes the "physical" one of the desecrated body, thus marking an interdependence between the two notions of lawyer as villain and lawyer as a disgusting dead body. "It is because an image cannot be seen as such without a paradoxical trick of consciousness, an ability to see something as 'there' and 'not there' at the same time." (Mitchell 17)

The sign, in this case Venetia's attire in death, marks the alienation of the subject (the law as entity, as subject). The law is made visible and made alienated, just to mark and emphasise the dichotomy between the law seen as a transcendent entity, as a sort of lay religion, as a universal quest for absolute justice, and its inapplicability and failure.

We can assert that we are witnessing a case of "literary iconology" which, according to Mitchell,

> [...] invites us to pay special attention to the presence of visual, spatial and pictorial motifs in all literary texts: architecture as a metaphor for literary form; painting, film and the theatre as metaphors for literary representation; emblematic images as incapsulations of literary meaning; scenes (depicted or described) as symbolic settings for action and projections of mental states [...] (155)

Conclusion

Thus my demonstration of the failure of the law, my denunciation of the law in this text (as I have argued elsewhere in the course of my law-and-literature research) as an empty shell devoid of certitude, may perhaps serve as a renewal of the way we envision the law, may contribute to the undoing-and-rebuilding of the object "law" as happened at the beginning of the century with cubism, which reviewed the mimetic representation of the "objet d'art".

> Cubism was a revolution of thought, in the sense that it accomplished an undoing (défaite) of the object. It conquered the belief in the imperialism of appearances [...] That was at the time considered to be a violation of logic, but it was followed by a renewal of thought in painting. (Legendre 961)

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Korinna Csetényi

Images of Lawlessness in Stephen King's *The Long Walk*

In my paper, I am going to discuss an early, less-known novel of Stephen King, *The Long Walk*, published under the pseudonym Richard Bachman. King is famous for his personal brand of supernatural fiction verging on horror, but this story discards all such trappings. In fact, if we want to categorize it, we should place it in the genre of science fiction (owing to its future setting) or dystopia.

Before delving into the novel, I should like to point out some characteristics of the Bachman novels. Using this pseudonym, King published 6 works, which all depict depressive, hopeless worlds, where the characters' isolation and loneliness are emphasized. Usually, a frustrated male protagonist decides to commit a desperate act, often involving violence, placing him at the center of media attention. In *Rage*, for example, a teenager takes his entire class hostage, while in *The Running Man* there is a televised nationwide manhunt, wherein citizens are encouraged to capture the man, who is on the run, for financial reward.

The Bachman characters are helpless: they feel entrapped, they seem to have no control over their lives and they are lost in situations from which there is no way out. They fight against forces which are overpowering: a repressive government, the army, the media – they stand almost no chance of winning these battles. Should the protagonists win, at the point of victory, victory itself loses its credibility and significance. Their meaningless, unfair existence is unchanged by it. They realize their struggle has been pointless.

Therefore, these are pessimistic, dark books, pervaded by a sense of despair and alienation. In these bleak worlds, inimical to individuality, society itself becomes distorted. In fact, we can say there are no viable societies in the Bachman novels.

The Long Walk describes a marathon where 100 teenage boys, selected through a national lottery of volunteers, attempt to walk for as long as they can. This contest is broadcast nationwide, and spectators line the route to watch them pass, betting on them. The boys receive water and food from the soldiers accompanying them, but they may never stop to rest. There is a minimum speed expected of them, and if someone drops below that speed he is given a warning. After the third warning, the soldiers are authorized to shoot this Walker. The last boy to survive can have anything he wishes, for the rest of his life.

The soldiers following the boys along the route are traveling on half-tracks. They are wooden-faced, indifferent young men, who lazily oversee the race and control the average speed of each Walker with their radar dishes and on-board computers. It is all the same to them, whether they warn the boys verbally or shoot them. They are impassive, undisturbed by the idea of this mass slaughter of the young. They are just puppets, servants of the state, and the boys feel only contempt and hatred for them: "you get paid to shoot me, not to look at me" one Walker remarks (King 1992, 213). They are "handpicked Long Walk soldiers fresh off the National Squads" (King 1992, 296), and represent the military dictatorship which was established in America after World War II.

The boys are placed under constant surveillance: it is primarily the task of the soldiers to control them, but the members of the crowd eagerly watching them also increase their feeling of transparency, of having been stripped of all privacy. In fact, we might be reminded of Foucault's Panopticon, where the technique of power employed is that of "the inspecting gaze" (Foucault

1980, 155). Under the scrutiny of the gaze every body is rendered visible. There are no glassed-in cells in *The Long Walk*, but the boys actually live their lives (or rather, whatever remained of it) in front of the spectators. Unlike in the tower of the Panopticon, there is not a single overseer here: the power of the controlling gaze is divided among the soldiers.

The story is set in an alternate America of the near future: it is implied that World War II was won by Germany, which went on to become a superpower. As a reaction, the US is a strong military state. The leader of this new country is the Major, an almost machine-like, mechanistic figure. He is never seen in public without his reflector sunglasses, he always wears a uniform and it is he who officially starts the race. Even though he is a distant entity, defined by a rebel as "the rarest and most dangerous monster any nation can produce, a society-supported sociopath" (King 1992, 162), he is a paternal figure for the boys. He addresses them before the Walk begins and makes occasional appearances along the route, cheering them on, telling them how proud he is. The fact that his eyes are never seen contributes to his being a menacing figure, we almost question his being a human. His eyes might otherwise reveal his murderous intentions, his lack of emotion and his oneness with the state machinery.

Referring back to Foucault's "The Eye of Power" again, it is the Major whose function most resembles that of the overseer in the tower of the Panopticon. Apart from his periodic appearances along the road, he "stares" at the boys from the posters plastered on the shops which they pass by, and at one point his face lights up in the sky: "a great overhead airburst traced the Major's face in fire" (King 1992, 378), evoking the image of an omnipresent God. All these gestures are clearly meant to instill awe and fear in the populace, serving the state in its aim to consolidate its power.

While the Walkers clearly hate the soldiers, their relationship with the Major is ambiguous. They feel attracted to this powerful male figure, who assigns them their number in person at the beginning of the Walk, and even shakes hands with them. Some of the boys come from dysfunctional families, and fathers seem to be missing from their lives (the protagonist's father, who spoke out against the system, was taken away by the Squads, who protect the status quo. Needless to say, he never returned.). Maybe, that is why the Walkers at first feel a "chill of pride" (King 1992, 243) whenever the Major salutes them. However, as the Walk progresses, the boys' eyes are opened to a new view of the world and all their illusions are torn away. Hence, they become less respectful of the Major. They recognize the truth about the Walk; they gain an insight into the real nature of things. But these are crude, "rude awakenings" (Wiater 2001, 394), since just at the moment when they become socially critical, when they finally see through the system, when they discover that "there's no winner, no Prize" (King 1992, 242), they must die.

As in Roman times, when the circus was offered to the people as entertainment, people gather together to watch their young die in this future America. The Walkers are effectively turned into consumer products. As one boy puts it: "That's entertainment [...] It's nothing new" (King 1992, 266). The Long Walk could be more properly called "99 ways to die", since part of its bizarre attraction is to see how many variations on death await these youngsters (sunstroke, pneumonia, exhaustion, being gut-shot). The marathon, which is approved by the totalitarian regime and is used to deflect people's attention from social and political problems, has become "the national pastime" (King 1992, 275), and is the most important event in the life of the country. The state has no scruples about exploiting human lives in order to perpetuate stability under the guise of entertainment.

At first, the Walkers are thrilled to see the crowds, and they wave back because "that's the polite thing to do" (King 1992, 220). However, they soon realize they mean nothing to the Crowd which takes the shape of an enormous, threatening entity, hungering for their blood. "Crowd was to be pleased. Crowd was to be worshipped and feared. Ultimately, Crowd was to be made sacrifice unto." (King 1992, 349) On the other hand, the Crowd seems to be purged of its anger and frustration (which have political origins), through witnessing the brutality of the

Walk. Interestingly, the Crowd's responses to the events are often described in sexual terms, the spectators being aroused by the public display of suffering: "The crowd made a low sound that might have been a sigh or a groan or an almost sexual outletting of pleasure" (King 1992, 345).

There are also specific instances when members of the Crowd offer themselves to the doomed boys: "The faces of these girls were hot, flushed, and excited [...] and erotic almost to the point of insanity" (King 1992, 253). They invite the boys to kiss and fondle them, and many are just too weak to resist this siren call. They risk their lives by stopping, but establishing a moment of intimacy, even if only with a stranger, gives them a taste of those life's pleasures which they have forsaken for the race. Unfortunately, in the world of the game, pleasure is inextricably linked to death. If the Walkers linger on in the arms of a girl, they are shot. Even if they leave before the final warning, the only thing they gain from the encounter is the physical pain suffered because of unfulfilled desire. "It hurts, I got a cramp – " (King 1992, 253) cries one boy who stops and is shot shortly afterwards because he cannot overcome the unsatisfied physical yearning after fondling a girl. So, even the positive aspects of life pose a threat for the Walkers.

To oppose this bleak world, represented by the Crowd (which is devoid of real feelings), King directs our attention to the boys, who pass through a maturation process during the Walk. The Walk can be interpreted as a symbol of life; life seen as a journey, where the final destination is death (Hatlen 1988, 38). The boys leave behind their innocence and enter the stage of experience where the adult world's corruption, its willingness to sacrifice its young, and the Walk's meaninglessness, are all revealed to them. According to James F. Smith (1992, 101), the Walk may also be seen as "an ultimate rite of passage". Unfortunately, their deaths and suffering are ultimately useless and provide only momentary entertainment for the Crowd, who seem to receive pleasure and thrill out of vicariously participating in their suffering.

In a society which educates the boys to be competitive, to not care for others but to pursue their individual goals, they eventually start to drift towards each other. As a means of rebellion, and to show they still have a free will, they deliberately form groups: this procedure is against the jungle law demanded by the Walk, which incorporates elements of the Darwinian natural law of selection. Ideas of companionship, camaraderie, the "Three Musketeers basis" (King 1992, 171), with its ethic of "all for one and one for all", distinguish them from the insatiable Crowd, and from the robotic soldiers. Their need for community is natural, yet their society forces people into two categories: those of winners and losers. But out of the common experience of dying a strong bond of loyalty is born, a feeling of solidarity. Even though they should wish for each other's death, they deliberately defy the rules by sharing their food and helping each other, even if it involves undertaking risks. They develop crude social structures among themselves as they walk, gaining strength from belonging to a certain "subclan" (King 1992, 248). In fact, we can say the Walkers constitute a microcosm of society, in which Number One is a boy called Aaronson, and Number Hundred is called Zuck.

That King had Shirley Jackson's "The Lottery" on his mind is obvious from the direct references in the story. At one point, a character feels "as if he had just walked through a Shirley Jackson short story" (King 1992, 231), and there are intertextual references to the famous ending words of "The Lottery" twice. Once a dying boy utters "It isn't fair!" (King 1992, 176), mirroring the last moments of Jackson's Tessie Hutchinson, about to be stoned to death for the welfare of her village; King's protagonist, Ray, shouts the same phrase while holding a friend's dead body in his arms (King 1992, 313). What seems to connect the two stories together – on a thematic level – is the characters' too-late-realization of life's unfairness. Danielle Schaub (1990) claims that Tessie's final words show "her sudden awareness of human irrationality and injustice". It seems that people in both stories live without giving much thought to existing traditions, political systems, they do not question bizarre forms of entertainment. These traditions are simply accepted because there has "*always* been a lottery" (Jackson 1986, 376), and seem distanced if one is not directly involved. People are drawn by a weird sense of fascination to watch such games or

spectacles: "some folks like to see other folks die" (King 1992, 300), as one Walker remarks. In fact, regarding the scandal surrounding her shocking story, Shirley Jackson confided to a newspaper that most people who wrote her letters "were not so much concerned with what the story meant; what they wanted to know was where these lotteries were held, and whether they could go there and watch" (Shields 2004, 412). In both works, the ritual provides a channel for the release of repressed feelings (Nebeker 1974, 102).

Characters in these fictional worlds acquire a sharper focus of life's reality and society's unfairness only when it is too late and there is nothing they can do about it. The insights which they gain seem not to be shared by others who stand on the sidelines: i.e. the ones who "lose" in the lottery (thereby saving their lives), or the spectators who line the road. In King's story, the only person who understands the message of the dying friend ("It isn't fair!" (King 1992, 176)) is Ray, because he shares an insider's point-of-view. When Ray was ten, his father took him to watch the Long Walk, but at that time he could not connect emotionally with the Walkers, and had no qualms about seeing young boys die – because he was a spectator, not a participant. It seems that the price of enlightenment is to stake one's own life.

"The Lottery", which takes place within the closed structure of a small village, is more concerned with scapegoating mechanisms and man's inherent need to lay blame (Nebeker 1974, 101). The logic of this mechanism dictates that scapegoats should be chosen for the good of the entire community. They are identified as sources of pollution and their removal from within the body politic through execution brings about a "ritual cleansing" (Shields 2004, 413). Jackson claimed she wanted to examine man's inhumanity toward his fellow men (Shields 2004, 412) and the savage impulses lurking beneath the veneer of civilization (Nebeker 1974, 100). She also criticizes blind obedience, illustrated by the villagers, following a tradition whose original significance and meaning have already been lost. The breakdown of societal and familial relationships can also be observed: friends and neighbors rush forward to cast the first stone at the victim during this ritualized savagery, and, in the last chilling moment, someone gives a few pebbles to Tess's little son.

The stakes are higher during the annual ritual in the world of the Long Walk: one victim will not suffice, so we have 100 victims. However, due to this great number, a strange reaction starts among the boys. They perceive that all they are is "mice in a trap" (King 1992, 363) and, going against their best interests, they start to form friendships, which are the only lasting bond in a world where every other form of relationship, be it based on love or blood-ties, is shown to be fragile.

As pointed out by Michael Collings, the boys become cult objects in the eyes of the Crowd, who actively participate in the fetishization of suffering (1985, 54). The Walkers' discarded shoes, water cans, the various objects they leave behind all end up becoming souvenirs, avidly collected by Crowd members. At times, it seems as if even their humanity is stripped away (one boy has to suffer the humiliation of emptying his bowels in front of everyone). Parallel to the process of exposing themselves physically to the Crowd (they relieve themselves, experience an orgasm, die in front of hundreds of eager spectators), they expose themselves emotionally to their peers as the only way to retain their humanity. They slowly open up and share their feelings and frustrations; they talk about their motivation to enter the race and their confusion about their identity.

So in a certain sense there is a limit to the controlling gaze: the physical, visible body is constantly observed, but the invisible emotions hidden inside are revealed only to the chosen ones. The boys' last vestige of free will manifests itself in their decision to share or not to share their innermost feelings and thoughts with their peers.

Though there are moments when they feel like islands cut off from each other, with each of them retreating into a "private world of pain" (King 1992, 212), eventually they migrate towards each other, as an alternative to the spirit of alienation surrounding them (Magistrale 1992, 55). John Donne wrote that "no man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main" (1973, 1057), and the boys seem to reconnect into a "main", as if they

formed one continent, one body. As the Walk progresses, they draw comfort from each others' physical presence, and they often bunch close together as if to receive protection by forming a "magic circle" (King 1992, 248).

As in his other novels, King criticizes families which are not efficient in raising and protecting their young. After all, what kind of a mother would allow her son to participate in a deadly game when the chances of winning are almost nil? Ray's mother was blinded by the prospect of wealth and while Ray mentions his girlfriend's desperate begging (even offering to go "all the way" (King 1992, 342) with him and as many times as he liked), he does not talk about his mother's objections to this crazy idea. Unfortunately, even if parents decide to resist, their authority crumbles when confronted with the deadly efficiency of the state machinery. One Walker's father threatened to lock him in the cellar to prevent him from leaving, but when soldiers showed up at their door, with faces so ugly "they could have stopped clocks" (King 1992, 344), he stepped back and let his child be led away.

A standard feature of dystopia is that it does not allow readers to experience a sense of closure and catharsis (Texter 2007, 53). Though we have a winner in this novel, Ray Garraty, he is clearly out of his mind by the end of the marathon walk. He has sacrificed himself in vain, since he will not be able to enjoy his rewards. The book is open-ended; will he survive or will the soldiers shoot him behind a barracks, where no one can see them? The reader is haunted by the final image of Ray continuing along the road toward a dark, beckoning figure (death?), which only he can see. His Walk has not stopped: he will continue until he drops dead.

In classic dystopias, the oppressor is usually the state, the force against which resistance must be directed (Texter 2007, 56). Unfortunately, the forms of resistance which these boys mount are pathetic (blowing the Major a raspberry; a desperate Walker attacking the soldiers), compared to the immense power of the state. The Crowd does not even interpret these acts as acts of rebellion, they are there to watch the game and enjoy themselves. The state has a vested interest in keeping up the Long Walk, since it serves the purpose of directing the public's attention away from certain social and political issues and offering them an outlet for their frustrations. In Anthony Magistrale's opinion (1992, 55), the marathon actually aids "the state in its fascistic quest of absolute domination over its citizenry" and it also symbolizes "the regimented social behavior dictated by the authorities" (1992, 54). In his article on sanctioned violence, Patrick J. Shields (2004, 416) states that "executions are symbolic rituals that magnify the power and authority, and forcibly remind the citizenry of the immense coercive power behind the law", thus effectively keeping people in their places. Though they committed no crime, the Walkers are shot, and these shootings are examples of public executions.

The novel could also be seen as a criticism of the rat-race, where people are encouraged to pursue happiness and success at all costs, competing with each other, or of professional sports and their spectators, obsessed with victory. It reflects America's fascination with televised violent sport and it presages reality TV-shows, such as *Survivor*, which is a test of endurance, but also a game show competition. To underline this connection, King prefaces almost all his chapters with quotations from famous hosts of game shows, such as "Twenty-One", "You Bet Your Life", or "Jeopardy". A game show creator once remarked that "the ultimate game show would be one where the losing contestant was killed" (King 1992, 203), and this is exactly the case in this future dystopia.

One of the Walkers remarks that "any game looks straight if everyone is being cheated at once" (King 1992:330) and, as Burton Hatlen claims, it seems that the "entire society has bought into a mass delusion" (1988, 47) within this fictional world. Misled by the state, the boys are unable to recognize this. They actually feel honored to represent the states they come from (the protagonist is repeatedly referred to as "Maine's Own" (King 1992, 170)). They do not see the truth behind the Walk, i.e. how it is used as the "government's sadistic system of control" (Magistrale

1992, 56). The Walkers are sacrificial victims, not to ensure a good harvest (as in Jackson's "The Lottery"), but to ensure stability (Collings 1985, 32).

According to Douglas Winter (1989, 271), *The Long Walk* is a dystopian quest novel, where the boys are looking for "some deep meaning" (King 1992, 190), finally discovering in the lane-markings "the pattern of life and death" (King 1992, 233). However, unlike most quest novels, *The Long Walk* is static and monotonous, basically without digressions or subplots. We might go so far as to say there is no plot to it: the boys just walk and talk until they die. The emphasis is not upon exciting adventures and tests of courage, but upon the interaction between the Walkers, their inner development, their "shifting alliances and betrayals, successes and failures" (D'Amassa 1985, 124), how they deal with the conflicts born within their closed circle, and what they learn on this "deadly journey of self-discovery" (Wiater 2001, 397).

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Dóra Szauter

On Abstraction

– Iconoclasm and Iconolatry

My focus has primarily been medieval iconology and picture theory, and as an intersection of the two fields I came across two seemingly far fetched but strikingly corresponding quotes. In 1905, Paul Klee arrived at the conclusion: "The artist does not render nature itself but the law of nature."(Klee 1905) Some six hundred and fifty years back in time Thomas Acquinas made the axiomatic statement: "Ars imitatur naturam... in sua operatione." (S. Th. I. 117, 1) It was the striking correspondence of these two ideas that launched this research, and their examination and juxtaposition in a wider context gradually evolved into this paper.

Though Klee heralds their art as new, a turning of the back on the old masters, it had obviously existed before in similar forms. Gombrich held that the two peaks of geometric stylization are Irish codices and Islamic art (Gombrich 1950). Celtic carpet pages and Persian carpets come to mind along with cave paintings and Greek vases and raise the question as to why people have turned to abstraction over the centuries.

On this track, I came across Alain Besançon's *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm* (Besançon 2000) – a detailed discussion of the privileging and prohibition of religious images in the Western world over two and a half millennia. In his book, Besançon presents twentieth century abstract painting as the latest movement in the struggle over idolatry. He, in fact, states that Modernist abstractionism ultimately springs from religious iconoclasm.

I would have been willing to take this for granted had I not read an excerpt from the *Suprematist Manifesto* around the same time, in which Malevich leaves little room for an iconoclastic interpretation. Consequently, in my paper, I argue that Besançon's conclusion is only partly correct. Even if the two phenomena (i.e. pre-twentieth century and twentieth century abstraction) do show considerable resemblance and the apparatuses that brought them to life had the same roots, their underlying motives are different, what is more, even conflicting.

Just as how this research started, I will focalize my argumentation with the help of quotes and matching images. The upcoming list of evidences is far from exhaustive and the choice of my source texts may well seem accidental, however, as I see them on a re-read, it is more appropriate to say that one paved the path for the other.

* * *

> Our world of art has become new, non-objective, pure. Everything has vanished, there remains a mass of material, from which the new forms will be built. In the art of suprematism, forms will live, like all living forms of nature ... Until now there was realism of objects, but not of painted units of colour which are constructed so that they depend neither on form, nor on colour nor on their position relative to each other. Each form is free and individual. Each form a world. (Malevich 1991, 181)

Hence the quote from the *Manifesto* I referred to. The free and individual world Malevich mentions is created in *Suprematist Composition: White on White* (Figure 1): a white square floating in a white field. A geometric abstraction without reference to another reality – one of the most radical paintings of its day. Surprisingly, the painting is anything but impersonal – the texture of the paint, the delicate variations of whites, and the little 'imperfections' are traces left by the artist's

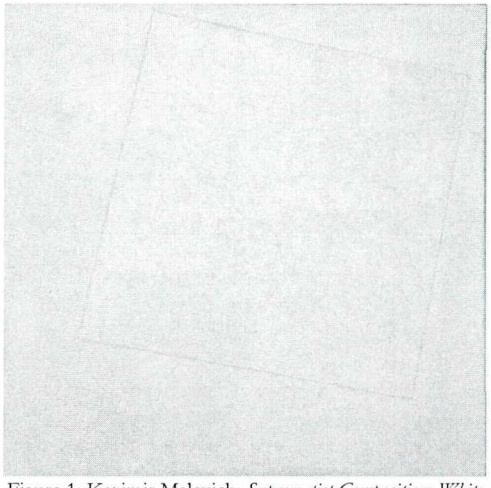

Figure 1: Kazimir Malevich: *Suprematist Composition: White on White* 1918. Oil on canvas, 79.4 x 79.4 cm. MoMA.

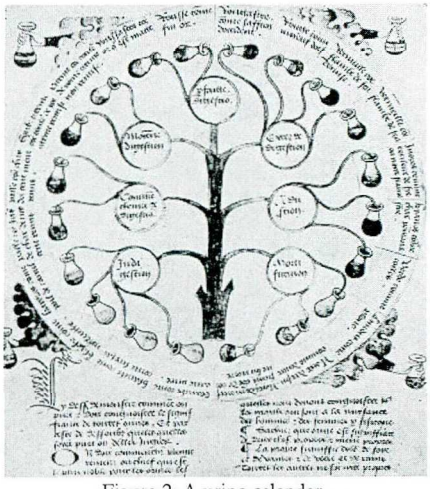

Figure 2: A urine calendar. At clendening.kumc.edu

hand. The transcendental quality of white creates the utopian realm of pure form. The novelty of the (almost) monochromatic picture is not non-figurativity but the fact that its painter comes from a fundamentally figurative cultural background (Földényi 2010, 15). Is it possible to find the roots of the abstract? Also, how far do we have to reach to find them?

Abstraction seems to be an ageless means to depict the transcendental. In certain periods of time and under definite circumstances non-figurativity has always been accepted. Wilhelm Worringer published his theory entitled "Abstraktion und Einfühlung," which is basically the combination of Reigl's *Kunstwollen* and Theodor Lipps' *aesthetic sympathy* (Worringer 1907). He elaborated on the idea that art history had been the alternation of two style forming processes: the organic/sympathetic and the anorganic/abstract. He argues that style characteristics are not knowledge-based but are formed by a 'will to art' which works in one direction or the other.

A method of expressing the divine order through abstract structures is traced back to early neo-Platonic and north European pagan images in a variety of genres, including perfect geometric forms and symmetrical schemata. These acted as the underlying structure for images of heavenly beings and of man's position in an ordered universe (Caviness 1983, 99).

Geometric schemata were adapted, by the addition of representational elements, to pictographs and figured diagrams, and they provided the hidden structure for fuller depictions of visionary subjects. For instance, the circular nature of the cosmic order in insular manuscript illuminations is also reflected in representations of other kinds of order: that of daily life, bodily functions (Figure 2), human life, and monastic life. In Islamic art, decorative motifs are infinitely extendable – ornamental renderings of Allah's infinity. In another part of the world, the same fundamental structure governs the Tibetan Bhavachakra, the wheel of life (Figure 3).

The motive behind the so far mentioned instances of abstraction is an aversion from the visible world. In the Eastern Church, the main excuse for having representations of God is the corporeality of the human being, which needs a visual entrance to the world of the invisible (i.e. seeing is believing). The subject was God/omneity and looking at the image enhanced the belief in this deity. Abstraction here serves as a strictly controlled replacement of the holiest, that is, the irrepresentable – a discrimination/rejection of images in the name of the sacred. Limitations were imposed from the outside by an (religious) authority with an iconoclastic attitude and the imposed rules (written or unwritten) were inspired by iconophobia.

* * *

In comparison, to what extent is Modernist abstract art free of textuality? Is it merely the celebration of colour and form? Indeed, it did come as a repression of literature, verbal discourse, and language itself in favour of pure visuality or painterly form (Mitchell 1994, 214). Modernism in the visual arts involves a certain resistance to language, but Mitchell argues that this repression was not at all successful. After *ut pictura poesis*, the maxim for abstract art became *ut pictura theoria* (Mitchell 1994, 220).

Theory is the underlying text of Modernist abstractionism – just like religious canons for earlier forms of abstraction and traditional literary forms to representational painting. This theory is "intellectual prose" – a hybrid of aesthetics and other branches of philosophy, as well as literary criticism, linguistics, the natural and social sciences, psychology, history, political thought, and religion (Mitchell 1994, 220). As Tom Wolfe puts it: "these days without a theory to go with it, I can't see a painting." And he adds "not seeing is believing, you ninny, but believing is seeing", for modern art has become completely literary: the paintings and other works exist only to illustrate the text (Wolfe 1976, 6).

The purity of abstraction is none other than a scientific, religious, and ethical-political reformation: the religion of theory (Mitchell 1994, 227). On visual terms, a modern geometric painting and a medieval mappamundi (Figure 4) serve the same purpose, that is to summon up themes of meditative recollection as they both offer a place where mind and world can merge and result in an inner experience of the unity of life (Ingold 2010, 20).

So it is true that just like earlier, the picture is defined by texts – but these texts are *pro pictura,* iconophilic, supportive instead of restrictive; they were created by the artists in favour of the picture, the liberation of the picture; and not for some deity/or to sustain some law and order, and that is what makes the difference.

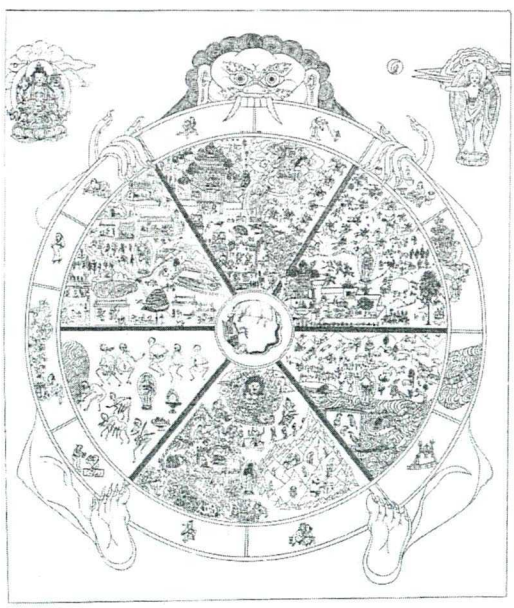

Figure 3: A Tibetan Bhavachakra.
At lojong-texts.blogspot.com

Figure 4: Psalter mappamundi, 1225 A.D.
At synaesthesiac.blogspot.com

The liberation (instead of limitation) was carried out by the artists themselves and the underlying texts appeared in the form of manifestos. Unlike in the Middle Ages when the intellectual/religious elite supervised craftsmen, many modern artists created their own theory – the constitutive pre-text for their work. Especially early abstraction (Kandinsky, Malevich, Mondrian) builds principally on the theoretical manifestos written by the artists themselves based on their readings of nineteenth century idealist philosophy (Mitchell 1994, 222).

* * *

The twentieth century saw a return to the visible world *for the sake of the image*. In 1898, Kandinsky reported that he "discovered abstraction" in Russian icons (Berger 1977, 306). In their hieratic stylistic features such as golden background and geometric order along with a schematic representation of the human figure in a three circle division: those of the halo, the hair and the face (Figure 5), he found what he had been searching for. Abstraction for him meant the elimination of figurative elements, which conceal the true nature of the work of art and the denial of the compulsion to see a painting and equate it with *what* it is a painting *of* (Ingold 2010, 21). He called the principle by which the abstract content of a work of art directly touches the soul *inner necessity* (Kandinsky 1982, 160) – a profanation of what religious onlookers of an icon would call the hand of God.

Figure 5: Byzantine scheme of proportion for representing head with halo. At arts.jrank.org

It is not accidental that Russia was the hotbed of the new abstract movement. The October Revolution and the takeover of materialism were not only expected to redeem society but also hoped to bring about spiritual freedom. Driven by an urge to represent pure forms Malevich also set out on the same quest but unlike the conceptualist Kandinsky, he arrived at abstraction in an experimental way (Galenson 2006). Malevich described his aesthetic theory, known as Suprematism, as "the supremacy of pure feeling or perception in the pictorial arts" and pure perception demanded that a picture's forms "have nothing in common with nature." From a suprematist point of view, objects of the material world are not noteworthy, it is the feel as such that is important (Malevich 1986, 65).

Talking of feel: "nothing is as close as black" – the heaviest, the most earthly, the most conceivable colour (Marin 2003, 218). Blacks is to re-awaken pre-sight sensitivity. A meta-colour that is to be found in the very core of objects, the penetration into the middle of objects, the ultimate experience of being surrounded by thickness and see nothing. Not blindness but infinite proximity, identification rather than representation (Földényi 2010, 19).

> If everything is black, there is no light. If there is no light, there is no space. And if there is no space, there is no perspective, no visibility. Paradoxically, it is the infinite proximity of vision that emerges: the *desire for mystical union*. In the twentieth century, this painting of Malevich completes the centuries-long history of a painterly effort for perfect proximity (Földényi 2010, 20).

Black has repeatedly been associated with solid and geometric forms but similarly to white it also evokes transcendental associations. This complexity had been discovered well before the Modernists. Malevich's *Black Square* (Figure 6) conveys pretty much the same concept as does the black square in Robert Fludd's *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris scilicet et Minoris Metaphysica, Physica, atque*

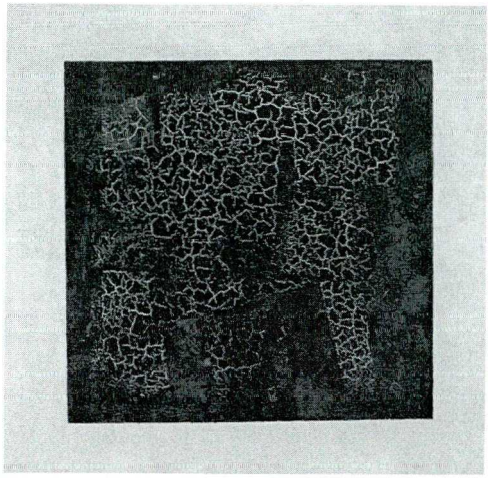

Figure 6: Kasimir Malevich: Black Square on a White Ground 1915. Oil on linen. 80x80cm. At tate.org.uk

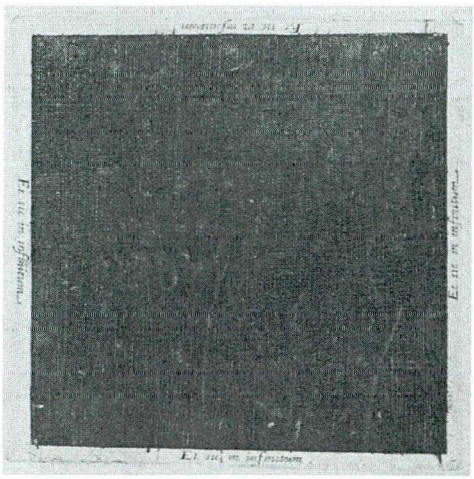

Figure 7: The Great Darkness. 'And thus, to infinity' 1617. At jehsmith.com

Technica Historia[1] (Figure 7) from 1617, which shows the primordial darkness of the universe at the moment before creation presented in the context of a metaphysical iconography of the infinite.[2]

A re-thinking of the same black square, Ad Reinhardt's *Abstract Painting* from 1963 contains three distinct shades of black, which become conceivable only after prolonged looking. Talking about his celebration of the colour the artist nicknamed as 'the black-monk' quotes Hokusai, "There is a black which is old and a black which is fresh. Lustrous black and dull black, black in sunlight and black in shadow" (Reinhardt 1991, 86).

* * *

We can see how paintings have become something like totems of a new aesthetic order. No wonder that the highest praise of a modernist work of art is to describe it in the language of magic and fetishism (Schapiro 1978, 200). It takes just another step to realize that modernist abstraction is not void of religious connotations either. The title of Hans Hofman's *Sancta Sanctorum* (Figure 8) is only one among the many religious titles given to abstract works of art.

Table 1 gives a brief summary of the similarities and differences between pre-twentieth and twentieth century abstraction, which, as we have seen, are two sides of the same coin: one is iconoclastic, the other is iconolatric in attitude. Abstraction became the aim and not the means. It is an apotheosis of the image. So if, as Besançon defines it, the modern abstract movement really is a battle fought in the struggle over idolatry, it is a lost one.

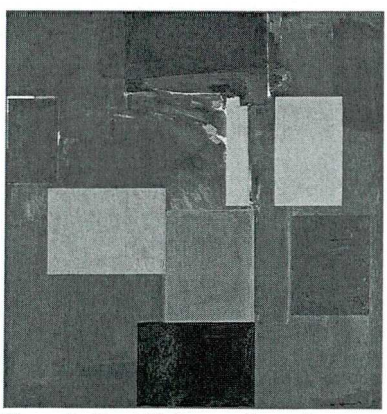

Figure 8: Hans Hofmann. *Sancta Sanctorum.* 1962. Oil on canvas. At bampfa.berkeley.edu

[1] The Metaphysical, Physical, and Technical History of the Two Worlds, Namely the Greater and the Lesser.

[2] The words *Et sic in infinitum* ("and like this to infinity") are written on all four sides of the square.

Table 1.

PRE-TWENTIETH CENTURY	TWENTIETH CENTURY
transcendental	
textual	
religious authority	artists themselves
limitation	liberation
craftsmanship	art
abstraction as means	abstraction as aim
strictly geometric	freestyle
iconophobic	iconophilic/iconolatric
'seeing is believing'	'believing is seeing'

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Anna Kérchy

Disorder in the Museum

Recycling Waste and Cultural Trauma in the Chapman Brothers' Abject Art

Etymologically speaking, the word 'museum' originates from the Greek Mouseion *Μουσεῖον* referring to a temple dedicated to the worshipping of the Muses, mythical patron goddesses of arts and sources of supreme spiritual knowledge. The contemporary common sense attributed to the museum remains true to the origins by circumscribing a secluded, metaphorically 'sacred' space consecrated to the preservation and display of our most prestigious artefacts canonised as 'cultural fetishes' or 'historical relics' invested with a symbolical value that transcends their use or exchange value often to the extent of invaluableness and untouchability. Anyone well-enough socialised knows that paying a visit to the museum requires not only a healthy dose of curiosity but, as a pilgrimage to a privileged repository of civilisation, it necessitates the temporary adoption of certain codes of conduct including focalised attention, considerate behaviour, and disciplined attitude. In a traditional sense, the museum constitutes a liminal space with its distinct rules of functioning organised along the lines of order, cleanliness and respect. Artworks are arranged chronologically, thematically or by the artists' names, rooms are neatly mapped, explanatory brochures created, itineraries recommended, space kept under the constant surveillance of room-guards and safety cameras, cleanliness maintained through specialised technical apparatus, (temperature control preventing the formation of dust or humidity), and through the discipline of potentially polluting human bodies (prohibition to eat, drink or make noise in the exhibit halls). Interestingly, this naturalised museal attitude associated with a distantly respectful a-musement also surfaces in such marginal linguistic phenomenon as the slang term 'museum' denoting "a girl that's nice to look at, but impossible to get remotely intimate with," as the *Urban Dictionary* suggests. It is perhaps less surprising that the professional definition keeps the classic Horatian *dulce et utile* (entertainment and education) as the vital constituents in the formula of the museum defined by the 2007 Statute of the *International Council of Museums* as

> a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

However, on the other hand, as Michel Foucault convincingly argued, the museum is far from being a sterile and sanctified, Parnassus-like, safe sphere of certainties. In a Foucauldian view, the museum proves to be a *heterotopia*, a place contained within the society formative of its very foundation, yet also a curiously self-dislocating "counter-site" symbolically stretching outside or even beyond society by virtue of "simultaneously representing, contesting and inverting all the other real sites that can be found within the culture" (2002, 231). Museums are loci of spatial and temporal confusion, designating a new set of physical, psychic and topographical relations.

My paper wishes to explore precisely how the apparently sterile, symbolically sacred, and strictly *ordered* museum space becomes spectacularly invaded by the socially rejected, artistically reincorporated 'waste' of/in 'abject art' aimed to exercise a shock-therapeutical effect radically *disordering* the subject while fulfilling the communal responsibility of remembering what we would rather forget. I shall unveil the intensification of the museum's heterotopiac function, demon-

strating how the artistic recycling of our cultural imagination's Unimaginable traumatic residue (humanity and art degraded to worthless, abject waste) turns the exhibit hall into the canonised ordered (art)system's "constitutive outside," a liminal space apt to reveal the very impossibilities of representation.

As Foucault highlights, even if museums' location can be precisely indicated in the real world, they challenge our conception of space through pointing to an abstract "*outside* of all places" which they "reflect and speak about" (Foucault 2002, 231). A museum may juxtapose various different spaces, bridge geographical and cultural distances, combine microscopic and large-scale views, and fully restructure spaces with exhibits like the pyramid rebuilt brick by brick in one of Louvre museum's underground halls. The spatial reorganization of an exhibit has the capacity to activate different levels of meanings depending on how and where the visitor's attention is focused.

Foucault also calls museums "heterotopias of time" (234) which enclose in one single storehouse cultural remainders from all times, styles and places coined as historical heritage meant to condensate knowledges accumulated to be canonised throughout the ages. But they are also apt loci to freeze-frame History and point towards Eternity by virtue of the endless process of collection, the timeless value of works of art, and attempts made at preserving works against the raging ravages of time.

In a heterotopic spatio-temporal imbroglio, the museum's institutional setting allows for the intrusion of the past's 'residue' into the present's ordered system, by means of a 'cultural recycling' Walter Moser (2007) associates with "the dialectic and drama of remembering and forgetting". The museum undertakes an archaeological-anthropological project, whereby the apparently worthless can be recovered and reinterpreted as historically significant. Ruined, fragmented, disordered or the most mundane, low cultural objects, simply by virtue of their historicity, can gain a high cultural value that is reinforced by their exhibition in the museum space providing us the institutionalised standards of artistic readability. Socially rejected waste can become recuperated with time as a meaningful and valuable memento of the past. Museum-exhibits of the type of broken fishhook of a prehistorical man, or a chipped bit of medieval mural painting, a baroque chamber pot, but also mundane memorabilia with a literary historical significance such as a famous author's laundry list, or jewellery made from remnants of the World Trade Centre are esteemed for their aptitude to assure the (somewhat illusory because human-made) continuity of (art)history. Throughout the 'museal recycling' process, archaeological remains, ruins and rubbish are symbolically purified and invested with civilisational significance via the meticulous restoration, renovation, recuperation process. Accordingly, the museum fulfils its Foucauldian function as "heterotopia of ritual (or) purification" (235) by the cleanliness of art-objects, exhibit-spaces and visitors' physical, psychic, mental states alike. The museumgoer stops in front of the shiny glass cases looking for illumination, knowledge and delight by the displayed museal artefacts, and etches a sketch or has her photo taken in front of the artwork – traditionally dressed for the occasion in her Sunday's best, but surely with a knowing and proud smile – in remembrance of the culturally expected catharsis.

The museal space as a "heterotopia of illusion" (Foucault 2002, 235) proposes to expose and explain a variety of temporally or spatially distinct places. These might be in reality inaccessible but are offered for imaginary exploration by courtesy of the museum's also being a "heterotopia of compensation" able to create an "other place" (235), where fantasies can roam free, perspectives proliferated, and minds opened up to make sense and sensibility of the previously unknown. Emotive immersion and socio-cultural self-reflection fuse in the museal interpretive process. The visitor is interpellated as a historicised subject with a social responsibility to face passing time, and to recall within a meaningful narrative that which we would often prefer to forget: philosophically speaking, the fundamental trauma of the *homo moriens*, the very awareness of our own mortality.

The museum's role in establishing cultural knowledge, historical consciousness, communal memory, as well as social and artistic sensitivity gains even more stress when the drama of

remembering and forgetting is incited by rejected, mundane, seemingly insignificant objects origi-nating from culturally traumatic events which we would rather associate with the Unimaginable and the Unspeakable, while paradoxically expecting museums to commemorate them, "to provide a fairly detailed description of what is unspeakable".[1] In twentieth century Western cultural memo ry the most obvious example for such an event is the Holocaust from which very few objects have been left behind for museal display because of the all pervasive nature of programmed annihilation. Yet the remaining tangible traces of the past trauma – the heaps of victims' abandoned suitcases, shoes, prisoner uniforms, even prosthetic limbs and shorn human hair (Figure 1) – cannot be regarded otherwise as metonymically embodied mementos of the Unnameable Impossibility itself. They are equally associated with a moral prohibition and a compulsion to recall, to represent and to forget, and, thus, constitute an immense challenge when it comes to locating them in the museum's memorial space.

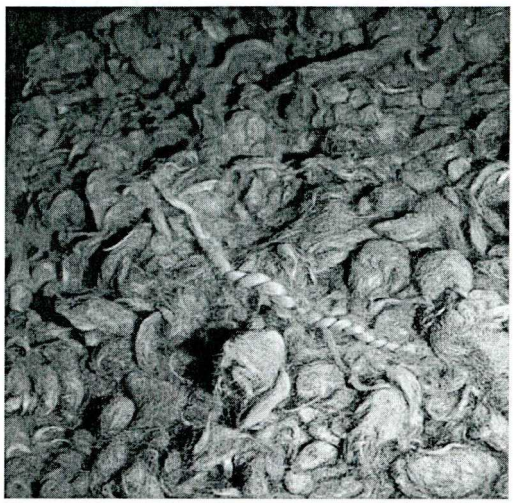

Figure 1: Human hair in display case at Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum. Photograph by Lukasz Trzcinski. 2009. ScrapbookPages. <http://www.scrapbookpages.com/-auschwitzscrapbook>

Julia Kristeva starts out precisely from this cognitive dissonance when in her *Powers of Horror. An Essay on Abjection* she elaborates a corpusemiotical theory of the subject "abjectified" by the haunting return of a repressed, traumatic otherness that threatens with the collapse of identity and meaning alike, through its uncanny fusion of the homely familiar with the horrifically unthinkable. For Kristeva abjection is exemplified by the heap of children's shoes traditionally associated with infantile joys and Santa Claus' presents, now dislocated, abandoned in Auschwitz museum, as a trace of the senseless massacre, the depersonalising massgraves, and of the void left by them, a memento of the voiceless victims' unburied past. The piles of human hair in concentration camp memorials illustrate how the human bodily form reduced to waste, devalued as useless, disordering impurity, as flesh turned into corpse marks the abject's "elsewhere" "beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable" (Kristeva 1) summoning the breakdown of sane self and sense caused by the loss of distinction between order and disorder, visible and unimaginable, systemic inclusion and exclusion, "psychic expulsion and retention" (Moser 2007). Abject shocks us by evoking the primal, infantile sensation of our vulnerably corporeal materiality that is normally meant to be disciplined and protected by socialisation. However, here it is hideously transformed into a brutal experience of ravished terror at the sight of the insignificant, ie. non-interpretable body-waste immediately related to crisis states such as times of war, neurosis, perversion, illness, crime, and violence.

Following Kristeva's theoretical propositions, *abject art* gradually gains a canonised art historical status as an aesthetic category referring to the invasion of the symbolically sacred, sterile museum space by the traumatic residue of the socially rejected, artistically reincorporated 'waste' aimed to exercise a shock-therapeutical effect. The term was first used as the title of 1993 Whitney Museum, NY exhibit, *Abject Art: Repulsion and Desire* gathering contemporary artists'

[1] Berel Lang uses this phrase describing the negative rhetoric of Holocaust representation. See Lang 2000 quoted in Richardson 2005.

selected works revolving around the theme of spectacularised otherness and body/waste-horror. The first Abject Art exhibit displayed disintegrating, fractured bodies like Cindy Sherman's androgynous medical-puppet-cum-sex-toy mannequin-torsos and Robert Gober's phantom-limb-like prosthetic leg, decomposing or dissected bodies like Helen Chadwick's neatly organized chunks of meat defamiliarised as a locus of self-identity, solid bodies turned inside out to reveal the hidden viscosity beneath the smooth skin-ego like Andres Serrano's photograph of a holy crucifix submerged in his own urine merging taboos, or Mary Kelly's postpartum documents analysing her baby's infantile faecal stains and feeding charts along with baby vests decorated with Lacan's intersubjectivity model and pre-linguistic semiotic alphabet. Spectators have been invited to re-evaluate their relation to the past (as the 'present's residue') and in particular to their past traumatic experiences of exclusion constitutive of their historical/narrative self-identities.

The Whitney Museum exhibit focused on the cultural repression and repulsion of the strangely embodied, non-symbolisable 'Unnameable' on an individual level, whereas my aim in the remaining part of this paper is to analyse the macrodynamics of abjection and the marginalisation or annihilation of scapegoated social other(ed)s on a collective level. I study perhaps the most cutting edge artists appearing in the 1993 NY temporary exhibit: Jake and Dinos Chapman, whose postmodern abject artwork characteristically treats emotionally and socio-politically challenging topics related to cultural trauma, social cataclysm and body/waste-horror.

Conceptual artist brothers Jake and Dinos Chapman, *enfants terribles* of the Young British Artists' heterogeneous movement have become infamous for their testing the limits of representation through transgressive themes elaborating on horrific, thanatological, anatomical and pornographic aspects of the grotesque. Their much debated œuvre contains odious oddities ranging from mannequins of children with genitalia instead of faces, to decaying corpses with skulls decorated by clown's noses familiar from joke shops, to drawings of mutant Ronald McDonalds and funny Hitlers, bronze sculptures of inflatable sex-toys and dog turds, and defaced high artwork meant to "rape creativity."[2]

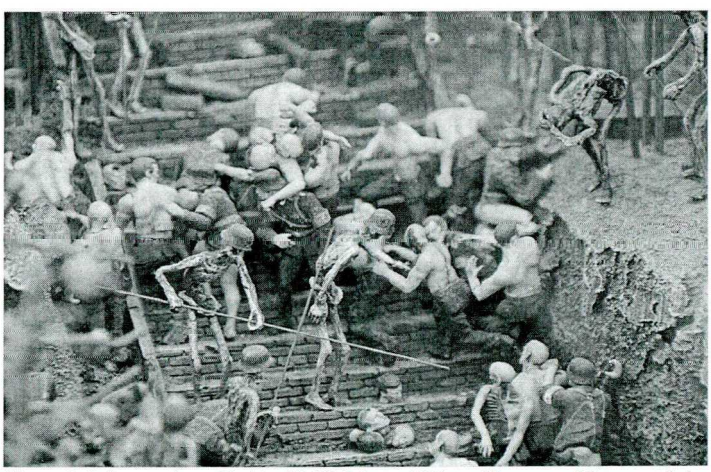

Figure 2, 3: Scenes from *Fucking Hell* © Jake and Dinos Chapman. Photograph by dubow on *flickr*. 2007 Oct 19. Creative Commons License. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dubow/2955028215/>

[2] *The Rape of Creativity* was the title of the Chapman Brothers' April-June 2003 solo show at Modern Art Oxford where they undertook to systematically 'deface' the mint collection of Francisco Goya's *Disasters of War* print-series.

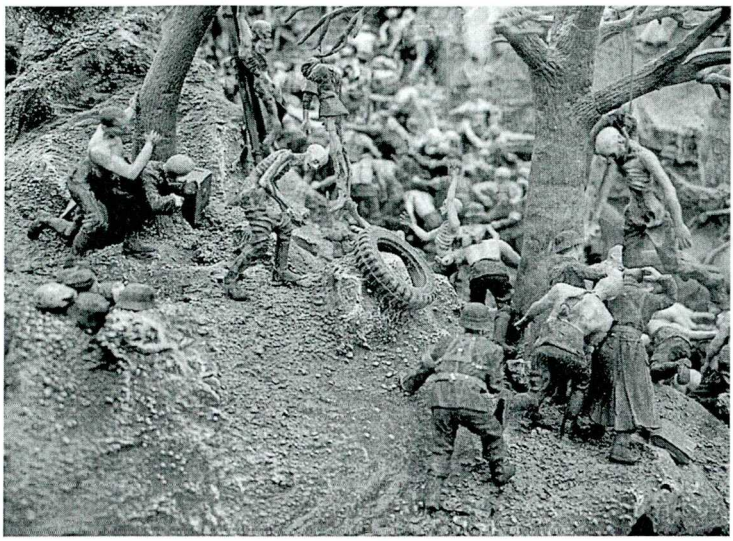

Figure3.

In the followings, my aim is to argue that the Chapmans' most debated works spectacularise the Unimaginable, and stage the ultimate taboo by displaying sacred humanity and art reduced into abject waste. Their aim is to recycle cultural traumas' troubling residue in the heterotopiac museum space allowing for artistic revelations concerning the (im)possibilities of representation and the responsibility of fighting against traumatic amnesia through remembering.

The Chapman Brothers' 2008 *Fucking Hell* is a diorama-series of 5000 miniature wax figurines of Nazis and their victims displayed in ultra-violent scenes of torture, pain and death in a nightmarish Hieronymus Bosch-style, arranged in glass cases in the shape of a swastika. This is a sequel to their 1993 *Disasters of War* now on permanent exhibit in Tate Gallery, centrepiece of the Royal Academy's *Apocalypse* exhibition in 2000, and an extended remake of their 2000 installation *Hell* destroyed in the Momart warehouse fire in East London in 2004. The grotesquerie of the *Hell* sculpture results from the meticulous microscopic perspective forcing us to take a close look at demented frenzies of human violence and violated humans. (Figure 2, 3) Disclosed as documented historical facts, they let us become empathically and sympathically engaged with the most horrific events we would rather turn our eyes away from, or stare silently mesmerised at. In the Chapmans' words, the goal of "nasty art" (Chapmans 2008) is to make spectators conscious of the culturally stigmatised and suppressed nastiness of our existence, to provide an idea of the inconceivable Non-Being that is a necessary counterpart rendering meaningful our very Being. They help us imagine the dangerous, disordering, nonsensical "otherness"[3] that is always out of place and incorporated within the inside of the social/representational system (of individual lives' and collective History's meaningful narrative) only as its outside. The *Hell* exhibition is meant to provide a philosophical commentary on founding ambiguities of Western culture, ranging from religion's macrodynamic to psychology's microdynamic levels. As the Chapmans suggest, while Christianity's major commandment is the prohibition to kill, it is based on the murder of the son of God and "a voyeuristic identification of guilt" (Chapmans 2008). Similarly, conforming to the sacrificial, exclusionary logic of negativity governing our identity- and social constructions, we

[3] Anthropologist Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* discusses the same cultural gesture of "permanently thrusting aside [otherness] in order to live" (Kristeva 3).

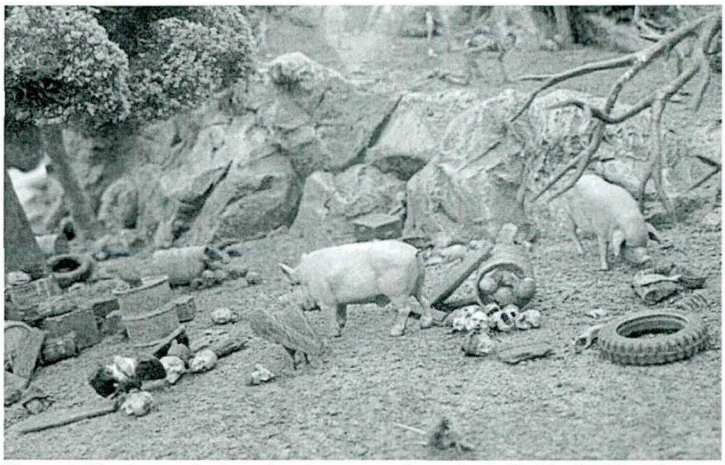

Figure 4: The human body reduced to waste. Scene from *Fucking Hell* by Jake and Dinos Chapman. Photograph by dubow on *flickr*. Creative Commons License. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dubow/2955872666/lightbox/>

"learn what we have in face of what someone else does not have" (Butler 3). Others' loss, vulnerability, and instability serve as negative reference points in determining limits of subjectivity, normality, visibility/speakability/readability. In fact, the anti-aesthetics of "nasty" abject art invading the cleanly museum space literally stages disorder as the basis of order, waste as the ground of purity, through foregrounding the liminal space of the abjected "constitutive outside" (Butler 3). Thus, what is disclosed is forgetting's share in remembering, and those uninhabitable, inarticulable, uncontrollable even inhuman zones of being which prove to constitute the "founding repudiation" (Butler 3) and the traumatic kernel of our socially organised subjectivites and memories.

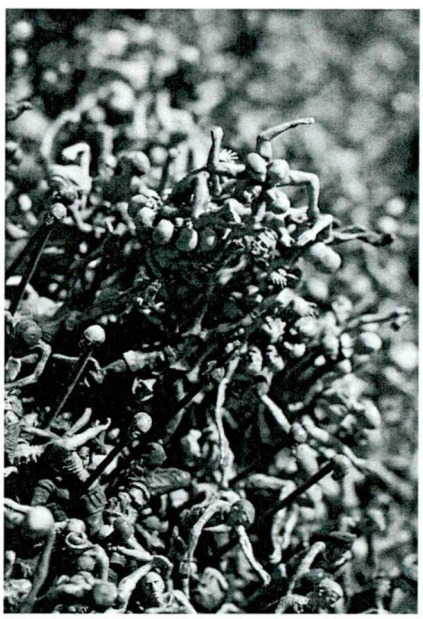

Figure 5: Dehumanizing humanity. Scene from *Fucking Hell* by Jake and Dinos Chapman. Photograph by Marcin Lachowicz on *flickr*. Creative Commons License. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dlp/5375360013/lightbox/>

Moments of non-being, near death/life experiences when the human being is utterly dehumanised (Figure 4, 5) can only be 'recycled' as repressed traumatic residue of a past deprived of the possibility of becoming future, as flashbacks of collective cultural memory one might (prefer to) not have ever seen. Yet we still retain an epistemophiliac, scopophiliac sensitivity about them due to the ethical, historical responsibility to commemorate that which is impossible to be appropriately remembered. Like in traumatic amnesia's combination of a desire and a reluctance to forget and remember, the patient/spectator faces insupportably violent somatic experiences of the past, whose psychic resolution begins with the repressed memory returning solely as a bodily sensation, with no visualising capacity, sequence or logic.

The Chapmans' Hell-sculpture faces us with abjection's crushing "weight of meaninglessness about which there is nothing insignificant", the "willed and terrible suspension of being" to which we react in a "twisted braid of affects and thought" (Kristeva 2, 4) surfacing in violent bodily reactions such as nauseous disgust, outraged horror, frustrated giggle, blushing, compensatory yawning, or tremulous excitement. In Kristeva's view, these gut-reactions are self-protective gestures willing to expel the "other" in order to re-constitute the imaginarily self-sufficient, ordered, 'safe' symbolic self's psycho-social/representational sphere. They function as primary safeguards protecting us from the defiling abject, to place and displace that which is 'not me'/'non-being' yet engulfs me at the border of my condition as a living being. (Kristeva 8)

The Chapmanian works' artistic quality is often questioned on grounds of abusively benefiting from the calculable nature of the corporeal gut-reactions when affronting spectators with shock-effects of tastelessness ranging from obscenity to sacrilege. Their trademark manipulative indecency is clearly summarised in critic Johann Hari's line: "The Chapman Brothers offer a kind of punk art that spits in your face, punches you in the stomach, and nicks your wallet while you are puking on the floor" (Hari 2007). The violent bodily unpleasure predominating over critical self-reflection[4] directly involves spectators in a co-authorial interpretive process paradoxically based on the creation of non-meaning, on the refusal to create meaning. We are all troubled on being invited to give sense to the gut-churning non-representable (ie. Non-being) perversively reinscribed into the socio-culturally sanctioned museum-space created to institutionally circumscribe a safe scopophilic-epistemophiliac regime, a canonised realm of what is worthwhile to be seen, known and enjoyed. Interestingly, the symbolisation-subverting 'presence' of non-being emerges not so much by virtue of representation on the canvas or sculpture surface but rather off-canvas or sculpture in the intimate space of body and/in/to art. Spectators think to reject consciously abjection's engulfment but cannot help approaching it via their corporeal reactions, through failing to enact the socially supported mental and bodily discipline of museum going behaviour and displaying our vulnerabilities in the exhibition hall, thus metaphorically 'polluting' mind, body and space alike. Abject art revalues the wasted, the residue and supplement (beyond all stories) as inspiration and turns "cultural suppression into subcultural artistic revelation".[5] Thus, we experience a literalisation of metaphors of the 1909 futurist manifesto calling museums "absurd abattoirs" and "cemeteries of empty exertion" doomed to be demolished (Ward 2008). By virtue of a complex dialectical dynamics it is not only the artwork that has to be protected from the spectator in the museum, but the spectator's integrity is just as much endangered by the artwork's provocative effects. (Chapman in O'Hagan 2006)

The choice of words *The New York Times*' art-review uses to describe the first abject art exhibition back in 1993 clearly reflects the ambiguity of the reception-process fusing "intelligent anger," "instinct for provocation," "provocation and theory," "exercise in *déjà vue*" (Cotter 1993) – contradictory aspects which make the appreciation of abject art displayed in the museum space particularly challenging. What I find most interesting here is that abject art does offer an exercise in *déjà vue*; though not necessarily in the sense used by the critic referring to spectator's boredom felt over the unsurprising routine of the tired counter-tradition. On the contrary, our emotionally-charged cognitive dissonance provokes an utter temporal confusion, whereby the psychically intense, troubling experience seems to have already happened previously someplace, sometime, somehow repeating itself; fusing a sense of familiarity with uncomfortable strangeness in the fashion of the Freudian uncanny. It is particularly ironic that the term *déjà vue*, literally meaning

[4] Interestingly, abject art's criticism almost never takes place on grounds of its theoretical over-investment that produces a meta-narrative criticism of the embededness within ideological, representational mechanisms.

[5] Jeff Persels and Russel Ganim use the expression in relation with the Bakhtinian carnivalesque grotesque (2004, xiii–xxi).

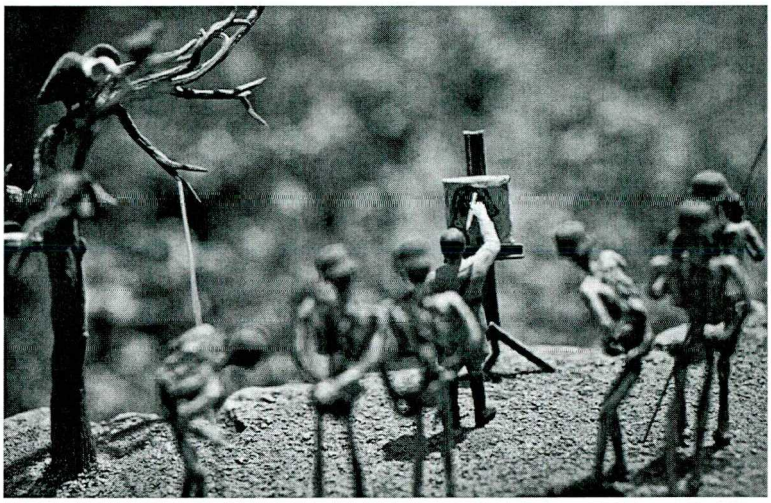

Figure 6: 'Hitler, the painter' figurine on *Fucking Hell* by Jake and Dinos Chapman. Photograph by Rondo Sztuki on *flickr*. Creative Commons License. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dlp/5375356309/>

'already seen' emerges in terms of the unrepresentable, ob-scene, inappropriate to be seen. In fact the term *déjà senti* ('already felt') or *paramnesia* the synonym of *déjà vue* (from Greek παρα *para*, 'near' + μνήμη *mnēmē*, 'memory') would be more fitting to describe the destabilized spectators' feelings upon the emergence of 'embodied memories' related to the repressed radical corporeal experiences one believes to have successfully denied and forgotten, yet which the abject artwork insidiously resurrects.[6] Accordingly, as Hal Foster (1996) highlights, we witness a shift from the Real understood as an effect of representation to the Real understood as an event of trauma.

The Chapman brothers locate their work at the violent intersection of remembering and forgetting, in the light of the pessimistic belief that all artistic representations necessarily destroy what precedes them. (Chapmans 2008) Presence is doomed to be lost and substituted by art. Via a metatextual gesture the Chapmanian creativity often concerns the destruction of destructive art, to challenge forgetting by means of spectacular, bitterly self-ironic misreading.

As if taking a closer, focused look on their *Hell*'s nightmarish landscape, containing the tiny gruesome, grotesque detail of a miniature Hitler figurine perched on the side of a massgrave while musingly painting a joyous landscape with a pink house and a sunny sky (Figure 6), that tiny canvas seems to be brought to real life in a recent project of the Chapmans. They decided to depart yet again in search of a time past, when along with their rebuilt *Fucking Hell* installation they exhibited Adolf Hitler's watercolour landscape paintings bought anonymously from collectors around the world (for a total of £115,000) and then transformed by painting kitschy, naive or infantile rainbows, psychedelic skies, floating lovehearts and smiley faces into the background of each picture. (Figure 7) The 2008 show at the White Cube gallery in Mayfair was given the title *If Hitler Had Been a Hippy How Happy Would We Be* to draw on the macabre joke that the Second World War and the Holocaust might not have happened if Hitler had been more fulfilled as a painter (see Hoyle 2008).

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[6] The abject is often related to an early, pre-symbolic infantile bodily experience (eg. food loathing, the rejection of maternal milk for the sake of circumscribing the boundaries of one's nascent identity) that gains meaning only later, retrospectively from within the symbolic realm, on such critical, borderline events of adulthood as illness, mental trouble, crime or war, all provoking psychic, spiritual and physical disorder.

The Chapman brothers' abject artistic gesture is self-contradictory for various reasons. The gallery speaks in the name of aesthetic value or rather insignificance, claiming that they "annihilate bad art" (Hoyle 2008), the rubbish of an amateur rejected by the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna for his lack of talent. In a similar vein, Jake Chapman claims to have "prettified" the dictator's "awful landscapes" (Brooks 2008). Tim Marlow, director of the exhibition stresses the importance of historical connotations related to the Fuehrer's lowly art, suggesting that the same "monstrous imagination" that fails in artistic accomplishments is terribly fulfilled in politics, and arguing that the abjectification of "abject paintings" associated with the ultimate crime of humanity, the Holocaust carries out a moral mission by ruining the Nazi memorabilia that remain highly collectible. Yet, this is also a par excellence case of recycling waste, since the Chapman's resulting work, ruining the artistically worthless, turning trash even more trashy, is now available as a job lot for £685,000.

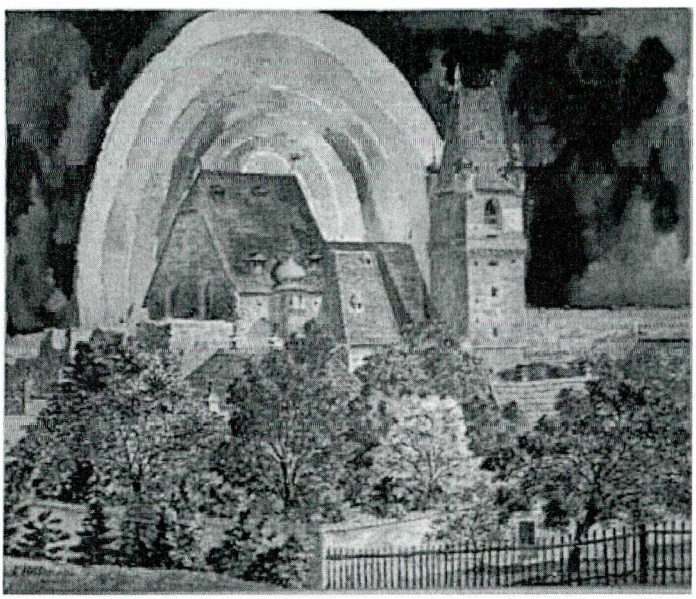

Figure 7: "If Hitler Had Been a Hippy How Happy Would We Be." Jake and Dinos Chapman rework Hitler's abject art. 2008. Thirteen watercolours on paper. Dimensions Variable. White Cube Gallery, London. *Decandent Flux*. <http://decadentflux.com/?p=40>

According to Walter Moser the artistic preoccupation with garbage objects as "ruins, rubble and rubbish" always represents "an intrusion of the past of a system into its present", supporting the "dialectic and drama of remembering and forgetting", while potentially revealing the *Homo Sapiens' Homo Detritus* facet, his non-being "human and social refuse in a world of refuse created by him" (Moser 2007). Moser's remarkable ideas on garbage's cultural reappropriation seem to come true actualised via the Chapmanian strategy of defacement that interestingly combines reutilisation and recycling as means of destructive (re)production. On the one hand, by virtue of reutilisation, though Hitler's paintings are put to different use and function they remain by and large materially intact and recognisable, apt to provoke the *Aha-Erlebnis* of cultural anagnorisis, recalling the sombre memory of the object's identity in its first use. On the other hand, by recycling's more intense transformation, the object's identity is erased or homogenised to be recuperated as secondary raw material *(Sekundarrohstoff)* ready to come back into a new production-cycle

of postmodernist, self-reflective re-use. Unlike its material-technical equivalents, cultural recycling is not all about forgetting: despite the emergence of new meanings, a memory trace persists through time, and once reactivated, necessarily renders the historical nature of the process apparent, endowing spectators with the bifocal perspective of 'then' and 'now.' As Moser suggests, recycling can be compared to historically, discursively grounded practices of "parody, pastiche, collage, montage, epigonism, rewriting, remaking, sampling, reconversion, mixing" (Moser 2007) in so far as forgetting is revealed as an inevitable component of cultural memorial/representational practices. Another common denominator is creative activity's multiple authorship. The canvases of shiny hellish landscapes belong just as much to Hitler, as to the Chapmans, and us, since the accomplished artwork "falls of and away" from the creator onto its public as waste combining the most troubling residue of traumatic historical heritage and postmodern anti-aesthetics daring to exploit rubbish as a resource for communally responsible self-expression,[7] creating degenerate art the Nazis would have loathed.

Obviously, reactions to cultural, artistic recycling are contradictory. Some art historians are outraged by the Chapmans' "violating something much more sacred to the art world than the human body – another work of art."[8] However, James Smith, chief executive of the Holocaust Centre in Newark believes that painting over Hitler's original historical artefacts is "the most appropriate form of vandalism [ever] encountered" (Hoyle 2008). It signifies making a point about the past and its relation to the present through demystifying cultural cataclysms as merely all too human. Revealing Hitler's mediocrity as a painter illustrates that "it takes neither a genius nor a psychopath to organise genocide" (Hoyle 2008). Simultaneously, the museum-exhibit Art(ist) is dragged down from his tyrannical piedestal.

Undoubtedly, the smiling face doodles on Hitler's brushstrokes, like the earlier Lego-toy-figurine-like miniatures portrayed in *rigor mortis* of war scenes, use grotesque means to evoke the darkest moments of human History, collective cultural traumas we paradoxically simultaneously identify as Unspeakable and Unimaginable, yet compulsively try to re- and re-narrate for therapeutical and moral commemorative purposes. In my view, the Chapmans' projects attempt to provide an answer to Theodor Adorno's famous philosophical dilemma concerning the barbaric impossibility of producing poetry after Auschwitz on grounds of the irresolvable tension between ethics and aesthetics. (see Adorno 1967, 34 and Tiedemann 2003) Adornoian anxieties concerning post-Holocaust-art fear that means inherent in artistic creativity itself might transform the ultimate inhuman sin and the sinister memory of the genocide into a valuable cultural property apt to offer cathartic pathos, purification and relief through 'purging,' commodifying, neutralising the traumatic event as "representation as" (Richardson 2005), thus, in the long run, reproducing and validating the cultural values of the society generating the cataclysm. As Anna Richardson highlights, any artistic form of speaking up about the Holocaust runs the risk of turning the victims' pain into aesthetic pleasure and denigrating survivor testimonies. The stylised, ceremonial, figural-fictitious discursive convention associated with 'the Holocaust industry' hazards violently desecrating the dignified silence commemorating the dead, and displacing the fallen comrades' voicelessness that constitutes a phantom-presence in any representation willing to testify to the tragedy. Conforming to the early Adornoian logic, fictitious reformulations of the catastrophe – and especially excessive ones – can possibly lead to negations of real excesses of authentic violence by relating them to imaginative capacities of invented horrors (Richardson 2005). If not, the difficulty in acknowledging an immense cultural trauma as the Holocaust leads from initial repression to a growing fascination with sanitised – softened and sentimental or shocking and sensationalist – images spreading in popular cultural representations, which "affirm life rather

[7] As Moser quotes Jonathan Culler (1988, 179) "Trash has thus become an essential resource for modern art, and in a world of rubbish, art has learned to exploit rubbish."

[8] See Dorment (2003) on the Chapmans' defacing Goya.

than death, survival rather than destruction," individual kindness rather than majority tragedy, and even find the place for melodramatic happy endings to replace the "uncompromising horrors of reality" – as Susan Marshman (2005) suggests on analysing films like *Schindler's List* or *Life is Beautiful.*

However, as Richardson warns us, imposing a limit on Holocaust-representation may reproduce the oppression of free speech associated with Nazism. Despite our imaginative reluctance or resistance, and the impossibility of truthfully representing the extremely horrific presence that is meant to belong to the past, we feel a duty to testify by communicating messages of/about the victims, surviving and dead. The complexity of the post-traumatic amnesiac reactions challenging all interpretive activities on grounds of their unimaginability are reflected by the closing lines of Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, a Nobel-winning novel on the difficult experience and memory of slavery: "This is a story to pass on. This is not a story to pass on" (275). The same complexity is foregrounded in any museum exhibit dealing with residues of cultural memory, tackling the question how to tell a story that is never fully ours to tell. Despite Adorno's grim view of the 'museal' as an unpleasant display of "objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying" (Adorno 173 in Crane 327) the universal willingness to commemorate suffering experienced in order to possibly prevent suffering caused (Milton in Crane 329) naturally leads to the creation of memorial museums. They are referred to by a variety of names such as museums of human suffering, museums of remembrance, museums of human rights – all undertaking to make powerful statements against war and violence by documenting hardships encountered by people of different times and places (ranging from depicting pains of immigrants arriving on Ellis Island, mass violence of genocide in Armenia, Cambodia, or Croatia, or victimisations by socio-political conflict like in Ireland or the Gulag). (Duffy 117–22) By now, the question is "not *whether* but *how* [a cataclysm] should be represented" (Trezise 2001, 43 in Richardson 2005).

While the Chapmanian œuvre clearly evokes Adorno's argument on the failure of culture, on "all culture after Auschwitz, together with the urgent critique of culture (being) *garbage,*"[9] the impossibility of artistic creativity is by no means connected to its non-permissibility. The ambiguous, uncomfortable reactions provoked perfectly illustrate that the Chapmans' art has nothing to do with mass culture's pre-digested works condemned by Adorno for preventing individuals from thinking for themselves. The exhibit's cruel subtitle "The aim of all life is death" matching the hellscapes of Hitler's unimaginative canvases and the detailed miniature models of torture-scenes problematises the impossibility and necessity of remembering and forgetting at the conjunction of art, abjection and trauma. It addresses our culture's "compassion fatigue" and "pathos habit" resulting from viewers' "over-exposure to images of excessive violence" and the resulting demand for ever more violent scenes apt to feed our compassionate catharsis-dependence (Kent 2009). Moreover, it reflects on the ultimate travesty that in museums of remembrance victims remain known by their scattered belongings and not their spiritual works, while images of their deaths are meant to recall their lives (Young 1993 in Marshman 2005). The terrifying anti-aesthetics of death-images clearly subvert the classic artistic aims to transmit knowledge and entertainment, through illuminating that "reason wide awake can produce monsters"[10] (with reference to the systematicity of Nazi genocide) and that the bliss of the artistic sublime is drawn from a distanced contemplation of others' real suffering.

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[9] Adorno writes in *Negative Dialectics* 6:359: "The fact that it could happen in the midst of all the traditions of philosophy, art and the sciences with all their enlightenment, says more than just that these traditions and mind in general were unable to take hold of men and change them [...] all culture after Auschwitz, together with the urgent critique of culture, is garbage" quoted in Tiedemann, ed., xvi.

[10] As Hari (2007) suggests, this can be an allusion to the famous claim of Goya (defaced by the Chapmans) "the sleep of reason produces monsters."

However, instead of a safe glimpse here we get an overwhelming scream of horror. The show illustrates why Adorno himself retracts his initial claim twenty years later suggesting that "a perennial suffering has just as much right to find expression as a victim of torture has to scream" (Tiedemann xvi). And indeed, these artworks seem to break the silence of the museum space with a horrible laughter/laughter of horror characteristic of the grotesque. With Adorno, one can regard this as the bitter price every work of art has to pay that comes to life after/despite the total disillusion of/in humanity. Instead of trying to mimetically reflect, to re-present the Unspeakable historical trauma, having absorbed and transcended the aesthetics of pain and death in an Adornoian fashion, the Chapmans adopt a shock-therapy of carnivalesque familiar from the *dance macabre* of the *memento mori* tradition, while re-imagining the past from a post-modernist, self-ironic distance aware of its own very insufficiency.

Slavoj Žižek argues – in relation with Western world's (first) major twenty-first century cultural trauma, the September 11th 2001 terror attacks of the WTC towers – that the return of the repressed Real proves to be, on account of its traumatic/excessive character, impossible to be integrated into (what we experience as) reality. The traumatic kernel of the Real, (re)embodying the Unimaginable Impossible itself, compels us to experience it as a "nightmarish apparition," an "unreal spectre," a spectacular semblance that can be sustained only fictionalized, as a "reality transfunctionalized through fantasy." Fantasy's Janus-faced nature is revealed, its simultaneously pacifying through an imaginary scenario enabling us to endure an abysmal loss of constitutive of our subjectivity, and disturbing through its being inassimilable to reality. The effect of the Real indeed appears as an effect of the Irreal: in place of accepting the fictional product as real, we can only gain a grasp of the real turned impossible by recycling our (abortive) interpretive attempts at making sense of nightmarish fantasies. (Žižek 18–20) The Chapmanian œuvre's phantasmagorical scenarios of extreme hellscapes of suffering indubitably challenge rational discourse and mimetic representation as the ultimate basis of knowledge and question the significance of reasoned judgment throughout the process of (artistic) meaning-construction itself. Paradoxically, the "emphasis on non-knowledge, the irrational, foolish or absurd" (*Tate Liverpool* 2007) serves to violate spectators' subconscious resistance to knowledge. Shock-art is meant to turn our imaginative reluctance inside out, forcing all not to deny but recognise the imaginability and possibility of the Unimaginable and Impossible, as events which should be prevented from ever happening again.

Inspired by Adorno's recognition that it is precisely on accounts of the world having outlived its own demise that it needs art as its unconscious chronicle, they try to help us learn to live with our collective cultural traumas while taking precautions against their reoccurrence.[11] A trauma that cannot be properly remembered by no matter how realistic documentary, can be adequately commemorated and warned against via fantasy-work fuelled by non-knowledge, the nonsensical and the Impossible. The aim is not to understand but to know. As Primo Levi puts it "perhaps one cannot, what is more must not, understand what happened, because to understand is to justify [...] If understanding is impossible, knowing is imperative, because what happened could happen again" (Levi 395–6 in Richardson 2005).

The Chapman Brothers as imaginative chroniclers of our times are often compared by critiques to the Brothers Grimm. (Campbell-Johnston 2008) However, their reimaginings of the historical past tackle serious ethical questions ranging from the human psyche's craving for the horrors along with the heavenly and the likelihood of our species' recreating hell had it ceased to

[11] In fact this historiographic metafictional play is reminiscent of the one adopted by Quentin Tarantino in his recent, 2009 WorldWar2 movie *Inglourious Basterds*, a blockbuster on accounts of having found the adequate means to speak the unspeakable in era of spectacularity and scepticism.

exist,[12] up to tendencies to look for the work's meaning in the artist's symptomatic traumas instead of our collective cultural malaise (Chapman in Hoyle 2008), questions of appropriation of authorship by rewriting (a particularly relevant question in the era of fanculture), and the lost belief in art's redeeming quality.

Through the Chapman brothers' 'creative vandalism,' disorder is interpreted as a means to maintain order, social status quo, and justice by virtue of an art that that does not lay claim to be labelled as Art. As cultural suppression becomes artistic revelation, as the waste-like traumatic remainder of cultural memory/amnesia is revalued as inspiration, in a multimedial metamorphoses, the exhibition hall fulfils the function of the psychoanalytician's couch, the courtroom of the post-structuralist subject-in-process/on-trial, the anatomical theatre, and the cabinet of curiosities. Artistic recycling conjures up ghosts embodied in the museum space to eventually share the effects of a religious confession, a judicial trial, a self-dissection and a spiritist séance, contributing to the spectator's difficult joys. Bringing to full realisation Foucault's ideal of the *heterotopia*, the museum becomes a space containing several places of/for the affirmation of difference, but also as a means of escape from authoritarianism, repression and inhumanity.

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[12] Ironically, as Dinos Chapman says in an interview, for their 2008 show the artists actually rebuilt a "newer, improved, bigger and brighter" version of *Hell* destroyed in Momart fire in 2004. See: O'Hagan 2006.

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Szilvia Csanádi-Bognár

Illegal Art and the War of Images

This paper's title "Illegal Art" – was originally the title of an exhibition, which was travelling in the United States from 2003 until 2006. (<www.illegal-art.org>) The reactions to the exhibition were almost exclusively talking about copyright issues, since nearly all the exhibiting artists were sued for copyright infringement. But I think the main problem is different and more important. We have to reckon with what illegality really means on the field of art, and what kind of cultural role it has. In the following I would like to give you a short sketch about what kind of illegal art activities there are, how these are correlating to the tendencies of the 20th century art, and to the historically changing relation between pictures and law, as well as what kind of rule systems there are, which they break.

Of course, we should talk about illegality not only in those cases where making art is explicitly against the law. This affirmation is clearly demonstrated by the situation of art in dictatorships, where it was possible to ban an exhibition without previously fixed commands. Even so, illegal art should break some kind of rules, and I think there are four sorts of rule systems providing principles to this.

Historically the first one is the religious order, the second is the political authority, including the judicial commands as the manifestation of the political power, the third one is the ethical/moral rule, and the fourth one is the internal rule system of art, the so called canon. "Religion, ethics and law have a long history of policing of images" wrote Costas Douzinas taking the trouble to elaborate one kind of legal iconology. (Douzinas 2008, 18.) To take the contemporary developments into consideration I complete these territories with what he called the "regimes of visuality" (Douzinas 2008, 18.), with the battleground of the conflict between images. (Table 1)

Table 1. *Rule Systems, "Regimes of Visuality."*

The Age of Cult	The Age of History of Art	The Age of the Technical and Digital Reproduction
religious law		
	political authority and law ethical/moral rules	
		Canons
	Images vs Power	
	Images vs Texts	
	Images vs Institutions	
		Images vs Images

The opposition between images and authority is a very ancient phenomenon of the civilization. We can find the classic example for that in Plato's State. It was bounding the possibilities legitimacy of imagery because of metaphysical and also social theoretical considerations. The religious consequences of the image did not disappear entirely during the Modernity, but in the European – American culture the law has entered on its social duties. Writing about this story Douzinas counts the modernity from the 18th century, and as the central idea of this process he emphasi-

zes the sublime, which has taken over the role of the related transcendental idea: the beauty. (Douzinas 1999, 54–56.) This is the time when art criticism, art history, and aesthetics were born. And as it is well-known, the role of religious control was taken over by law and aesthetics, what Douzinas introduces as rivals having power over pictures.[1] According to a different chronology, such as the chronology given by Hans Belting, the time of art history starts from the end of cult, it means from the Renaissance, which brings about the slow institutionalization of cultural life. The results of this process are the factors that generated the development of the modern canons.

The origin of the cultural mechanisms of canon (initially in the meaning of measure) is determined by theology and law. The canonizing institutions, the academies, the art market, the critic, the museums, the galleries, the publishing houses, the periodical reviews, the biographies etc. are interpreters of an inner language of art. As we have learnt from Jan and Aleida Assmann: In a dictatorship cultural canon is in monopole position, it is directed by the political authority and forces to repeat a fixed interpretation. (A. and J. Assmann 2001, 96.) In that situation the official culture generates some kind of counter-culture that aspires to regroup or to doubt the official canon. Between the official culture and the counter culture censorship secures the boundaries. In pluralistic cultures – we would think – censorship is unnecessary, the different tendencies of culture can succeed at the same time. But canon is much less democratic. Its essence is to eliminate. Canon protects boundaries of art, and ignores, keeps off artists and artworks which are conflicting with it. If counter-culture is prohibited because of political or ideological reasons, we are talking about illegal art. But many times in a pluralistic culture illegality comes into being differently, still with ideological and political aspects. Prohibition in the field of art is definite. Such basic questions are: copyright, blasphemy, obscenity, which are limiting the autonomy of art. They have consequences to iconography as well, even if law acknowledges that art is independent from it because of its special social position, and because of its own language. These circumstances make clear the strong relations between canon, tradition and iconography. Namely the ideological prohibition cannot be manifested in another way than the prohibition of symbols (for example the symbols of political power), the forms and methods of representation (like nudity, abstraction or even the mimetic representation).

In the age of technical and digital reproduction the character of conflicts is changing. First of all I do not mean the increase of the legal regulations following the technical development although these are very important as well. The pictorial turn of the 20th century creates new conditions, and incites us to redefine the connections between art and non art, and to recognize the political wars between them. We are not only speaking about the opposition between images and power, images and texts, images and institutions but the quarrel between images and images. From that moment, when Marcel Duchamp drew a moustache on a cheap reproduction of Mona Lisa (1919), he proclaimed a war within the boundaries of art.[2] Classical art works could be active in this fight only because of their *aura* and this is exactly what will be hurt during the war. Though the practice of copying has mostly accomplished the task of interpretation and canonization in the 20th century, its function in decanonization became stronger, and the reproduction became the

[1] Douzinas argues that the regulations of aesthetics is connected to the regulation system of law and takes its models from it. This means nothing else than a very serious accusation against aesthetics, which dominates art by its language and criticism. (see Douzinas 2008) This kind of anxiety is raised by Goethe and as a fear by Gadamer too, because the experience of art and the objective and measuring tendency of any kind of scientific practice, like criticism or art history are very different, so science cannot approach the real substance of art. (Gadamer 1994, 253; Csanádi-Bognár 2010, 171–178.)

[2] One of Duchamp's most explicit statements about iconoclasm is a note written between 1911 and 1915 in his 'Green Box': 'RECIPROCAL READYMADE / Use a Rembrandt as an ironing-board'. Daniel Spoerri took it seriously and made it in 1964 with the same title *Use a Rembrandt as an ironing-board (Marcel Duchamp)* but the 'Rembrandt' was a reproduction of Leonardo's Mona Lisa on cloth. (Gamboni, 1997, 261–262.)

medium of criticism. (Radnóti 1999, 78–84; Belting 2003, 77.) According to W.J.T. Mitchell the digital reproduction has changed the ontological status of pictures. They have no real physical appearance, so in the sense of the traditional iconoclasm, which means physical destruction or annihilation, they are inviolable, they became organisms, what calls for a vital art history, the history of mutation and evolution of pictures.[3] (Boehm, Mitchell 2009, 114.) This idea invites us to rethink the history of pictures and calls our attention to a very special kind of iconoclasm that happens on the stage of the visual memory and which causes (like in Derrida's Grammatology the existence of writing) newer and newer birth of pictures.

At the exhibition named "Illegal Art" most of the artworks reinterpreted trademarks, logos and brands that are protected by law and patents. It is obvious, that trademarks, logos etc. are part of our imagery, but not necessarily as contemporary artworks. Perhaps our visual memory is filled in major part with trademarks and logos, and not with the classical iconography or the elements of modern art. The signs of identification in the consumer society, function similarly as *names*, they refer easily to a product or a firm, and the sight of *the name* endows them with attributes, feelings, moreover a history and memories. The well created trade mark calls forth the idea of the product much easier than a signature of a painter does the associations of his paintings. While in Plato's State the fear of the power of image aroused from an epistemologycal basis, and Plato feared from the mimetic art, nowadays business protects itself from the copying, because the borrowing of a trade mark or similar iconographical element threats with the false interpretation of the identity of a product. As on the field of art the fake was a problem for centuries, so it became a problem of mass production, because trademarks try to demonstrate the *uniqueness* of the product, like the originality of an artwork. I refer here only to a common trick of commercials, when they position a product revaluating or parodising a famous piece of art. We have to take into consideration that advertisements use really eminent works of art like David of Michelangelo or the Last Supper of Leonardo that are carrying the meaning of *par excellence* art. Commodity production and art became competitors of each other, but production has such a huge ascendancy that it can extrude art easily. It uses images, and draws profit from them while legally limiting others' use of image. The fear of idolatry applies not only to art, but it seems to be, that art is accusing the consumer society with that. In the conflict of image versus power the players have changed. The appearance and spread of conceptual art is probably connected to this phenomenon because philosophy and after that sociology have taken the responsibility upon themselves. The forms of conceptual art that appeared in the 60's were significantly opposing the artwork as a fetish. The embodiment of conceptual art and its role in the market is pretty interesting from this point of view, even if I do not think that the absolute value of artworks should be untouched by the market.

Law and the text of law connected to commerce did not take a back-seat, but beside the traditional conflict between images and texts (religious prescriptions and legal directions, criticism) the war between pictures and pictures showed up. On the field of the inner regulations of art, in the canonic system, this kind of conflict would never happen, because the world of popular images is mostly outside of art. The language of this dispute belongs to contemporary art, and as such, its limited readability dooms contemporary art to lose. The rising war between images and images is not really new. Some trends of Abstraction had similar aspirations, going to such ex-

[3] The protection of artworks becomes understandable if we take their ontological status into consideration. Artworks are bodies and they have history in a physical sense. In the age of cult this aspect of artworks was very different. Damages and attacks belonged to pictures. The age of art history started to make the bodies of artworks timeless, and protected them as the "originals" by restoration, and gave them some kind of bodiless character, which ensures their intellectual value. This is connected to the understanding of beauty in classicism and modernity, where it is prohibited to add anything to it or take away anything from it.

tremes as the declaration of the death of painting. These intentions were reconsidering or eliminating the idea of picture, and to do so they have chosen painting as the most traditional way to create pictures. During this process the relation between oil and canvas was reinterpreted and deepened, without the accomplishing of iconoclasm. By the recognition of abstraction and abstract expressionism the internal laws and problems of art have earned more reputation. Art became more separated from the world this way, and the idea of autonomous art became stronger.[4]

It was Pop Art that confronted us first with the pictorial world of the consumer. Although Pop artworks had a critical sound, first of all they reflected on the customer's lifestyle, and did not fight against the consumer icons. The pictorial world of Pop Art integrated the pictures of advertisements, trademarks, private and magazine photography, television, movies to artworks, and started a productive dialogue. The critical or ironic attitude did not go as far as to damage trademarks, but constructed itself on the basis of commercial pictorial recipes to offer itself for sale as luxury good. There are many relations between artistic and not artistic visual culture, this is the reason why visual studies exists in Anglo-Saxon scholarship, and Bildwissenschaft in the continental, which are inspiring and provoking art history at the same time. While the second one analyses all kinds of images in the name of pictorial democracy and acknowledges the disappearance of boundaries between art and non art, so long the first one has set out from the pictorial diversity and aspires to reveal the historical role of image, to introduce it as the figure of thinking in relation to ideologies. The relevance of this question causes quarrels not only in the field of scientific discourse, but also produces conflicts embodied in pictures. In the field of art moral responsibility of media became a subject of criticism in the 80's in the relation of appropriation and reappropriation, by the works of Barbara Kruger, Jenny Holzer, for instance, whose artworks occasionally overtook commercial sites. (György 1995, 15–44.)

Similarly the illegal forms of Street Art use the private and the public spaces, so it means, they are fighting for place. Graffiti often seems to be enigmatic contrary to the paid advertisements, which are using psychology and traditional symbols to reach an univocal meaning. The institu-

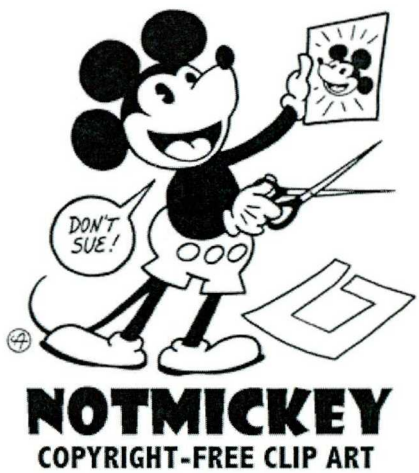

Figure 2: Ashley Holt, *Notmickey*, 2002, Pen, paper, and photocopies, 5" x 7", property of the artist, Reproduced by permission from the artist.

Figure 3: Kieron Dwyer, *Consumer Whore*, 1999, Graphic, adjustable size, property of the artist, Reproduced by permission from the artist.

[4] Belting holds that some artists of the *postwar art* have tried to leave the art history and merge in the epoch. (Belting 2003, 74–75.)

tional system of art also tries to domesticate this very radical form of imagery, when graffiti painted on board and framed is sold in galleries, to make it consumable and marketable. This is totally inconsistent with the principles of street art, so it can be understood as a counter-attack of the institution.

Recognition of pictures as powerful agents from the 90's has questioned the concept of immanent art history and put it into the context of culture politics. (György 1995, 9; 28.) Iconoclasm in this new cast setting is not performed by some kind of power from outside of art, but by the visual art itself, when it turns against social conventions, against the icons of the society, and begins destroying the signs of them. Certainly the most powerful iconoclastic movement of the modernism was the Dadaism, which queried the cult of classic art.[5] The so called Neodadaism similarly turns against the institution of canon, and sometimes takes steps against the classicization of Dadaism. For instance the performance artist Pierre Pinoncelli, who had damaged, among others, two Duchamp-Fountains, to bring to life the vivacity of these objects. The Canadian-Hungarian artist, István Kántor, is banned from most of the prominent museums, not as an exhibiting artist, but as a visitor, since he has formulated and achieved the project of Blood action. In this project he goes to the museums and he changes his visitation without any forewarning to creation, because he paints onto the wall and on to the artworks with his blood. These and other – we can say – vandal actions are pointing out, that the humours instead of oil as the last incorrupt stuff of painting are those iconographical signs, that as a performance are not tolerable. The museum's idea about treasuring is not compatible with this move, and with the old tradition of altering the cultivated artworks (such as devotional objects, and here for example Duchamp's Fountain) to keep them and their cult alive. It is a protest against the preservative system of the museum, but it refers also to the overwork of styles and manifestations, which asks permanently: Is it possible to continue?

Figure 4: Tom Forsythe, *Blended Mermaids*, 1999, Phototograph, 11" x 14", property of the artist, Reproduced by permission from the artist.

[5] Deconstructivness is very important in modernity and has a direct relation to iconoclasm, this is what Dario Gamboni calls 'the modernist antitraditional iconoclasm'. Gamboni, 1997, 264, 286.

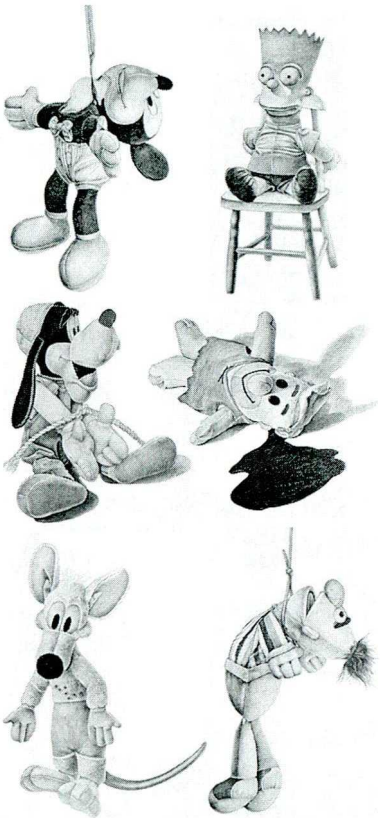

Figure 5: Diana Thorneycroft, "Mouse," "Boy," "Dog," "Man," "White Mouse," "Man with Large Nose", 2001-2, Graphite on paper, 18" x 12", 28" x 20", 20" x 16", 28" x 20", 28" x 20", 20" x 20", property of the artist, „Mouse" is in a private collection, Reproduced by permission from the artist.

Copyright is just one of the reasons why Ashley Holt's poster with the title: "Notmickey" (Figure 2) and Kieron Dwyer's logo parody, the "Consumer Whore" (Figure 3) can be sued, the other adequate reason could be the destruction of reputation or goodwill of companies. Notmickey cuts out his self-portrait and redefines himself when he puts his own portrait in a new frame. Cutting out and reframing is not exactly an act of destruction but more the instrument of reinterpretation. The fictitious figure gives himself the right to change his identity. This work refers to the boundaries of copyright inasmuch as the well known figures and trademarks operate in our visual memories not only inside frames the firms created, but they have independent lives. Tom Forsythe put Barbie into mixers and ovens (Figure 4), and in Diana Thorneycroft's drawings "Goofy," "Mickey," "Bert," "Barney," and "Pinky," (Figure 5) became the victims of brutal murders. Even if the dealers of these toys and children programs have protested against these artworks because of copyright infringement, the artistic goal was to gather some attention how fool and bald visual culture is surrounding children. Barbie's figure became a female idol of our age. The wide-spread artistic use and lots of sociological analyses are the signs of that. Maybe her figure mostly symbolizes the children's and the society's vulnerability to the ideas mediated by pictures. Murdering cartoon figures refers to the ritual murders, when people damaged puppets instead of the person they did not like. This black magic executed by the artist maybe reduces the feeling of defenselessness, and even the artist who just models the murder can cause a real damage. The Mickey Gas Mask from Bill Barminski (Figure 6) is a piece from a series that also includes Fred Flinstone and Barbie. The title of the artwork is "Filter", which points out in the same way the filtered medium in which children are forced not only by television, but also by toys and objects in everyday life.

In dictatorships the counter-culture rises up against the officially supported culture, while in the pluralistic societies it rises against some segments of culture, like the institution of canons, the popular culture, the visual communication of economy, or the conventions of society. The dilemma of the artists in post-socialist countries shows the stabilizing function of rule systems. After the fall of dictatorships they had to adapt to new relations and new rules instead of the clear distinctions between conformist and underground practices and they had to choose from different western norms. (András 2009, 65.) The illegality of this kind of art could show what sort of art– or social

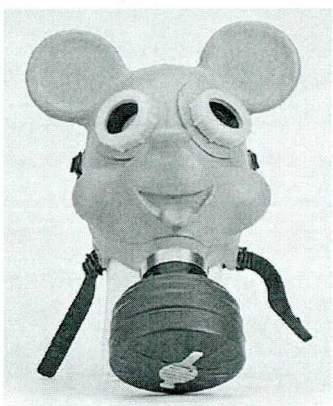

Figure 6: Bill Barminski, *Mickey Gas Mask*, 2001, Latex rubber and cannibalized gas mask parts, lifesize, in a private collection, Reproduced by permission from the artist.

criticism we tolerate hardly or cannot tolerate at all. Illegal art has a very important marking function for canons, and for other institutions of society. But the most important question is: what would happen if as a result of regulating systems there could not exist any illegal art? I think in this case the critical role of art attainted in the 20th century would become questionable. Art always implies some surprising and shocking motifs, and it is only one form of that, when it plays with the appearance of vandalism or it breaks the etiquette. Of course it is not easy to judge the copying, appropriation or repetition of gestures. And the boulevard media following illegal acts makes the decision more difficult. Is illegal art only a kind of effectual exhibitionism or does it confront us with ourselves and with the rules that we have created. By all means the consistent difference of art from the norms (what have showed up as a tendency in the Avant-garde; and what was known earlier as the sign of the good or genius work of art) is part of the *life and death* war of art.

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Zsófia Anna Tóth

"The Defense Rests"

Picturing the Unrest of Law and Order in *Chicago*

In the story of *Chicago*, the customary logic of law and order is turned upside down and inside out. It is mostly due to the workings of the comic and a specific *carnivalesque* logic. In this paper, I intend to focus on the figure of Billy Flynn and interpret his role as a modern *Vice* within this story. The most important aspect I would like to highlight in connection with this figure is his comic one. My intention is to show that this comic-devilish figure is central in the twisting and turning of the story and his actions are paramount in the happy endings in spite of the fact that he is not an evidently and entirely comic or positive character.

Elisabeth Bronfen cites Susanne Langer at the beginning of her article, *Femme Fatale – Negotiations of Tragic Desire*, stating that "[t]ragedy is the image of Fate, as comedy is of Fortune" (Bronfen 2004, 103). This clear dichotomy demarcates the dividing line between tragedy and comedy. This line is the one that is blurred in *Chicago* with a comic-*carnivalesque*-farcical subversion thus also producing the unique *farcical femmes fatales* of the story. *Femmes fatales,* as their name suggests, are the 'representatives' of death, they are fatal, they are lethal. Yet, while in *Chicago* we have *femmes fatales* behaving exactly the way an 'exemplary *femme fatale* should' – such as leading a 'sinful' life full of 'guilty pleasures' such as drinking alcohol, smoking, partying all night, wearing revealing dresses, spending much private time with men while being sexually alluring towards them in public, committing crimes (even murder) and so on – their destiny is not Fate but Fortune. The *femmes fatales* of *Chicago* turn out to be not the daughters of Fate but of Fortune, which is quite oxymoronic. They are *femmes fatales* in a comedy, not in a tragedy, thus their fate is turned into fortune. With the use of the comic, Watkins and her successors managed to subvert and change a very basic attribute of the *femme fatale,* that she is bound to death. In *Chicago*, however, the *femmes fatales* stay alive and most of them go free. In spite of this, they are not less lethal in the sense that they cause misery and death but their punishment is not destruction. Thus, the main reason for their acquittal and success is the functioning of the comic within the story because comedy is allied with Fortune, while tragedy is with Fate. These *femmes fatales* are the daughters of Fortune thus they evade Fate themselves apart from the fact that they still are deadly as *femmes fatales.*

In *Chicago*, it is Fortuna who plays a central role and who has power while Justitia and the Fates – who would bring justice, and consequently, death and tragedy – are missing from this story in their full capabilities and endowed with their customary power. The comic is to be found in all aspects of the story: the genres, the narrative strategies, the performances and acts of the characters as well as the complexity of irony that pervades all. The 'salvation' arrives for these *farcical femmes fatales* not through Fate, death and tragedy but through a comic-grotesque-*carnivalesque* encounter with Fortune as they sing and dance themselves out of their own fate. Nonetheless, an interesting twist in the story is that, although, these are the women who seem to be the central characters and the ones who are the real villains, it is, in fact, Billy Flynn who is the main villain or the *Vice* in the story.

The world of *Chicago* is that of the *carnival.* It is a comic-grotesque space of subversion and un/canny abandon. This facilitates the functioning of the *farcical femmes fatales* under the guidance of an ambiguous and "ambidextrous" (Matuska 2005, 1) *Vice figure* who manages to turn law and order upside down and also get away with it. I propose that the figure of Billy Flynn is a modern(ized) *Vice* and serves as a comic-devilish figure who rules over the *carnivalesque* world of

Chicago. The *Vice* figure is ambiguous and involves both a positive and a negative factor which is also reflected in the character's long history as it originated from the morality plays in which the character who was the allegorical representation of *Vice* was to be played "in a fashion both sinister and comic," and within literary history, this figure was often regarded "as a precursor both of the cynical, ironic villain and of some of the comic figures in Elizabethan drama [...]" (Abrams 1999, 166).

Bakhtin also supports the close relationship between the comic and the devil by stating that, in several medieval literary forms, a jolly devil figure appeared whose function was to represent "the unofficial point of view" (Bakhtin 1968, 41). This jolly devil was not a terrifying or an alien figure, for example, in Rabelais's writing devils were described as "excellent and jovial fellows" (Bakhtin 41). What is more, "[a]t times the devils and hell itself appear as comic monsters" (Bakhtin 41). Bakhtin also adds that the representation of the devil as a terrifying, melancholic and tragic figure arrived only with Romanticism (40–41). Considering the principle of laughter and also taking into consideration cold humor, Jean Paul eventually highlights the comic-tragic melancholic feature of destructive laughter by saying that "the greatest humorist of all would be the devil" (Bakhtin 42). Wylie Sypher also opines that there is a close connection between the fool, the jester and the devil, and states that the "tempter" figure often "disguises himself as clown or devil" (Sypher 1956, 236).

According to Ágnes Matuska, during the Tudor period, the character of the *Vice* as a clownish, jocular, zany and ludicrous character, in spite of the fact that it had its roots in the morality plays and it was the allegory of Sin, served as an interlocutor and mediator between the sphere of the drama and that of the audience. She asserts that during carnivals it was actually a *Vice* figure who was the jolly master of ceremonies and his function was to make people get involved in the fiction of the events or that of the play/drama, and as a result, this *Vice/Master of Ceremonies* formed the bridge between the fictional world of the drama and the reality of the people. The *Vice/Master of Ceremonies* concretely and directly addresses the audience while being part of the performance, hence, his presence is split between the world of fiction and that of reality. Another important feature of the *Vice* is cleverness, he is always intelligent, artful, shrewd and witty. (Matuska 2010) This all can be said about Billy Flynn and although he is not the connection between us as audience and the play/film we watch or see but those within the story who get involved in the performance within the story we watch: he is a *mise-en-abyme Vice/Master of Ceremonies* figure. In this sense, he does not lose his function as a link because he makes the connection between his intradiegetic audience (in court and the people through the media) and the fictional events he directs about the lives of his defendants, here for instance, Roxie. The *Vice/Master of Ceremonies* type of figure that exists only in the 1976 and the 2002 versions is the one who talks to us as extradiegetic audience and tries to involve us in the events. He is rather neutral (and has a limited, minimal presence), as I have mentioned, but in the 1976 version he has slightly more edge, for example, saying at the closing of the vaudeville: "Okay, you babes of jazz. Let's pick up the pace. Let's shake the blues away. Let's make the parties longer. Let's make the skirts shorter and shorter. Let's make the music hotter. Let's all go to hell in a fast car and *KEEP IT HOT*! (He exists with microphone. [...])" (Ebb and Fosse 1976, 91).

In addition, *Chicago* in its latest versions is a musical, as well, and the church fathers have always warned the people that it could only be the devil who taught women to dance otherwise they would not have been able to commit such diableries with their bodies (Prioleau 2003, 12). What we find in *Chicago* are true corporeal diableries in a mockingly *carnivalesque* manner. Flynn as a comic devil is surrounded by the musical diableries and teases of (his) she-devils in a manner which would quite likely earn the disapproval and dispraise of the mighty church fathers. When Roxie utters "Oh God!," Flynn answers with a comic comment (in two versions): "Cut out 'God' – stay where you're better acquainted." (Watkins 1927, 42; Marshall 2002a, 41 min) In addition,

for example, in the 1927 and in the 1976 versions, even Roxie's father claims that "she went to hell" several years before (Watkins 1927, 39; Ebb and Fosse 1976, 34).

The Billy Flynn character has a central role in the way these women are treated due to the fact that he is the top defense attorney and he is the one who knows how to pull strings to win a case. An important characteristic feature which helps him in the successful manipulation of the jury and the public thus winning the acquittal of the women he defends is that he specializes absolutely in female clients. He performs the 'protecting' father figure role; he acts as a respectable paternal figure who stands behind the women in trouble thus projecting an image that the defendant is a 'good' woman. This role-play is central in all of the versions and the defense tactic is entirely based on it – the strong, experienced male defends the fragile and non-knowledgeable female. Its most spectacular version occurs in the 1942 film adaptation – which closely follows the choreography of the trial scenes of the 1927 film version – where after collapsing, Billy Flynn carries the half-conscious Roxie in his arms towards the judge in a (mock-)tragic manner to offer her as a sacrificial lamb on the altar of justice. (Wellman 1942, 67 min) Flynn as a paternal figure, a "paternal authority," supposedly is the representative of the "symbolic law" (Bronfen 2007, 124). He, as a lawyer, is supposed to be the representative of the symbolic law indeed.

It is a rather expressive (re)interpretation of the figure of the *Vice* that Billy Flynn is actually a lawyer. It is true that his figure and his profession are rooted in reality since, in the real murder cases, lawyers and attorneys were needed in court to present the different sides and aspects of the cases, yet, this profession involves this unique duality of the bad and the good, the evil and the comic. On the one hand, Billy Flynn as a defense lawyer acts right when he defends his client because it is his duty and he is paid for it, hence, his actions are justifiable when he has his client acquitted. On the other hand, he is evil and corrupt. He lies and cheats, in addition, he deceives and manipulates everybody and everything. In a sense, he even commits crimes, and most of all, makes the jury acquit people who are guilty. In this sense, he does wrong. Hence, he is an ambiguous, double-dealing and "ambidextrous" (Matuska 2005, 1) figure, and not only in terms of morality. Additionally, this all is presented in a comic-grotesque, mock-tragic, but by all means, artificial and theatrical manner. Billy Flynn is behind everything, he is the one solving the problems, and in fact, he turns out to be in the center. Matuska, when discussing the character of the *Vice,* brings an example about the definition and explanation of who he is in which "the Vice enters into a long but, in its heterogeneity, quite funny and intriguing monologue enumerating a whole colourful spectrum of real and metaphoric occupations and characteristics, ranging from *lawyer* through 'sower of lies' to mackerel" [emphasis mine] (Matuska 2005, 9). Here, the lawyer as an occupation for this character is one of the first ones to be mentioned, although, it is true there are several others, and some less intriguing professions mentioned, as well.

Ágnes Matuska, while elaborating on the figure of the *Vice* in sixteenth century English Drama, states that it is "a unique and problematic character" and that often the character we meet as *Vice* in the dramas of this period are not exclusively evil, corrupting and 'anti-morale': "[t]he character, a tempter, a *mischievous, humorous villain* is a real crux" [emphases mine] (Matuska 2005, 1). Billy Flynn, although not being a sixteenth century English character in a drama or a morality play is still a *Vice-like* character, yet a modern version, in a twentieth century American play (and its later versions) treating questions of morality, what is more, the committing, treatment and even judgment of concrete crimes. Billy Flynn has his roots in the *Vice* character of the morality plays and as we see in the dramas of later periods likewise. Matuska opines that "[n]o matter whether we take the perspective of 16th century audiences or 20th century critics, a basic problem with the Vice has always been the sense of comedy that makes him, although evil, appealing" (Matuska 2005, 2). Although, what is said is only that 20th century critics, who might interpret the 16th century *Vice,* can encounter the problems created by this character, yet, I would also add that there are the 20th century audiences just as well who also try to understand not only the 16th century *Vice* but its 'descendant' in the 20th century who is evil as well as comic, and as a result

appealing at the same time. For instance, the makers of the 2002 film version claim in the "Audio Commentary" that even though Billy Flynn is "corrupt" and "evil" one cannot resist his charm – "he is charming" as they say – and one can only "like him." (Marshall 2002b, 39 min)

Matuska goes on saying that there are numerous diverse figures who were/are called or categorized as 'Vice,' still, she reckons that they all belong to the same type on the basis of a few characteristic features which belong to them all such as "their metadramatic behaviour, their improvisational attitude, their characteristic comedy" (Matuska 2005, 2). What is even more intriguing and significant in the figure of the *Vice* is that he as an outsider generally "*does not* need to contribute to this doctrine [moral doctrine], quite the contrary" and what he does and what happens to him make "the application of the workings of Justice" difficult (ibid). This might be rather problematic and questionable if we consider that Billy Flynn is a lawyer who is supposed to be at the service of Justitia but he does concretely what is described above. However, his duplicitous twisting of truth and justice actually serves to present a more complex understanding of morality, crime and how people treat these or react to them. While emphasizing the connection between the comic and the *Vice* Matuska stresses again that "the clown or fool or jester element in the Vice" does not make morality disappear only makes it "more complex and ambiguous" and challenges our sense and understanding of it (Matuska 2005, 18). Eventually, she suggests that we should not try to separate the comic and the evil in the figure of the *Vice* because this duality is what gives him his unique power: "[i]nstead of separating the comic and destructive elements in the Vice, we should rather see them inseparable: a unique merger that is intrinsic to the character, and that gives him the unfathomable energy and power he possesses" (Matuska 2005, 19). I would add that the same is true in the case of the *farcical femmes fatales*: their specific duality of the comic and the evil is what endows them with their unique power, as well.

Matuska, while going on with her analysis of *Vices,* states that "[...] the Vice is the one to reveal how corrupt people are, rather than corrupting them himself," and she also suggests that the *Vice* is to show how people are the same everywhere independently of place or class (or, I would add, time) and that he might actually reveal "the corruptedness of society" instead of providing the source of corruption (Matuska 2005, 8). In the case of Billy Flynn, it is all valid. It is not him who corrupts Roxie or the judicial system, they are already corrupt and he just makes use of it and plays with his possibilities. Later Matuska adds that the *Vice*'s "evil nature is unreliable as well" implying that he might even be on the good side (Matuska 2005, 13). It is again this duality of good and bad that creates the ambiguity of the *Vice* characters, and that of Billy Flynn, as well. This ambiguity is also backed up by Darryll Grantley who highlights the hybridity of the *Vice* character as somebody plotting evil but whose actions are not primarily so and again connects him to comedy: "[t]he Vice is an interesting hybrid of the narrative specimen and the scheming servant of classical comedy, and though he often plots evil, his actions are far from consistently malevolent" (Grantley 61 quoted in Matuska 2005, 15).

The ending of the *Vice* is also an intriguing question since often he can leave without punishment or he might even be joking while making his exit. "It seems that the Vice does not subject his view to the moral one, he does not act according to a logic where he, as evil, has to be loser" (Matuska 15). The *Vice* refuses the customary logic of good and bad, right and wrong and can even evade punishment as Billy Flynn does as well as the *farcical femmes fatales* surrounding him: they escape the logic of morality and even that of the law – crime and punishment. "[...] [W]e may account for the Vice's comic and unrepentant exit as part of the Vice's comic tradition" – as Matuska adds (15). Hence, the Vice's leaving unpunished or even joking is a possible part of his tradition. The same happens in *Chicago* likewise, concerning Billy Flynn and his 'minions,' Roxie and Velma etc. They leave unpunished, and in the last two versions (1976, 2002), Billy Flynn is even joking as he freely leaves the scene and adds in a carefree and mocking manner: "[y]ou're a free woman, Roxie Hart, and God save Illinois. Well, I guess that finishes us, Roxie. *(To the audience.)* And that's the last *you'll* see of me, too. *(To the Bandstand.)* My exit music please."

(Ebb and Fosse 1976, 88) Here, he also uses his 'metadramatic skill' and functions as a link between the world of the story and that of the audience, us. It is rare that the Flynn character really uses this specificity of the *Vice*, but here it occurs. In the 2002 version (and in all the other ones) he 'loses' this 'ability' of his. The same situation in the 2002 version is the following: Billy Flynn is nonchalantly smoking a cigar while relaxing after the successful outcome of the trial and counting (in his head) how much money he earned – only the two of them remained in the courtroom – Roxie shows no gratitude that he has just saved her life, then he reveals to her, smiling, that it was him who made a half-fake, out of hers diary to help out Velma. He gets up and collects his hat and coat and starts to move on. He walks out of the room in a carefree manner while showing Roxie (and us) a last ironic smile saying: "I have never lost a case." – as if explaining why he did that to her and her diary –, then adds still with the same smirk on his face: "[y]ou're a free woman, Roxie Hart, and God save Illinois." (Marshall 2002a, 1 h 32 min) However, it is also true that in the final scene, he is among the audience when Velma and Roxie perform as famous vaudeville stars on stage. Yet, the merry exit is true in all versions, even if occasionally it is not that merry (like in the 1927 film adaptation), but it is never tragic or punishing.

In the different versions of the story of *Chicago*, law and order (let it be either legal, social or moral) are subverted, undermined and distorted. *Chicago* comically subverts the American judicial system and presents how unjust the legal procedures are in the cases within the story. Certainly, all of the versions of *Chicago* are literary and filmic treatments of the original murder cases, still, Watkins as a journalist to cover them was part of the events throughout, and in a sense, she dramatized this story in a satirical play to express her protest against everything she experienced throughout the 'real' judiciary process and the real life events. It is revealed in the original play that Lady Justice is shut out of these procedures, but in spite of this, Watkins did not present the story as a tragedy, instead, she approached the problem from a comic aspect which was kept in all of the versions of *Chicago*.

Chicago (re)presents, criticizes and subverts the judicial system of the United States, or at least, that of Illinois with the help of this comic *Vice* figure and the *farcical femmes fatales* surrounding him. Most evidently, when considering the question of law and order and how the representation of justice is realized visually one image is the one that encompasses this all and that is Justitia or Lady Justice. Justitia, the allegorical figure impersonating morality, justice and correctness, who is a blindfolded female figure holding a sword in one hand and a scale in the other is seemingly present in *Chicago*, however, not even in all versions. The most telling visual treatment of the image of Lady Justice appears in the 2002 version; the latest version of the story is the one that most explicitly and openly reveals visually how Justitia is disempowered and mocked in the courtroom and how much her non-presence can be detected in the judiciary process presented in *Chicago*.

In the 2002 film adaptation, a painting of Lady Justice can be seen right behind the judge and a bit above everybody, supposedly guarding law and order, but in its double representation in the secondary storyline, Justitia is presented as a glamorous vaudeville performer who is not there to ensure justice but only to create an 'effect' or an illusion of justice. The scenes, in which the major female characters take the stand, were mostly shot from an angle that only the feet of Lady Justice can be seen in the background. Ironically, these are solely her legs and feet – her lower parts – that guard the fake testimonies made by Roxie and Velma during these scenes. The Justitia who (theoretically and ideally) should be reigning over the whole judiciary process is supposedly there in that painting but it is made clear in the film that the Justitia who is really present is the one who is in the foreground, only faking justice in her glamorous vaudeville performance similarly to the leading female characters, and in fact, everybody else.

In the case of *Justitia à la Chicago*, it can immediately be recognized that she holds only the scales but not the swords as if in the story the sinners and criminals are just there to be measured but not to be judged. This is what happens, Justitia in *Chicago* is not the Justicia who is supposedly

lawfully there. Only a thin veil partly covers her eyes and she is not there to sentence the sinners/criminals due to the lack of her sword. In addition, she is raised high up right at the beginning of the scene probably in order to remove her away from what is taking place in the courtroom. She is only a decoration, a part of the entertainment.

While Lady Justice is placed in a 'safe distance' from the events of the *carnivalesque* courtroom, Billy Flynn as a comic-grotesque *Vice* figure performs his tricks. In fact, he is the defense that never rests in spite of the fact that, for example in the 2002 version, he concretely claims that "the defense rests" (Marshall 2002a, 1 h 30 min). He, as a 'Perpetuum Mobile,' is making everything move and making everything happen without a rest. In judicial terms, when the sentence is heard: "[t]he defense rests" that means that everything was said and done and justice should follow. In *Chicago*, the defense never rests since there is no justice to be declared. Although, Billy Flynn claims that the defense, that is him, can rest, he does not do so. In the 2002 version of the story, when they enter the courtroom it is presented visually as if he was leading Roxie down into Hell, through the gates of Hell formed by vaudevillian women, while the courtroom is lit with red light. Here, the defense attorney is really the devil's advocate or rather the devil himself. At the center of the whole judiciary process stands evil incarnate in the form of Billy Flynn. Eventually, he is the one who in a final *danse macabre*-like performance, a step dance (as visualized in the 2002 version), triumphs over everybody and gains the acquittal for both Roxie and Velma.

He perfectly knows how this has to be done, how law and order can be kept or reinstated and since he knows that it cannot be realized in the case of these women, he manipulates the feminine/female images to be compatible with the supposed law and order images connected to Justitia. In the end, he succeeds and everybody believes that these *femmes fatales* are actually angelic ladies. Roxie is presented as a reformed sinner and her appearance radiates innocence and remorse. Ironically, this is Roxie, who, as a 'reformed sinner,' is really granted man's "unalienable natural rights" of equality, "rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (Annus 2005, 106). The centrality of "civil religion" and the Judeo-Christian tradition (Annus 2005, 109–120), and most concretely the Christian tradition, are all exploited and undermined in the various versions of *Chicago* as Roxie is placed on a pedestal as the daughter of God who is expecting a child ('evidently' from her rightful husband), and who leads a strictly religious life thus turning all kinds of law and order upside down.

This religious representation and imagery is as follows: in the original play, Roxie appears wearing "a dress with meaning: heavy white crepe with surplice collar and bishop sleeves – a nun would envy this chastity; white shoes and hose of perplexing nudity. [...] Her eyes, wide and innocent, stare soulfully at the blank wall that represents the jury" (Waktins 1927, 79–80). She "leans back, wan and pale" – adds Watkins (Waktins 1927, 82). The courtroom and the men around her are entirely enchanted by her *(performance)*:

> *The* JUDGE *and the* JURY *may be listening to* MR HARRISON – *they certainly hear his thundering tones – but they rest their eyes – maybe feast their eyes – on a fairer object than a dapper* STATE'S ATTORNEY *or the gangling young man in green. You have guessed it, gentle reader:* ROXIE. *And who can blame them? For the courtroom is hot and crowded and she wears that dress with meaning. Her hair, soft and shining, is an aureole in the sunlight. Her cheeks are a petal pink, her parted lips a rose. She's working hard, too – titled forward on the edge of her chair, white hands clasped to her breast.* (Waktins 1927, 89)

Later, Roxie is dressed as a little shepherdess in the 1927 film version, something similar but more urbane in the 1942 version and as a nun-like convent girl in the 2002 film adaptation. In the first two cases, she even holds a bouquet of flowers and certainly a very conventional imagery is evoked in this case, as well, that is she is a little innocent, beautiful, fragile flower who must not be crushed. She is identified with the white flowers when in both first films Billy Flynn seizes the bouquet, throws it onto the floor and stamps on it violently emphasizing how this little woman would be crushed in a similar fashion. In the 1942 version, she is even kneeling in front of the

jury as if making a confession and then she faints. All of the elements of ideal femininity are enumerated: she cries, looks lost and scared, behaves modest, pious, innocent, harmless, fragile etc. It is emphasized that she is a wife, a mother-to-be, to highlight how conventional, law-bidding and 'ordered' she is. Thus, she is turned into a saint that is the conventional image again: the woman as angel. In spite of all this, law and order are reinstated through the enforcement of the images of ideal femininity. Nobody is concerned about the *femmes fatales* since they performed the 'ideal and proper woman' with her entire repertoire of regulated femininity. Roxie as a female saint performs the Assumption of the Virgin Mary when she takes the stand in the 2002 version, as she is elevated into the 'sky' in a circus hoop and is lit by white light from behind as if the light of God covered her and she seems to have a halo, as well.

Noone concerns him/herself whether this is only a performance because they enjoy themselves and the entertainment is carried to perfection. As Billy Flynn states: this is all show business, give them the razzle-dazzle and they will be asking for more. In addition, noone will see clearly with sequins in their eyes but they will not even notice since they will be blinded by the spectacle. (Marshall 2002a, 1 h 16–19 min) The audience gets what it wants: prime entertainment, and since the performers do their job right, they are rewarded (as they can walk away free); as it is presented in the original drama:

> *He [Billy Flynn]'s fighting, gentlemen, fighting, with every drop of his blood, for the life of that little brave woman. The* JURY, *hypnotized, enthralled, hangs on each word and follows every gesture. The* PRESS *watch benignly; they know his whole bag of tricks, but BILLY's always worth watching. Even the* JUDGE *listens. / And* ROXIE – ? *This scene is really the close of an hour's duel between* ROXIE *and* FLYNN. *When the curtain goes up, honors are even and she is faithfully registering the emotions outlined for her in rehearsal. Gradually, however, she extends her field; deeper emotion, gesture, writhing. She works for her audience – the* JURY; *and they, fascinated, are torn between her contortions and the fervid orator.* (Watkins 1927, 103)

The usual figures of the law are also present such as the judge, the jury, the policemen, the bailiff, the attorneys etc., and the whole trial is set in the symbolic space of law and order, i.e.: the courtroom, however, what (seemingly) reinstates law and order is the figure of an angelic woman (or rather merely its performance and/or appearance) in the hands of a devilish man. The whole trial scene, and in fact, the whole story is only a *danse macabre* orchestrated by Billy Flynn who manages to free the two devilish women masked as angelic ones, Roxie and Velma (besides many other similar women), although, it is true that the hoof of the devil is constantly present and it is continuously evident that everything is only an act and everybody knows this but they accept it because they want the razzle-dazzle, they want to be part of the *danse macabre*. Eventually, it all ends as a horror film when in the last shot the supposedly destroyed monster grins into the viewer's face – while still being in the belief that the *danse macabre* is over – and the creature, here concretely the comic-grotesque-devilish *Vice* figure, starts singing:

> Give'em the old razzle dazzle / Razzle dazzle 'em / Give'em an act with lots of flash in it / And the reaction will be passionate / Give'em the old hocus pocus / Bead and feather 'em / How can they see with sequins in their eyes? / What if your hinges all are rusting? / What if, in fact, you're just disgusting? / Razzle dazzle 'em / And they'll never catch wise! (Ebb and Fosse 1976, 75–76)

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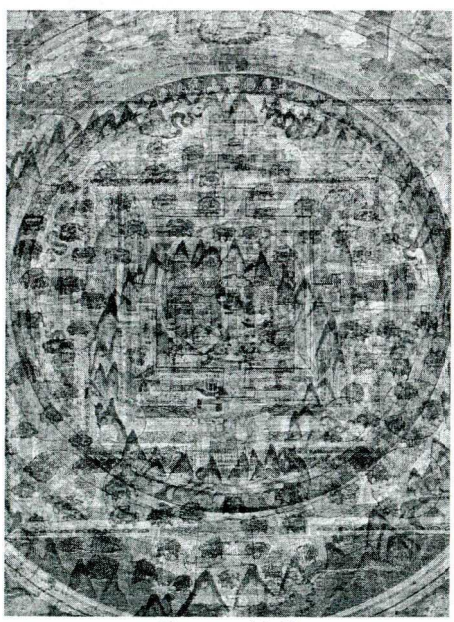
Péter Kecskés

"Cosmograms"

Exhibition and Presentation

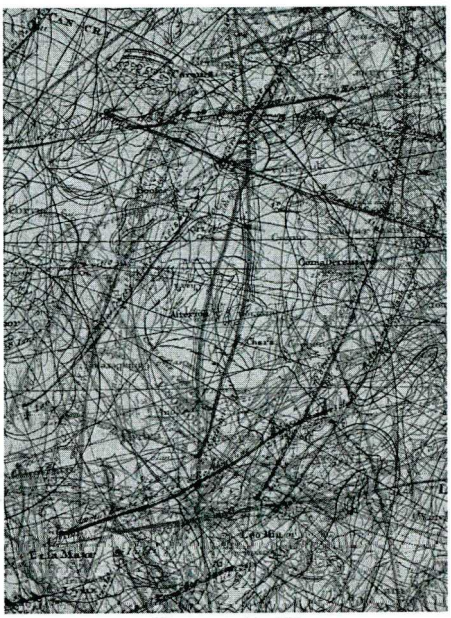
The traditional representations of the Cosmic Drama, the "Great Wheel of Samsara and Dharma", the Circle of Visions and of the Starry Heavens, the ellipses/eclipses of the planets, "Memories of Light – Memories of Dreams", "Thee Vision and Thee Voice and Thee Void", the inner circle of Tantra, Tao, and Yoga, and the outer Spheres of Light and Yugas, Eons, the Great Mudras/Sigils of Magic, the Cycles of Seasons and of Alchemy.

As an artist, I'm trying to reach the inner realm, the hidden, unseen center through assembling, juxtaposing images. Either through multiple exposures or projecting – and in this case printing – the images of the cosmos on each other, negating, and at the same time transcending/altering each other. As the follower of Hermes, the diviner, I'm trying to understand the message of the heavenly writing. In this series, I've chosen to reconnect these seemingly different fields of enquiry. These series of electrographs consist of images taken from the Occidental and Oriental Traditions; the images of John Dee's magical formulas, western astrological representations of the cosmos, the constellations, Buddhist and Hinduist cosmological and meditational images, modern computer-generated radixes/nativities, and contemporary photographs of stars and deep space objects. The pictures are one-of-a-kind, unique prints, because of the unrepeatable multiple-layered method that I'm using as an essentially transcendental technique. Beyond a/theology there's always the unexpected, an alchemical game of chance of finding the hidden Stone of the Philosophers.



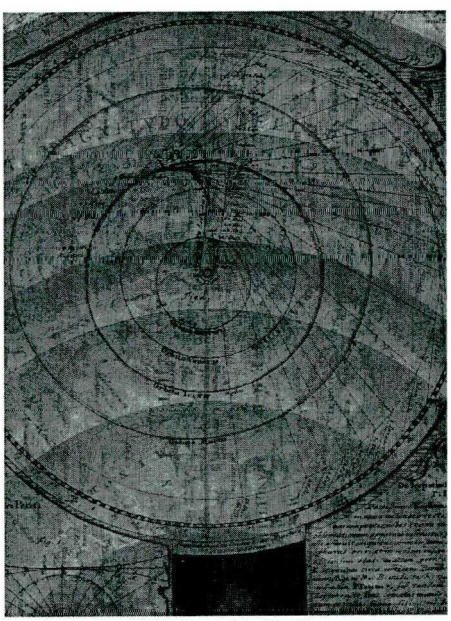
Uranographia V

Uranographia X

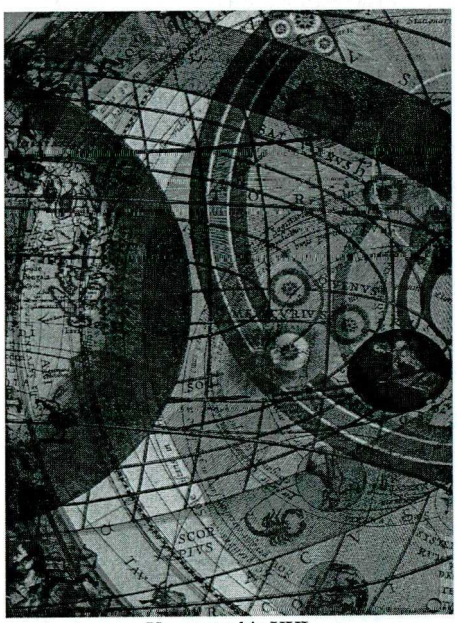


Uranographia XI

Uranographia XV



Uranographia XVII



Uranographia XXI

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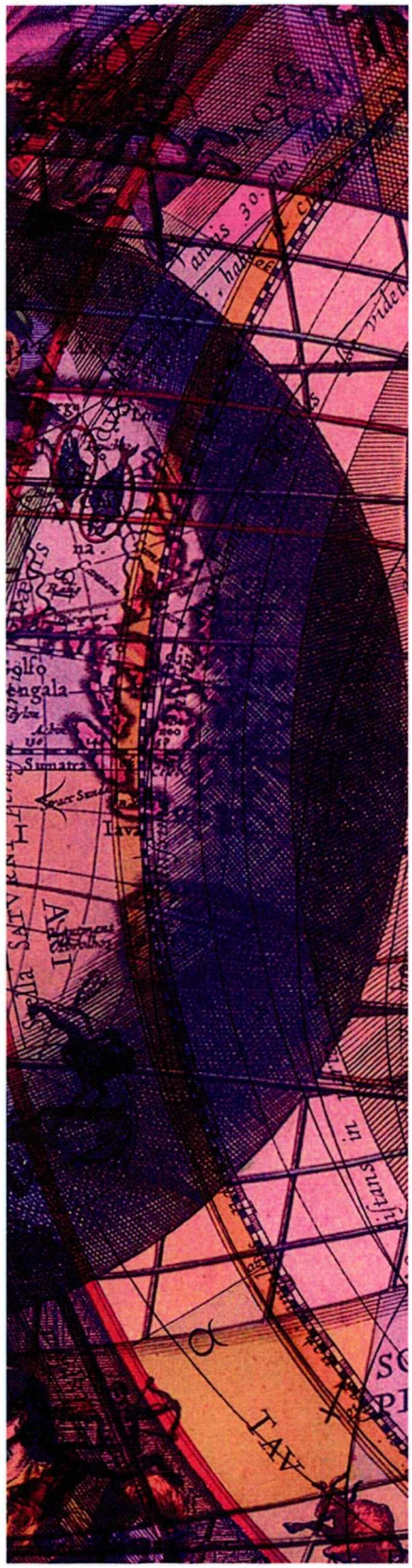
Kiadja a JATEPress
6722 Szeged, Petőfi Sándor sugárút 30–34.
http://www.press.u-szeged.hu

Felelős kiadó: Szönyi György Endre, egyetemi tanár
Felelős vezető: Szőnyi Etelka kiadói főszerkesztő
Méret: B/5, példányszám: 500, munkaszám: 39/2012.

The proceedings of the fourth conference on Eastern and Western Traditions of European Iconography (Szeged 2008) highlights the theme of the Iconology of Law and Order. The twenty-five selected papers authored by international experts reflect on artists' and user communities' verbal and visual representations of legal and cosmic order as reflected in the arts and literatures of Western and Eastern Europe throughout the centuries, from the classic Greek to the postmodern global culture.

* * *

The English department of the University of Szeged established its five-yearly conferences under the umbrella name "European Iconology East and West" in 1993. The original purpose to bring together East-Central European scholars with Western colleagues was vital in the years after the changing of the state socialist regimes in 1989-90. Since then this series has been established with an average of eighty participants, and the first conference was followed by thematic colloquia on the iconology of the fantastic, gender, and the fourth on law and order, commemorated in this volume.



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PEAS XXI. THE ICONOLOGY OF LAW AND ORDER