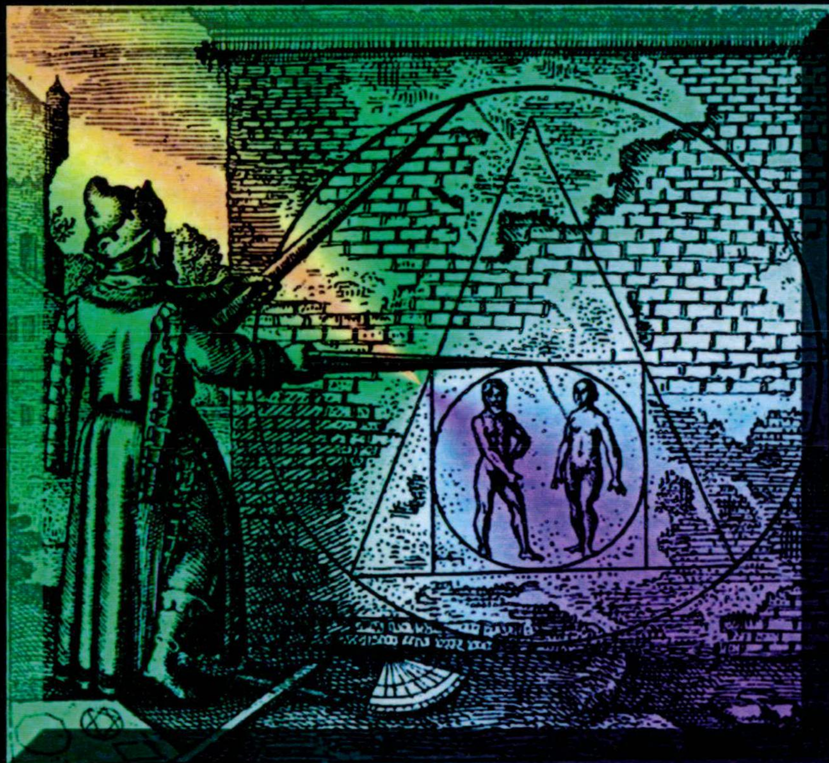
Papers in English & American Studies XV.

THE ICONOLOGY OF GENDER I.

Edited by
Attila Kiss and György E. Szőnyi



Traditions & Historical Perspectives

SZEGEDI EGYETEMI KIADÓ

THE ICONOLOGY OF GENDER

Papers in English & American Studies XV.

THE ICONOLOGY OF GENDER I.

EASTERN & WESTERN TRADITIONS OF EUROPEAN ICONOGRAPHY 3.

Edited by
ATTILA KISS and GYÖRGY E. SZŐNYI

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Myths and Archetypes

Robert Lima

GENDERING EVIL: PANDORA, LILITH, SATAN

Evil has been with mankind through recorded history, but its existence certainly pre-dates those extant works on which we found our knowledge of early man and his beliefs. The origin of the concept of Evil is lost in an antiquity which we have only begun to suspect and hardly fathomed. Thus, it is necessary to begin, if not at the real beginning, at least at the earliest periods accessible in the histories of Mediterranean peoples in order to trace the provenance of the personification of the Western idea of Evil in the figures of Pandora, Lilith and Satan.

The personification of Evil – presupposing a degree of sophistication – is encountered in the earliest of human works, both artistic and functional (cave paintings, stele, artifacts, statuary, bowls, and the like). These are external manifestations only, however. There are also more profound creations of man which give evidence of Evil personified. Not the least of these are his religions.

In primitive societies, animistic beliefs associated unexplainable phenomena with superior natural beings or supernatural powers the effect of whose acts on human life was either positive or negative, but who themselves were beyond moral classification. But as primitive societies matured, they grew away from simpler beliefs. It became necessary for people to explain the good and Evil manifested in human life through more precise agencies. Thus, ancient peoples separated out the positive and negative aspects, assigning each to deities who could be distinguished as gods or demons in human terms. They were beings who could not be held to standards of right and wrong, good and Evil, but who were perceived as intimately involved with human activity.

In their exalted state, the gods were not easily accessible to man. But the demons were held to be readily available, perhaps because man intuited their condition to be closer to his own. Not infrequently man placed his negative deities in a context of privation, exclusion or suffering – conditions which reflected his own. But even if their state was less than ideal, such beings existed on a plateau higher than man's and consequently served as reminders of another order beyond his reach.

In cultures where a god or another supernatural force is perceived as the personification of Evil, a phrase such as "The Devil made me do it," might be applied to individuals (Hitler, Stalin, Bin Laden) or groups (religious fanatics of various persuasions); these may be thought of as Evil incarnate, that is, human beings whose actions are so debased and inhumane that they can only be thought of as stemming from a source beyond the natural world. A supernatural figure is then named as the origin. In personifying Evil in terms of deific figures, ancient cultures avoided the modern dilemma of interpreting maleficent human actions as stemming from the exercise of free will, even if delusional.

Three traditions that have contributed meaningfully to the evolution of Western thought are Greek, Jewish and Christian ideologies. Each has developed, among other topoi, a figure of Evil. In the Greek and Jewish traditions, these are female, while Christianity has developed a male image; respectively, they are Pandora, Lilith and Satan.

In Greek mythology, Pandora was the creation of the gods' blacksmith Hephaestus who, on orders from Zeus, formed the first female. Other Olympians endowed her with their special gifts and skills; most notably, Aphrodite granted her beauty and lasciviousness, while Hermes gave her a seductive voice and the feminine wiles of deceit, treachery and flattery. She was also gifted

with curiosity. Her name reflects that she was the repository of *all gifts* from the gods.[1] She was truly made in heaven, the home of the Greek gods, Mt. Olympus. According to Pliny and Pausanias, the base of the Parthenon in Athens, Phidias's great work, once showed the showering of gifts upon Pandora by the twenty gods represented (Panofsky, 9).

This first female was bestowed on mankind to avenge the insult to Zeus when the Titan Prometheus stole fire from the gods to better the condition of humans. Prometheus was ordered chained to a rock on Mount Caucasus, there to have his liver devoured day after day by an eagle (a vulture in some accounts)[2] until the Titan would make amends, which his pride forbade. Although he had sought to bring a boon to the male creatures he had created,[3] Prometheus was thus detained and punished but the rage of Zeus was not to be satisfied by imposing sentence solely on the perpetrator; as his address to Prometheus shows, the beneficiaries of the Titan's act would also suffer:

> "Son of Iapetus, surpassing all in cunning, you are glad that you have outwitted me and stolen fire – a great plague to you yourself and to men that shall be. But I will give men as the price for fire an evil thing in which they may all be glad of heart while they embrace their own destruction." (Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 54)

Fig. 1. Hermes Carrying Pandora (Panofsky, cover & 92)

The "evil thing" was the female sculpted by Hephaestus. Hermes, the messenger of the gods, flew from the heights of Mt. Olympus with her in his arms to present Pandora to Epimetheus, the unsuspecting brother of the fallen Titan *(Fig. 1)*. She was perfect in every way and was arrayed to display her glorious nature. Despite his brother's warnings not to accept any gift from Zeus, Epimetheus was seduced by the vision before him and took her into his dwelling.

In some accounts, Pandora brought with her a sealed box, jar or vase[4] *(Fig. 2)* perhaps indicative of a dowry; but instead of riches, the case held what the gods had placed in it: all the

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1 Pan means all; Dora may derive from Dorian, the name of a Hellenic people that settled the Greek mainland around 1100 B.C.E. in the central region that came to be called Doris. The myth of Pandora may have come with their arrival.

2 Byron's *Prometheus* and "Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte" have it a vulture.

3 Some accounts posit that when Prometheus beheld the empowerment of the animals that his brother Epimetheus had created, he wanted to make men dominant over those creatures and decided to steal Zeus's fire to that end.

4 The confusion stems from Erasmus misconstruing *pyxis* (box) for *pithos* (vase). Homer speaks of two containers in the keeping of Zeus – one of good and another of evil things – but Hesiod refers to only one, inexplicably adding Hope to the evil contents therein.

Evil things at their disposal.[5] In other versions of the myth, the container belonged to Epimetheus who, as co-creator of life on Earth, had placed in the jar or box all the harmful things he had not used in making the world's inhabitants. Whatever the right account, like a child before the prohibited thing, Pandora gave in to temptation. It was Pandora's curiosity that led to her opening the fateful vessel. On breaking the seal of the jar, or lifting the lid of the box, all the Evil things accumulated therein were set free and spread rapidly throughout the world. Thereafter, humanity would be plagued by every conceivable disease of body, every affliction of mind, physical death, and the bane of war as well as other social ills. Zeus not only had his revenge on Prometheus but on all men and it would continue throughout the history of humanity as a whole for, ironically, Pandora became the mother of all mortal women, as well as males descended from her liaison with Epimetheus.[6]

Fig. 2. "Pandora."
Marble by John Gibson.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Thus it came to be that Pandora, the first female, symbolized the source of all Evil and sorrow in the world according to Greek mythology. She may have acted only out of the curiosity with which she had been "gifted" by the gods as some accounts have it or she may have been fated to act as she did by the foreknowledge of Zeus but whatever the reason, the end result was the same: the loosening of Evil upon the world for all time ...by a female, and a comely one at that.

If the name Prometheus means "Forethought" and that of Epimetheus "Afterthought," ironically both brothers failed to live up to their appellations; the former should have foreseen the repercussions of his action on himself and those he sought to benefit, while the latter should not have fathered the human race on realizing the evil let loose in the world by his consort. Nonetheless, the blame for the dark deed fell on Pandora, the first female in the Greek creation myth.

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[5] Some say these were the daemonic offspring of Nyx, goddess of Night, and Eris, the goddess of Discord. Inexplicably, Hope was also in the container.

[6] The Athenian myth of Pandora and Epimetheus as procreators of mortal women was at odds with the tale of Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha, who were the ancestral figures in the mythic tradition of northern Greece. Having survived the Flood, they were told by an oracle to throw stones (the bones of Mother Earth) behind them as they walked away from the temple; the stones cast by Deucalion became men, those by Pyrrha, women (Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* Book I). The belief in Pandora as the ancestor of women was reconciled with the northern myth by making Pyrrha the daughter of Pandora and Epimetheus (*Man, Myth and Magic* 17: 2262).

Fig. 3. "Lilith." Sumerian bas-relief, c. 2000 B.C.E. (*Man, Myth & Magic* 12).

The "history" of Pandora is verifiable through its long mythic life as a central element in the creation myth of ancient Greece.[7] That is not the case with Lilith. Lilith does not appear in the Torah, the first five books of Hebrew Scripture;[8] her "history" is heterodox. She derives from oral tradition, with a lineage in Near Eastern cultures other than the Hebraic, primarily the Sumerian and Babylonian, in which she was the supernatural Belit-ili, Belili, or, as at Ur, Lillake.[9] Throughout Mesopotamia, she was represented as a screech-owl, which is the meaning of her name, as evidenced by numerous ancient Near Eastern figurines in the image of that bird of prey.[10] *(Fig. 3)* She was to take a place, albeit a marginal one, in Semitic lore, in the Rabbinic writings in the Talmud,[11] and in the mystical oral cul-

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[7] The myth of Pandora appears in many ancient Greek accounts, among them in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days,* Pindar's *Odes,* Apollodorus's *The Library,* Plato's *Protagoras,* Apollonius of Rhodes, Pausanias's *Guide to Greece,* and the Roman Hyginus's *Fabulae.* In a modern context, Pandora's box (believed still to hold an inexplicably undeployed plague) is the object of a perilous quest in the action-adventure film *Laura Croft Tomb Raider: The Cradle of Life,* released in 2003.

[8] Some arguments have been made that Isaiah 34:14 refers to Lilith; the arguments pro and con center on how the Hebrew was translated and there are numerous variants in old and modern versions of the Bible. In the Catholic Confraternity – Douay translation of 1962, the passage is rendered: "Wildcats shall meet with desert beasts, satyrs shall call to one another; there shall the lilith repose, and find for herself a place to rest." A footnote adds: "Lilith: a female demon thought to roam about the desert." (839) If this and similar translations of Isaiah 34:14 are correct, then the passage contains the only mention of Lilith in the Old Testament. But other translations eschew Lilith altogether, using instead "night creature, "night monster," "screech owl" or similar terminology, thus avoiding the folkloric issue. Since the Hebrew original "lilith" occurs only once in the Old Testament, it belongs in the category of single mentions in a corpus termed *hapax legomenon.*

[9] See Graves and Patai, 68; see Patai, 221 for mention of her first appearance in the Sumerian king list circa 2400 B.C.E. as belonging to the same demonic-vampiric quartet as the father (a Lillu) of Gilgamesh, the epic hero. The other three members were: Lilitu, Ardat Lilli and Indu Lili.

[10] See Gimbutas, "18.2 Owl," 190. Although the famous image of a naked, quadruple-winged female with owl feet standing upon two recumbent lions, an owl at each side, has been variously named, Patai, 222 definitely identifies the Sumerian terra-cotta image from ca. 2000 B.C.E. as Lilith (Plate 31).

[11] The Talmud is the foundation of Rabbinic authority in orthodox Judaism, containing the ancient writings found in the Mishnah and Gemara. Actual references to Lilith, i.e., by name, appear in Erubin 18b, Erubin 100b, Niddah 24b, Shabbat 151b, Baba Bathra 73a–b.

Fig. 5. "La Caverne de Lilith" by Michel Desimon.

one that results in Lilith being demonized. Had she simply abandoned Adam, her reputation would not have been as degraded as it became. But she refused to heed Snwy, Snsnwy and Smnglf, the three angels that YHWH sent to fetch her, and thereafter became the enemy of God and man. This new stance brought her to consort with demons and to populate the world with their offspring (variously *lilim, lilin*); this contradicts the earlier belief that Lilith was unable to conceive and seems more compatible with the Rabbinic tradition that on turning to evil she gave birth to a hundred demons daily (but these were slain by the three angels sent by YHWH, according to *The Alphabet of Ben Sira*). And, very much in the popular mind, Lilith was blamed for the deaths of babies and young children *(Fig. 4)*. In the latter actions, she was said to steal the young and kill them, sometimes by strangulation, sometimes by sucking their blood.[16] Lilith was perceived, therefore, as a vampire. And she performed these nefarious activities from her cavern abode at the edge of the Red Sea, whose waters were believed to be the domain of demons *(Fig. 5)*.

In another avatar, she became the seducer of men in their sleep, inciting them to have sexual dreams that resulted in ejaculation.[17] In this practice she was what would be called a Succubus *(Fig. 6)* and became associated with the Greek Lamia,[18] who not only similarly seduced men but

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[16] According to Graves and Patai, Lilith promised the angels sent to fetch her that she would not harm any child protected by an amulet bearing their names (Snwy, Snsnwy and Smnglf [Senoy, Sansenoy, Semangelof]). In popular lore, children were to be protected by a charcoal-drawn rign placed in the room where the infant had been born; inscribed within were the names of Adam and Eve and the exorcism: "Out, Lilith." As a further safeguard the angels's names were placed over the doorway. In another source, the amulet's contents are given as "Adam and Eve, barring Lilith" and the names of the angels are said to be "Sanvi, Sansanvi, Semangelaf" (*Man, Myth and Magic* 12: 1631). See Goldstein, 29–30 for two such amulets. Patai, 225–29 gives various magical texts inscribed in Aramaic and Mandaic on ceramic bowls from Nippur in Babylonia dating circa 600 B.C.E. in which Lilith and her company of incubi and succubi are exorcised.

[17] Popular lore, as collected in the Kabbalah, had another female seductress, Naamah, who was, in many aspects, parallel to Lilith. Zohar 3:76b narrates how Naamah comes to men in their dreams and "conceives and brings forth other kinds (of spirits) into the world. ... And all of them go to Lilith the Ancient, and she rears them." This is in keeping with the belief by some that Lilith was barren.

[18] In his *Symbols of Transformation* (248), Jung states: "The original legend is that Lamia seduced Zeus, but the jealous Hera caused her to bring only dead children into the world. Ever since then, the raging Lamia has persecuted children, whom she destroys whenever she can."

ture of the Kabbalah, codified in the European Middle Ages.[12]

Lilith was reputed to have been the first female companion of Adamic Man[13] but she does not appear in either creation story in Genesis. Popular belief had it that she was not a woman but a creature of a higher order (a bow to her status as a supernatural being in the Sumero-Babylonian epic literature, statuary and bowls) to whom YHWH gave the mission of accompanying the epitome of His creation, *Adamah,* the Man made from the ground, i.e. earth.[14] The difference in status created discord between Lilith and Adam, she being unwilling to be subject to a being not her equal. Dominant over all other creatures, Adam could not put Lilith in her place (some have extrapolated that she refused to submit sexually, to be "covered" in the recumbent or so-called "missionary" position expected of her).[15] Whatever the cause of their disagreement, Lilith soon left her mate (some accounts say that by speaking the ineffable name of God she was able to leave the ground *[Adamah]* and literally fly away).

Fig. 4. Amulet for the protection of a newborn child from Lilith. Baghdad, 16th or 17th century. Lilith is "bound" within the figure. Einhorn Collection, Tel Aviv, Israel (reproduced in Goldstein, 29).

It is then that the myth takes a new tack,

[12] The oral tradition collectively known as Kabbalah (Cabala, Cabbala, Qabalah, etc.), is concerned mainly with the mystical exegesis of Scripture, especially the Pentateuch. While many writings are called kabbalistic, these are the principal works: *Hekhaloth Books* (the remnants of Second Temple Era writings concerned with reaching the Merkabah, the Throne-Chariot of God, by passing through the heavenly halls or Hekhaloth; the pseudepigraphal *Book of Enoch* belongs in this grouping), compiled between the fifth and sixth centuries C.E.; *Sefer Yetsirah* or Book of Creation (a brief collection of writings said to date from between the third and sixth centuries C.E., dealing with the ten Sefiroth or emanations of God and the mystical meaning of the Hebrew alphabet, as revealed to Abraham the Patriarch in a vision), not published until 1552; *Sefer ha-Bahir* or Book of Brilliance (a compendium of random, often non-sequential texts, the most important of which presents the first written expression of the concept of reincarnation), compiled in Provençe in the second half of the twelfth century C.E.; *Sefer ha-Zohar* or Book of Splendor (purporting to be the teachings of Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai, a second-century C.E. Tanna, as compiled by Moses de Leon, a thirteenth-century C.E. Sephardic Jew, it is a voluminous commentary on the Pentateuch and thus is also known as *The Midrash of Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai*), circulated in manuscript in Spain during the thirteenth century C.E. and published in 1558. The *Zohar* contains the most references to Lilith: 1:19b, 1:34b, 1:54b–55a, 2:267b, 3:19a, 3:76b–77a; these may have been influenced by *The Alphabet of Ben Sira.*

[13] The *Alphabet of Ben Sira* (ca. 600–800 C.E., or as late as 1000 C.E.), the first known version of Lilith in the Genesis creation story, conflates references to her in the Babylonian Talmud (winged demoness) and to a "first Eve" (destroyed by Yahweh at Adam's disdain of her) in midrashic literature (commentaries dating between 400 and 1200 C.E. on Hebrew Scripture and legends).

[14] In some versions of her origin, Lilith is made by Yahweh of inferior matter; her striving for equality with Adamic Man may stem from her sense of inferiority.

[15] See Walker, "Lilith," 541. It is in the Talmudic era that the story of Lilith as Adam's first wife appears, along with their disagreement over the appropriate sexual position, and her flight from his side to the company of demonic beings (Patai, 223).

sucked their blood and ate their flesh. Often, the names Lilith and Lamia were used interchangeably,[19] despite their differences in venue and appearance.[20]

Fig. 6. "Succubus" (1854) by Mathias de Giraldo, O.P.

Sixteenth century German Kabbalism contributed to the Lilith–Adam story beliefs extant since the fourteenth century that the first man left Eve for 130 years and went to live a life of penance. It was during this period of Adam's prolonged sexual abstinence that Lilith returned to Adam, not as a repentant consort but as a seductress for her own nefarious ends. "Lilith used to come to him against his will and conceive from Adam ..." (Herz, 179d). The result of the unholy union were: "the giant human figures, tall of stature, who were born of Adam in the 130 years during which he begot demons, spirits and Lilin. ... [and she bore these beings]" (Herz, 180a).

Slayer, Vampire and Succubus, Lilith was an amalgam of demonic traits out of numerous cultures and belief systems. She became the greatest purveyor of Evil in the Semitic world, if primarily in popular tradition. Excluded from orthodox texts, she became an object of attention for those who studied the esoteric side of Scripture in search for the secret name of YHWH, as well as for the writers of apocryphal and pseudepigraphal texts who sought to integrate forbidden or neglected beliefs in the mainstream of Jewish tradition. Later groups and individuals, both within and outside Judaism, were to do much in both those endeavors.[21]

It is ironic that the gendering of Evil as female should change in Christianity from the pattern of its predecessors since Eve (Life, the Hebrew *Hawwah*) was considered the source of Original Sin. It is curious why the first woman in the Judeo-Christian tradition was not vested with the mantle of Evil personified given her willful act of disobedience in the Garden of Eden and its consequences for humanity. In her curiosity and impetuousness, Eve has a kinship to her Greek ancestress, Pandora.[22] Furthermore, the classic myth of the ire of Zeus against mankind

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[19] In the Latin Vulgate Bible, the term "lilith" in Isaiah 34:14 is rendered "Lamia."

[20] The Greek monster was represented with the body of a serpent and the breasts and face of a woman. Lilith, however, was represented with a beautiful face and seductive body and was distinguished by four wings, reminiscent of alate images out of Sumero-Babylonian lore.

[21] For one, the notorious Aleister Crowley (England, 1875–1947), founder of the secret societies Argenteum Astrum and Ordo Templi Orientis, who promoted Lilith in his magical rites. He gave his daughter several mystico-esoteric names, among them Lilith, saying in explanation: "Lilith, of course, holds undisputed possession of my affections in the realm of demons." (Crowley, 409).

[22] The date of the writing of Genesis is presumed to be later than that of accounts of Creation in Greek mythology, although Jewish and Christian orthodoxy would claim the reverse to be the true chronology. Nonetheless, the concept of Pandora as a pagan Eve was taken up in the Renaissance through a re-reading of patristic sources, as Panofsky (11–12, 150) points out. Panofsky (Plate 29) also reproduces "Eva Prima Pandora," a mid–16th century painting by Jean Cousin which combines the motifs of the the Tree of Knowledge and the serpent (Genesis) and the fateful jar (Pandora). The resemblance of Eve to Pandora is briefly treated by John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (Book IV): "More lovely than Pandora, whom the gods / Endowed with all their gifts; and O, too like / In sad event, when to the unwiser son / of Japhet brought by Hermes,

is mirrored in the biblical account of YHWH's expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise and in their condemnation to suffering lifelong hardship, torments and death. The Zeus-YHWH axis again underlines the similarities between the myths of Pandora and Eve.

Despite Eve's great transgression in disobeying YHWH and the inheritance of Evil she passed on to her descendants (along with the vilification of woman as the seat of sin in Christianity), the role of Evil personified fell to the Serpent. In the Kabbalah, the Serpent of the Genesis story is said to have impregnated Eve, as in *Zohar* 3:76b: "After the Serpent mounted Eve and injected filth into her, she gave birth to Cain. From thence descended all the wicked generations in the world." Later, the Serpent was to be equated with the Christian Devil. But his personification in Christian iconography developed beyond that of the Tempter in Genesis due to the admixture of the numerous ancient and subsequent beliefs encountered in its forging.

Images of the gods of ancient religions, as well as of other deific creatures, that we term "demonic" often bore the horns of goats, stags, rams or bulls, depending usually on the prominence of one of these animals in the area where the deity emerged. These horns were never mere adornments. Rather, they symbolized the fertility, strength and other abilities of the respective animals as impressed upon the minds (and souls) of ancient peoples. They became integral to the concept of the higher beings. And in the celebration of their sacred rituals, the shaman often donned the animal garb to procure, through what has been termed "sympathetic magic," the power of the deity associated with the animal. The deification of a horned being has been seen as strongest in patriarchal societies where the phallic principle was paramount, superseding the female-oriented or earth mother principle of matriarchal groups. Such usage is universal.

Other religions held that the major deity possessed a dual nature composed of good and Evil, usually in equal proportions. In the early days of dualism this was not an enigma but an article of faith reasonably arrived at, and worship recognized it. In such systems there was no condemnation of one and exaltation of the other; rather, both were considered aspects of the one deity. In Zoroastrian dualism, for example, the good (positive) and Evil (negative) principles were personified in Ormuzd and Ahriman respectively: both were given equal stature; however, the Persian deities were held to be in a cosmic war, the good (Ormuzd) ultimately to prevail.

In early Judaism, before YHWH became the symbol for the sacred name of God, the major deity had a similar dual nature; only the growing religious cosmopolitanism of the Jews (due partly to their Egyptian and Babylonian captivities) taught them the need to separate the beneficent characteristics of God from his demonic aspects. They did so by assigning the latter to separate entities, many of which derived from the demons of Egypt and Assyria. In so doing, Judaism followed the practice of many other religions, becoming poly-demonic. Lilith and the lilim are indicative of the practice in Semitic cultures.

However, the early Jews did not personify Evil to the extent of identifying one being as its source. Despite the deep-seated belief of strict structuralists, the Old Testament terms *"hassátan"* and *"sátan"* are not such personifications of Evil. In the context where they are employed the words mean "adversary" or "accuser." Thus the term *"satan"* is called upon to indicate an agent of opposition – either internal (guilty conscience) or external (human enemy), or, as a verb, "to

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she insnared / Mankind with her fair looks, to be avenged / On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire." Milton changes the name of Iapetus, the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus, to Japhet and that of Zeus to Jove. Because of the Pandora – Eve association, Epimetheus and Adam also came to be equated by the early Church Fathers and their re-interpreters in the Renaissance. In the process of re-evaluation and adaptation of myths, Christianity has taken away the heroic image of Prometheus; because his myth features the rebellion against the deity and pride in opting not to seek forgiveness, he has been associated with Lucifer.

oppose," "to hinder." It is more often used in the sense of human enemy in the major episodes where such a reference is made:

1. When David and his soldiers are about to march with the Philistines against Saul, the uneasy allies fear that David will, at the last minute, become a *"satan"* to them by deserting to the Israelites;
2. In his message to the King of Tyre, Solomon congratulated himself on having no *"satans"* in his kingdom. But when the reign of Solomon became tainted with corruption and strife, *"satans"* arose in his kingdom in the persons of Hadad the Edomite and Regon of Zobah;
3. In the 109th Psalm the composer refers to his enemies as *"satans"* and curses them, asking God to send a wicked man to bear witness against them, that is, in turn to be their *"satan"*. In the sequel to those verses the writer himself adopts the role of the *"satan"* to his antagonists, detailing their sins against God and man. Several other incidents, but of a minor nature, can be found in the reign of David in which the term *"satan"* is used in the same manner.

Besides these there are only two other texts in which the Old Testament writers refer to the word. In Zechariah 3: 1–2, Josue the High Priest is standing before the Angel of the Lord while a *"satan"* stands at his right to accuse him. The angel says to the adversary: "May the Lord rebuke you, *satan*." Clearly here, as elsewhere, the use of the term is not literal but symbolic: Zechariah chooses to personify the guilt of Josue through the well-known term for such internal feelings; and when the High Priest is vested with the garments of purification, the Angel of the Lord tells him that his guilt has been removed (the *"satan"* having been rebuked).

The last case occurs in the Book of Job, the familiar didactic tale in which a *"satan"* (described as one of the sons of God) is permitted to test Job's devotion to Jehovah. But even in this story, where the term seems to be used in reference to a specific being, the *"satan"* is only figurative. It is a "son of God" only in the sense that all of God's creations can be so identified; this can also be said of "Temptation" or "Lust" or any state that man can experience since everything is created by God according to the Old Testament. The Book of Job's *"satan"* also fails to meet an important requisite for the identification of the terms with Evil personified: there is no rebellion against God, the pivotal element in Satanic history. Lacking this diabolic quality, the *"satan"* in the story of Job becomes one more symbolic vehicle in the interpretation of God's desire to test one of His creatures, one of many of His inequities towards human beings narrated in the Old Testament. Furthermore, scholars are in agreement that the tale of Job is extra-Biblical in origin and un-Hebraic in its treatment of Evil. Consequently, even if the other premises could be established in support of the concept of personification, the lineage of the tale puts it beyond Hebraic boundaries.

Nowhere in the Old Testament, then, is there reference to Satan, the bulwark of the Christian personification of Evil. The Jews simply did not have any such being. Christianity developed it out of misreadings and verbatim interpretations of Biblical passages, apocryphal texts, rabbinical writings and those works written under false pretenses, termed pseudepigraphal.

Among the latter is the Book of Enoch, composed between 200 and 100 B.C.E. This is an apocalyptic treatise written by many hands and disguised as an older prophetic work in order to stimulate its acceptance. The Book of Enoch encompasses an extensive angelology and demonology founded largely on Babylonian sources but also showing Greek influences. It is this work that propagated the "Fall of the Angels" myth. Briefly put, Enoch describes the "fall" as resulting from the lust of 200 angels after the daughters of men; led by Semjaza, Azazel and 18 others, these angels left their heavenly abode and seduced the women, who in time gave birth to giants. These grotesque beings became oppressors of the earth and men cried out to God for pun-

ishment of the wrongdoers (Dante was to place them deep within his *Inferno*). God sent his archangels to cast the lustful angels into the abyss at the earth's center. Their punishment was eternal.

This account is the final transposition of the conquest of the pagan gods and their condemnation by YHWH in his role as warrior-god. Similar accounts are found in all major civilizations: in Greek mythology one particular "fallen god" was Prometheus; the Egyptian Set warred against the Sun God, was defeated and adjudged. These and other myths had their effect on the Christian conception of Evil but it was the Book of Enoch that most influenced Matthew, Luke and, in particular, the apocalyptic view of John. It was in the writings of these evangelists that the satanic personality saw its first outline and it was founded on Enoch's word-picture of Satan as the ruler of a counter-kingdom (of Evil), as the one who led astray the angels and as the tempter of Eve (in the guise of the Serpent). These interpretations of age-old beliefs became imbedded in Christianity and formed the core of its personification of a Prince of Darkness, enemy of God and man, tempter, accuser and instrument of eternal damnation.

Fig. 7. The Satyr-God Pan (Ceramic, 1975. Collection of the Author).

The Gospels, Epistles and other writings of the early Church vitalized Satan and made Hell real. But it was only later that detailed views of diabology were formulated. Origen, Augustine and Aquinas were to contribute much to the process towards a theology of the demon Satan; already in the fourth century of the Christian era Jerome had borrowed Isaiah's Lucifer (shining star) and misapplied the metaphoric name to the Devil although the Old Testament prophet used the term in a very obvious manner to symbolize the fall of Nebuchadnezzar; in 547 C.E. the Council of Constantinople defined the Devil and established the existence of Hell, borrowing the term from Norse mythology. But it was Peter Lombard in the 12th century who most forcefully and effectively fixed the identity of the Devil to Lucifer.

But this is only part of Satan's evolutionary process. As the Church labored to establish itself in the Roman Empire, it encountered many pagan beliefs. Each had a host of deities, both good and Evil. Many had large numbers of followers and traditions which pre-dated Christianity. Among the figures worshipped by these groups were many horned gods; among them, the Greek Pan stood out *(Fig. 7)*. Similarly, horned gods were worshipped by the barbaric tribes beyond Roman borders. As Christianity converted Roman and barbarian, it pronounced the dictum that their earlier gods were false. Not only were churches erected atop pagan temple-ruins to make this point clear, Christian saints were superimposed on beneficent deities thus garnering that which was worthwhile at the same time that the opposition was eliminated.

However, deities perceived as malevolent could not be treated in the same fashion. The Church's only alternative was to relegate all these to the company of the "fallen angels" or companions of the Devil. And in the course of centuries these hybrid deities festered in the bowels

of Hell until Church and populace no longer made distinctions between the original rebels and the lately vanquished. The blurring of these lines led to a strange equation. The Christian Satan and the Horned God became one. This was not a process of amelioration purposely arrived at; rather, it was a true coalescence aided by time and life's flux. It is then that Satan emerges in the Middle Ages in his composite figure, his wings gone, his lost halo supplanted by the horns of Pan or another horned deity, with tail and cloven hoofs that are also traceable to the satyrs of ancient Greece *(Fig. 8)*.

Fig. 8. The Devil. Mask by Josef Tränkle, Elzach, Germany. (Wood, 1972. Collection of the Author).

Thus, this syncretic being, a collage of rem nants from Indo-European myths, pseudepigraphal texts, rabbinical literature and folk traditions, who is the rationalization for the baser instincts that man discerns in himself, has been with Christianity since its inception, even tempting its founder. Over the centuries, Satan has attained a status close to that of the Zoroastrian Ahriman due to the Church's concern with damnation theology. The Devil – be he in the onomastic guise of Lucifer, Satan, Beelzebub, Old Nick or under another of his countless appellations – is ever the personification of Evil in the Christian belief system. It is in fact impossible to conceive of Christianity without the Devil so intimate is the intertwining of the purveyor of Evil –the word itself forms the larger part of his name – in the life of the Church.

Pandora, Lilith, Satan – a strange triad of beings spawned by a god or God interpreted in three different belief systems in terms of human gendering, has each been charged with having brought Evil into the world within the cultural system that gave it viability. The deity may have been the Greek Zeus or the Hebrew YHWH or the Christian God the Father but the end result has been to interpret the presence of Evil in the world in terms of supernatural intervention.

If philosophy since the Age of Reason has eschewed theology in its deliberations and placed human actions in the context of free will, society at large continues to adhere to time-honored beliefs founded on myths or formalized religious tenets; the concept of Evil personified as a powerful supernatural entity continues to hold sway despite the advances in scientific knowledge and rational applications thereof.

It is not surprising, therefore, that all three personifications of Evil – Pandora, Lilith, Satan – continue to exist in the modern context. To some, they still represent what they did in myth and folk tradition. But more often than not today their malefic deeds and/or natures inspire more retrospection than fear. Artists and writers since the Renaissance have seen the myths in terms of their metaphorical value rather than as literal purveyors of Evil. Thus, Lilith and Satan, and to a lesser degree, Pandora, have given rise to numerous novels, plays, stories, poems, films,

paintings, and sculptures.[23] They have lost their status in mainstream religion instead becoming fictive icons for the modern imagination.

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[23] Among the many literary works in which Lilith appears: Carl Macleod Boyle, *Where Lilith Dances* (1920); Robert Browning, *Adam, Lilith and Eve* (1883); Richard Cornish, *The Woman Lilith* (1975); Marcellus Emants, *Lilith* (1879); John Erskine, *Adam and Eve* (1927); Remy de Gourmont, *Lilith* (1892); Wilhelm Jensen, *Lilith* (1869); Willem Kloos, *Lilith Triumphatrix;* Anais Nin, *Delta of Venus* (1977); Edmund W. Putnam, *Lilith* (1907); J.R. Salamanca, *Lilith* (1961); William Sharp, *The Passing of Lilith* (1886/1893); George Bernard Shaw, *Back to Methusaleh* (1921); Murray Sheehan, *Eden* (1927); André Spire, *Samael* (1921). The periodical *Lilith* has frequent articles on its námesake.

Among literary works on Pandora: Henry James, *Pandora* (1884); Kerri Sharp (Ed.), *Pandora's Box. An Anthology of Erotic Writing by Women* (1997). G.W. Pabst adapted *Lulu* by Franz Weidekind in a film entitled *Pandora's Box* (1928). Among paintings and sculptures are works by Raphael, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Numerous commercial ventures have used the name.

Satan, under a variety of names (Lucifer, Asmodeus, Beelzebub, Mephistopheles, the Lord of the Flies, et. al.), has been the subject of untold literary and artistic works, too numerous to mention here in their entirety but it suffices to list Goethe, *Faust;* J.K. Huysmans, *Là Bas;* Ira Levin, *Rosemary's Baby;* Fred Mustard Stewart, *The Mephisto Waltz;* and the art of Francis Barrett, Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Breughel, Eugene Delacroix, Albrecht Dürer, Francisco Goya, Stanislas Lepri, Eliphas Levi, Hans Memling, Antoine Wiertz.

Reghina Dascăl

CASSANDRA REVISITED

It is the intention of this essay to explore certain interrelations between the violence perpetrated against women and the repression of their speech, and to consider the ways in which the patriarchs' ascendancy over women is sustained by a permanent attempt to silence women's speech.

According to the ancient Greeks, there was a necessary association between knowledge and speaking as communication. Jurgen Habermas takes up this association in his work, in which reason as linguistic intersubjectivity becomes a full-fledged theory of communicative reason. The connection is demonstrable in certain European languages – in the Dutch *rede, reason* in the English 'reason' and 'to reason' and the French *raison* and *raisonner* (Geyer-Ryan 1994, 87). We also know that one of the prerequisites of successful communication is the absence of force, compulsion and control, yet this is a condition that in the specific case of women cannot be taken for granted. In their case, the breach of this fundamental condition enabling successful communication pollutes both the public and the private spheres, as in the public sphere everyone present is allowed to speak but not everyone is present and in the private sphere everyone is present, but not everyone is allowed to speak. Communicative force against women ultimately relies on the threat of physical force.

People often talk in this context about the 'Cassandra syndrome', about women's foresight and vision going unheeded in a man's world despite the disastrous consequences | that often follow in the process. This situation is ubiquitous in the Western world and has a classical precedent. Cassandra, the prophetess whom no one believed, is carried prisoner by Agamemnon to Mycenae. There she is put to death – ironically, as a symbol of the same male power, which has seized her as its prize. Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wife who kills both him and Cassandra – and who is referred to by one of Christa Wolf's interlocutors as being the first feminist in history – is unable to see this irony. She is herself blinded by her hatred of the patriarchal power structure which had first claimed the life of her daughter Iphigenia (at a time when human sacrifice was increasingly becoming a taboo), had placed her for ten years in the vulnerable position of royal wife without a husband (which, however, gave her freedom, self-determination and autonomy), and finally had returned her husband to her as an estranged man who brought with him a barbarian princess as war booty. Clytemnestra falls prey to gynophobia, often encountered among women, a form of self-denial, turning her against Cassandra, leading her to reject the alternative of female solidarity.

Cassandra is finally silenced in Mycenae, but not for what she says, which anyway the Achaeans do not believe, let alone understand. It is precisely this complete absence of understanding and response that becomes the final point in the process of silencing to which she has been subjected all along. The silencing of speech in her case is made to overlap with the destruction of the language of her body, which signals the same message as her speech: mutilation and silencing by male violence. In the Mycenaean context, Cassandra's body is objectified and alienated, it is devoid of subjectivity. Her body has simply become a sign of Agamemnon's phallic power.

Yet this is only part of the story. In addition to the tragedy, there is the satirical version. It is well known that mockery follows close on the heels of affliction, not least in the case of women. Diminution, derogation and pejorative dismissal are inherent patriarchal strategies. The

Sicilian vase-painter Assteas, who lived in the fourth century BC, could not resist the opportunity to replace Cassandra's expropriated voice with the equivalent of a male speech-bubble. A clay fragment found in Buccino parodies the famous scene in which Ajax rapes the Trojan princess and priestess of Athena in the goddess's shrine. To do this Ajax must first tear Cassandra away from the statue of Athena, to which she is clinging in search of protection. Her representation as Athena's priestess is itself problematic since later commentators accept that the evidence shows her to be Apollo's priestess. In any event, her clinging to Athena's statue is bitterly ironic in itself as Athena, an important female figure in a male-streamed pantheon, is nothing but a man-made woman, a 'robofem', who presides over heroes in the battlefield, never congregates with women and is actually given birth to by Zeus, who had previously cannibalised her mother Métis – cleverness and good advice – who very contritely and humbly continues to advise Zeus from within (see Daly 1995, 8–42). The very body and function of Athena are bastardised signs because they represent, on the one hand, the superiority of the female knowledge and speech that had reigned formerly and was rooted in women's powers of reproduction and, on the other hand, the violent appropriation of that knowledge by man. Nevertheless, in Assteas's version it is Ajax who seeks protection from Athena and Cassandra who is trying to seize him and pull him away. The parody attests to a male fantasy, namely that a woman would like nothing better than to be raped. In other words what the Sicilian artist has done is to have supplemented sex scenario number one – overpowering the woman without further ado – with the much more flattering sex scenario number two, in which the woman declares that to be overpowered by the man is her deepest and most immanent desire. This lethal strategy is very well documented in the works of the Divine Marquis, Havelock Ellis, D.H. Lawrence and Henry Miller and equally in the stance of the devout advocates of the First Amendment, themselves producers and consumers of pornography (see Dworkin 1993, 41–46; 253–274). The silencing of Cassandra, which might be otherwise interpreted as the stigma of the violence she has suffered, is translated into the humorous discourse of the macho male. These two scenarios are the most basic contexts for the expropriation of female speech and the Cassandra figure is the archetypal illustration of the process in that the silencing of women is bound up with the mutilation of their bodies. Cassandra is not the only one, however.

The destruction of female speech on various levels of communication by the physical and symbolic violence of men is also represented by Philomela, Xanthippe and Medea. It is such images and the perception of them – attributable to a male canon deeply embedded in our culture – that underlie the way we understand the allocations of power and gender agency, body and voice. It is only when we deconstruct these allocations and dismantle their logic of violence that we are able to bring the dead voices back to life. There is a proverb, which says "Speech is silver, but silence is golden", and this is the very essence of logocentrism. For if we are silent, the purity of out thoughts is unsullied by the swarms of floating signifiers. However, this is also the essence of phallocentrism. For if we are consciously silent we still have the power to speak and at the same time the power to control access to speech through the ethics of silence. Observances of silence are power strategies. When Bakhtin describes speech as always "in an alien mouth in alien contexts in the service of alien intentions" and recommends that "it must be taken from there and made one's own" (1981, 294) or when Lyotard says "to speak is to fight ... and speech acts fall within the domain of a general agonistics" (1984, 10) or, again, when Christine de Pizan says that through a process of subversion women should turn the tables on their oppressors and fashion their subjecthood while apparently complying with the male norm (Bella Mirabella 1999, 9–17), what they are all saying is that women must win back the speech which has been systematically expelled or exorcised from their bodies since antiquity.

A very good example of the castration of female speech and the enforced impotence of women is Philomela. She is the sister-in-law of the king of Thrace, Tereus, the husband of the Athenian princess Procne. Obsessed with Philomela and in particular with her beautiful voice (sic!) Tereus abducts and rapes her; moreover to ensure her silence he cuts out her tongue. But she weaves (see the parallel between 'text' and 'textere', both derived from the same root, but 'text' appropriated by men and 'textiles' and weaving becoming a prevalently womanly occupation) and in this context *the weaving* is actually *a text,* as she weaves a message into a robe for her sister. Procne sets her sister free but vents her rage on Philomela's son by Tereus, who bears a striking resemblance to his father. She cooks the boy and serves him up to Tereus to eat. The German psychoanalyst Flügel emphasises the interconnections between power – sexual power – and speech and, on the other hand, castration, impotence and dumbness. In fact, in many traditional societies the custom of cutting the tongue, which can be seen as a symbolical substitute for the phallus, is obviously a form of punishment (1925, 210). Other castration displacements are blinding, the cutting off of hands and, strictly in gynocidal terms, foot binding, Indian widow burning, witch-hunts, genital mutilation etc, the latter being castration itself.

The excision of the tongue is especially the right form of punishment for the hubris committed by those in whom the greatest of all virtues is silence and who by speaking usurp a male prerogative. Proverbs, as well as the thoughts of such illustrious men as Aristotle, Pericles (whose famous dictum was that the best woman is she who not only does not speak but does not get herself spoken about), St Paul (especially *Epistle to Timothy*) and Juvenal (in his famous *Sixth Satire*), speak volumes about this tradition of enforced silence: "A woman's greatest virtue is silence", "Nothing is as unnatural as a woman who likes to talk", says an old Scottish saw. "Only silence makes women truly charming" writes Sophocles in *Ajax;* according to an old German saying "Women who whistle and hens that crow should have their necks wrung without further ado."

Philomela is indeed effectively castrated in the act of mutilation but then the act of castration is repeated upon Tereus because the symbol of his phallic power – his son – is slain. The significance of this is highlighted by the way in which the physical resemblance between father and son is underscored time and again. (Similarly, in Medea's case, this act of castration becomes the ultimate form of vengeance, i.e. the will to make Jason childless becomes a crime against patriarchal genealogy. A childless king in antiquity was a pitiful miserable object – likely to be deposed and dishonoured and to miss his due worship after death).

Variations on the same theme of castration, rape plus expropriation of speech and sheer impotence are presented in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and *Titus Andronicus* where Lavinia, after being raped, has her tongue cut out and her hands chopped off. And again, the dismembered bodies of her sons – and it is important to note that fantasies of dismemberment are fantasies of castration and of the patriarchal dream of rendering all women impotent (an abundance of visual evidence being provided by *Hustler, Penthouse* and *Playboy*) – are served up to the queen of the Goths, Tamora (Shakespeare, Act III, scenes 1 and Act V, scene 3), the gruesome banquet finding a modern parallel in Peter Greenway's *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife and her Lover.* It is also redolent of the *damnatio memoriae,* that is, the public defiling of the memory of a powerful person or ruler; the defacement of statues of leaders is a castration ritual, divesting those persons of power rather than actually wiping them out of the collective memory (Geyer-Ryan 1994, 72).

Ovid also tells the story of Philomela in the sixth book of his *Metamorphoses,* where he gives us an extremely graphic description of the violence committed against women, adding that Tereus raped Philomela several more times and with particular pleasure after cutting out her tongue (Ovid, 189).

Thus, we are told that the assertion of male power and sexual excitement are enhanced by the consolidated and enhanced asymmetry between power and helplessness. The Philomela story is yet another variation on a fundamental conflict – the clash of female and male power in a patriarchy, and the preferred setting of the conflict – often called the 'battle' or 'war of the sexes', which takes place in the realm of the points of intersection between psyche and soma, language and sexuality, tongue and gender.

Yet Philomela is not entirely powerless; the castration of her speech through the mutilation of her speech organs serves only to make her resort to a different set of signifiers to relate what has happened to her. So she manages to outwit the logocentrist Tereus by using a system of notation which itself is markedly female: her weaving or 'text'. Subversion is again seen as a female weapon against violence and discretionary power aimed at controlling woman's speech. So Tereus, who thinks he has managed to reduce Philomela to a weak sign, a sign of his sexuality, finds her becoming herself a creator of signs, an author. In contemporary British drama, the myth has been revisited by such playwrights as Edward Bond in *Woman* and Timberlake Wertenbaker in *The Love of the Nightingale*. In the latter Tereus returns from his vile mission and announces the death of Philomela to her sister Procne. Following five years of secret imprisonment Philomela acts out her drama in a dumb show at the Bacchic revelries through the use of life-sized dolls. Wertenbaker's play stresses that speech is a symbol of freedom and questioning a sign of true liberty, which is also the conclusion of Pinter's 1988 play *Mountain Language* (Klein 2003, 30).

In the case of Xanthippe, her speech is handed down by tradition in a fragmented, disembodied form. We find no record of her body, since the pictorial tradition only covers sexualised bodies, hence not those of wives and mothers. It is only this sexualised body that challenges the male lust for power and gives a narcissistic boost to the male ego in the act of appropriation/expropriation. What comes down to us is the male tradition of the written body of Xanthippe and her voice, her *shrill* voice. "Shrill" is a term that men use to disparage any female act of rebellion. In her book *Thinking about Women* Mary Ellman describes a rhetorical trick of the male criticism of texts by women: whatever these men do not like about the texts they describe as "shrill", especially when they sense signs of rebellion behind them (1968, 149–150).

The acoustic difference here is conflated with the dignity and substance of utterance; the expressive tends to circumscribe the expressed. Socrates is the great maieutic philosopher and she 'the dragon', the over-opinionated bitch, the shrew, the cantankerous hysteric; so here we have again a negative evaluation of feminine argumentation. Again hubris, because in a hierarchy of powers, the lower ranks are not meant to contradict, but to comply with and applaud the means by which this woman – the woman who dared contradict one of the greatest thinkers in history – is silenced. The violence used against her is far more subtle: Xanthippe's speech is shifted away from the dignity of rationality, polemic and the exchange of ideas – the sphere controlled by men, the administrators of public speech – into the sphere of psychological pathology. As Phyllis Chesler says, the ethic of mental health is masculine in our culture and women are seen as obviously prone to mental imbalance (1973, 68–69).

Medea is in many ways a true epitome of Cassandra hypostases. She, like the characters we have so far mentioned, is a stranger to the world to which she is carried off . The woman is hypostatized as the stranger, the Other of the Greek order textualized in the nomos; she is a stranger, but also an agent of destruction through cunning, magic and evil, standing for enraged madness, irrationality, the colonized exotic redolent of Jean Rhys' heroine in the *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Edward Saïd, in his *Orientalism,* analyses the effects on the image of the self caused by a mental set he calls "imaginary geography" which according to him plays a crucial part in the construction of the so-called 'Orient' as the historical and cultural other of western identity. This

symbolic borderline serves only as the spatial metaphor for the relationship between the self and the other (1978, 55).

Nevertheless, it is precisely these features that enable Euripides to give his heroine a unique position in ancient tragedy. Although the keynote of her character, as portrayed by Euripides, seems to be her inconstancy of temperament – she who out of passion betrayed her father, dismembered her brother and murdered old Pelias – in her famous monologue love, hatred, firmness and hesitation, fierce joy and unfathomable sorrow combine, providing us with a dramatic expression of passion that is rare even in Euripides's tragedies. Perhaps only Hecuba comes close to it at times. On the one hand, the fact that Medea is a woman, and a barbarian and a foreigner to boot, makes her rhetorical excesses more acceptable to Euripides' contemporaries. Her being a foreigner allows Euripides to get away with some extraordinary remarks on womanhood, thus using his work as a platform for public debate on such issues as marriage, the abusive rights of husbands and gender relations. Medea meditates with bitterness on woman's plight: even when equal to man in education and social status she can only expect to be met with envy and enmity by her fellow beings (Euripides, 96). What is exceptional, and must have been deeply disturbing for his audience, is the statement of the chorus leader who declares that Jason deserves to be punished (142). The chorus also announces, under the prudent cover of its 'the time is out of joint' motif, that women's fame is in the ascendant and their good name can no longer be tarnished (102).

The debunking of Jason is complementary to the reiteration of Medea's exceptionalness; the once-celebrated hero of antiquity becomes nothing but the second-rate hero of a marriage tragedy, and he is a limited, selfish, narrow-minded character, while Medea muses: "only hard-boiled characters are entitled to a truly good life. I will be kind to loved ones and fierce to enemies" (123).

On the other hand, Medea is the absolute epitome of Aristotle's groundbreaking ethical concept of the good life. The passions, and the actions inspired by them, are intrinsically valuable components of the best human life. The best life, according to Aristotle, is more vulnerable to ungovernable *tuche,* more open and less ambitious for control, than Plato had claimed. Aristotle thinks that emotions, risks and passions are all constituents of the good life, for all their potential for vulnerability and fragility (Nussbaum 2002, 241). Love, understood as a form of cognition as well as the intense intimacy experienced between particular lovers, generates the best ethical motivation. The lovers are both mutually active and receptive. The best human life involves ongoing devotion to another individual. This life involves shared intellectual activity but it also involves continued madness and shared appetitive and emotional feeling (219). Euripides not only recovers the body as the seat of passions and impulses that are intrinsic to a good character but also offers to discuss – it is true, by employing women, generally considered by the philosophers of the time to be inferior, lower forms of human excellence – such over-arching concepts as *tuche, hubris* and *harmia,* all those external, contingent circumstances beyond human control that can bring even good, noble characters to grief and to monstrous acts. Noble characters can meet with disaster and become altogether dislodged from the human condition – witness Medea's hideous crimes and Hecuba's turning into a beast at the end of the tragedy.

A bewildering novelty in Euripides' play is the emphasis laid on woman as speaker, as rhetorician even, an unprecedented hypostasis for the Greeks of antiquity. Medea stages the explosion of female speech and reason right at the heart of male exclusiveness, given that the theatre constituted one of the major institutions of public life and thus the very field from which women were excluded. Pericles' dictum that the best woman is she who not only does not speak but does not get herself spoken about, and the fact that in legal matters the *polis* could often barely establish whether a particular woman existed at all, make the terror evoked by a figure like

Medea entirely comprehensible. Medea speaks before an audience made up solely of men; she speaks through the mouth of a male actor, and from the very centre of the patriarchal public arena. Not only did the stage and especially the orchestra where the actors and chorus performed lie within the holy precincts of the temple, but the orchestra was the former holy circle where, when the drama was still performed in the old agora, trials and public assemblies were also held. Medea's speech is neither mad nor barbaric; she reveals the most advanced techniques of dialectic and rhetoric, her arguments are so logical that her agon with Jason attains the performative power of a legal dispute (Geyer Ryan 1994, 90) and she emerges as the sole victor from her verbal duels. She becomes the epitome of a rational being by the very fact that she engages in dialogue.

Christa Wolf underscores the inner paradox of Medea when she expresses her conviction that a woman influenced so deeply by matriarchal values could never have murdered her own children (quoted in Danţiş 2002, 204). Wolf constructs out of the mythical heroine an unacknowledged Cassandra-like visionary and in her book *(Medea. Voices)* all the crimes attributed to Medea are revealed as having been committed by others and only scapegoated onto her because she refused to act according to the perverted nomos of Corinth, of patriarchy, and because she refused to be silenced. Eumelos' and Kreophylos's accounts of the Medea myth in two poems which predate Euripides' tragedy tell us that Jason's children were murdered by the Corinthians, who thus avenged the death of Creon. The woman as exile, with no place in history and discourse (and Christa Wolf named one of her writings of 1979 *Kein Ort. Nirgends* – a spatial metaphor for the predicament of the woman creator [the poet Karoline von Gunderrode]) is bound to unravel the deepest hidden secrets of the patriarchs – the murders that buttress their power and authority. Iphinoe and Absyrtos are sacrificed by the kings – their own fathers – during a period of transition from matriarchy to patriarchy, a time that marks a brutal departure from female values and genealogies of power (2002, 33). Torn between civilizations, between matriarchy and patriarchy, between a corrupt alienated urban society and a traditional community, Medea's aspiration towards harmony and understanding is doomed. Exiled and uprooted, she becomes the very symbol of a world in distress. In Wolf's book, Medea ends in utter disillusionment: her love destroyed, her anguish numbed, free but empty, trying to work out a solution, yet not knowing whether there is a time or space that can contain her (197–198).

It is also interesting to mention that in the work of a famous early feminist – Christine de Pizan's 1405 *Book of the City of Ladies* – Medea is liberated from her role in the liaison with Jason. Thus severed from the taint of excessive love and deceit of Jason, Medea, far from being an element of discord in the body politic, is presented as one of those women who constitute and maintain the fabric of society through having the courage to utter the truth, to denounce the murders buttressing authority and power, and through her pacifism (Pizan 1998,69; 189–190). The usurpation of male prerogatives is the main theme in the tragedy of all these women of antiquity. Cassandra, like Medea, tries to establish her linguistic sphere in the public realm (anathema, as Virginia Woolf memorably puts it in the opening pages of *A Room of One's Own*). Cassandra claims access to a profession that is stereotyped as masculine, because prophecy is endowed with a unique power of vision and control that verges on the divine, and thus cannot collocate with one so unworthy as a female. The belief in prophecy means, to an important extent, trust in the power of the word, which means belief in the structuring and organisational power of the logos. It is almost tantamount to fetishising the power of the word – possibly one of the most deeply rooted superstitions of the Western world: "Losing one's speech is the worst form of exile, you don't feel at home in this world any longer, you feel alienated, isolated, the whole social fabric crumbles around you. Even if your life is saved through exile, you lose all your points of reference, all possibilities of making sense of the world." (Wolf 1990, 34).

An earlier version of the Cassandra myth tells us that both she and Helenos, her twin brother – while left unguarded in the precincts of Apollo's temple, at the age of two – had their ears licked by Apollo's sacred snakes and were thus endowed with the gift of prophecy. As Christa Wolf notes, the later version is obviously a redaction by the patriarchs – it would have been all right for Helenos to have obtained this gift freely but this would not be the case for a woman. So high-class prostitution is required of her in order to earn that extraordinary and gender-marked gift of being a soothsayer. Distributing sexual favours in exchange for professional advancement is no news.

The punishment of the refused god is very subtle: she will never be able to convince others, she will see the truth but she will forever be torn between subjective and objective reality. Again we see the familiar symptoms of mental insanity, of hysteria and autism; there is a gap between her world and that which is social sanctioned. Women are supposed to not overstep their bounds, they do not only belong to the private sphere, they are the defining terms of the private; they are the private sphere in the same way as the absence of women defines the public realm. Cassandra is sinister because she deals with public affairs and therefore she is nonsensical.

With Cassandra and Medea, we also have an interesting instance of the blurring of demarcation lines between the private and the public, as they bring domestic values to this public code of warmongering aggressiveness, investing heroism with private motives of peace, fear of violence and solidarity and thus actually transforming it thoroughly – into anti-heroism.

The irony lies in Cassandra's being defined as the prophetess of evil and disaster; but the point about her is that had she been believed by the Trojans, they might have been able to avert disaster (Mills 1992, 40). Her tragic guilt lies in her undermining of the male discourse of power with a woman's voice and with her irenic, life-saving philosophy, which points such an indicting finger at the deadly narcissism that lies behind the ideology of heroism, fame and glory.

Cassandra is robbed of the most important aspect or component of speech as a communicative act: its performative force. By being deprived of this force, she is forever left in a kind of nerve-racking limbo. This linguistic deprivation and depersonalisation is accompanied by the control and domination of her body, she is raped and subjugated by Ajax, Apollo and Agamemnon. Her body is separated from her voice. It is hidden from view in a dark cave or in a kind of tholos-like circular structure, isolated; in solitary confinement, only her voice soars above her dungeon (Wolf 1990, 107–108). Cultural tradition has never tired of reproducing the split between voice and body, wisdom and madness. In ancient pictorial representations of Cassandra her sexualised body is defined in male terms, her sexuality appeals to the senses, her voice of no import. However, in the textual tradition she is more voice than body. Yet in the pictorial register, Cassandra is shown more often than not in the proto-pornographic scene in which she is raped by Ajax in the temple of Athena. The number of rape representations greatly exceeds those which depict her prophesying, in confrontation with Paris, or her being killed by Clytemnestra: 105 to 8, 23 and 4, respectively (Geyer-Ryan 1994, 78).

So why have women for so many years claimed Cassandra for themselves? I think that by identifying with Cassandra women expose, on the one hand, the practices of subordination, their oppressed and disadvantaged situation, and, on the other hand, bring about this historical revelation by making the silenced bodies and mouths speak again. In 1852 Florence Nightingale, later to become a famous victim of misogynist propaganda, 'the angel in the house' and 'the lady with the lamp' a groundbreaker in a field controlled by men, wrote a manifesto against the Victorian treatment of women as infantile. She entitled it *Cassandra*. In her essay, Florence Nightingale analyses those stifling conventions and stunting tendencies of Victorian society that drove the middle-class women of her time to depression, silence, illness, madness and death. At the age of thirty Cassandra realizes that all her energies – intellectual, moral, emotional – have been

drained by the petty obligations, genteel rituals and religious hypocrisy of a faulty social code. Inspired by a divine vision, she tries to emulate the life of Christ and become the saviour whose suffering will inspire other women to awaken from their dangerous slumber. However, society calls her mad and will not listen to her prophecies and she dies unregarded: "my people were like children playing on the shore of the 18th century. I was their hobby-horse, their plaything and they drove me to and fro, dear souls never weary of the play themselves, till I, who had grown to woman's estate and to the ideas of the nineteenth century, lay down exhausted, my mind closed to hope, my heart to strength" (quoted in Showalter 2001, 64–65). Women who reject the roles laid out for them by society are muted and driven mad by social disapproval. The essay remains to this day one of the most striking examples of the Victorian silencing of women. Nightingale showed it for appraisal to her friends John Stuart Mill, a man of great liberal convictions and an ardent advocate of rights for women, and to Benjamin Jowett, a prominent and distinguished Oxford professor, but they both advised against publication and it remained unpublished. Cassandra unheeded again.

In the twentieth century women's revolt against the millennia-long process of enforcing silence upon them led to calls for a war against androcentric superstitions. The woman's movement also contributed immensely to bringing to life the voice of all those silenced women creators, to the retrieval of all the female genealogy that for centuries had been the sunken continent. This is also the purport of Christa Wolf's extraordinary novel *Cassandra,* reconstructing from fragments of body and discourse The Whole Woman.

The two women – Cassandra and Clytemnestra – acknowledge and even admire each other in Wolf's novel, thus awakening some hope for women. Clytemnestra is the woman who taught herself freedom and exercised free choice; she is the woman who seized the reins of her destiny and she has only one choice when Agamemnon returns: to kill her husband or to subordinate herself (1990, 262). Cassandra realises that, in different times, nothing would have stood in the way of their friendship, and deeply regrets the fact that destiny has placed them on opposite sides. Cassandra hopes that her story will survive her; she begs Clytemnestra to throw her into the deepest dungeon but to let her stay alive and to give her either a scribe to record her story, or a woman slave with a good memory who will be able to convey her story by word of mouth – some feeble story to parallel the glorious epics of men (1990, 313), the beginnings of feminine tradition, of female genealogy.

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Tar Ibolya

HERMAPHRODITISMUS

Der Begriff Hermaphroditismus wird im zwei Sinn gebraucht: erstens für Mißgestalten in der menschlichen Sphäre, die über die äußeren Merkmale beider Geschlechter verfügen; zweitens in dem Sinn eines allgemeineren Begriffes, der alles in sich fasst, was die mythische Gestalt des Hermaphroditus betrifft.

In der menschlichen Sphäre sind Hermaphroditen angeborene Mißgestalten, die weiblichen Brust, aber zugleich ein männliches Glied haben, manchmal mit Spuren von weiblichen Genitalien. Sie wurdem im Altertum in jedem Fall für Mißgestalten gehalten, vor denen sowohl die Griechen als auch die Römer Abscheu hatten. In Bezug auf die orientalischen Völker haben wir keine Angaben und keine Quellen über Hermaphroditen.

Die Hermaphroditen wurden in der Antike entweder Androgynen oder Gynandren genannt; durch diese Benennungen konnten die vorherrschenden geschlechtlichen Merkmale unterschieden werden. Bei Gynandren waren die weiblichen Merkmale auffallender, bei Androgynen die männlichen. Diese Gestalten galten als *portenta,* als ominose Vorzeichen, von denen man sich befreien wollte um nichts Schreckliches auf sich zu ziehen. Belege dafür haben wir von römischen Schriftstellern, unter anderen von Plinius dem Älteren[1], der ungefähr über 80 solche Mißgestalten zwischen dem 3. und 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. weiß. In 16 Fällen von den 80 gab es auch schriftliche Belege, wonach diese armen Androgynen unter Mitwirkung von den Haruspices und von anderen Priestern auf einem Schiff ins offene Meer gefahren und ins Meer geworfen wurden, wo sie erstickten. Plinius schreibt nichts über die Ursache dieses Gebrauchs, aber aufgrund von anderen auf verschiedene monstra bezogenen rituellen Vorschriften können wir darauf folgern, daß es hier darum ging die Leichen von diesen Mißgestalten von dem Boden fernzuhalten, damit sie ihn nicht verschmutzen. Zur Zeit des Plinius galten schon die Hermaphroditen als Vergnügungsobjekte, sie wurden in Amphitheatern gezeigt ohne die Bedeutung von einem *portentum* an sie zu knüpfen.

Der Hermaphroditismus in der menschlichen Sphäre wurde also äußerst negativ beurteilt; dasselbe galt übrigens für jede Art von Mißgeburten.

Aufgrund der Obigen können wir feststellen, daß die reellen Hermaphroditen mit der mythischen Gestalt des Hermaphroditus nichts zu tun haben Die mythische Gestalt erscheint sowohl in der Literatur, als auch in der Religion, in der Philosophie und in den bildenden Künsten – hier hat sie auch nichts Gemeinsames mit den Hermaphroditen der reellen Welt. Wegen der Abscheu gegenüber diesen wurden die Hermaphroditus darstellenden Statuen, Gemälde nicht nach lebendigen Modellen entworfen.

Die mythische Gestalt erscheint in mehreren Medien. Belege für Darstellungen in der bildenden Kunst und in der Literatur haben wir erst von dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Die literarischen Quellen fließen ziemlich spärlich, aber es soll uns nicht wundern, die bildliche Darstellung ist ja viel interessanter. In der Literatur wird Hermaphroditus zuerst von Theophrastos (370–288) in seinen *Imagines*[2] erwähnt, im Porträt des Abergläubischen, der am jeden vierten und siebten Tag des Monats die Statue des Hermaphroditus bekränzt. Der vierte Tag war der Aphro-

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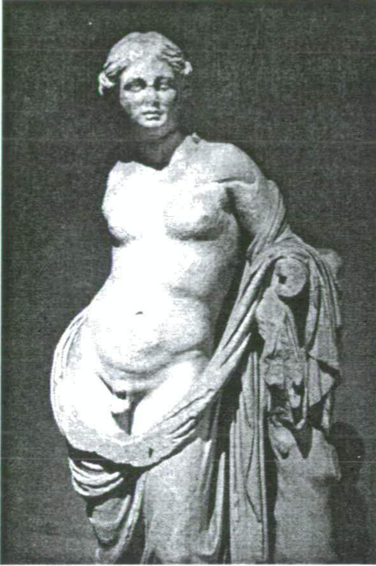
[1] *Naturalis historia,* 7,3.

[2] *Imagines* (gr.Charakteres) 16, 10.

dite und dem Hermes heilig, der siebte dem Apollo. Wir kennen auch einen Komödientitel *Hermaphroditus* aus dem 1. Viertel des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., der Autor ist Poseidippos. Das Stück ist leider verloren gegangen.



Die einzige vollständige literarische Bearbeitung der Hermaphroditus-Gestalt stammt von Ovid. Er erzählt die aitiologische Geschichte des Hermaphroditus im 4. Buch seiner *Metamorphosen* (vv. 285–388).

Hermaphroditus, der Sohn von Aphrodite und Hermes badet in einer Quelle. Die Nymphe Salmacis erblickt den wunderschönen Jüngling und verliebt sich in ihn, aber der Jüngling ist abweisend. Die Nymphe fleht die Götter an und bittet sie darum sie mit dem Jüngling zu vereinen. Die Bitte wird erhöht, die Nymphe Salmacis verschmilzt sich mit Hermaphroditus zu einem zweigeschlechtigen Körper; daraufhin erbittet Hermaphroditus von seinen Eltern, daß die dort Badenden verweichlicht werden. Ovids Erzählung ist eigentlich ein Aition für die verweichlichende Eigenschaft, die man dieser Quelle in der Nähe von Halicarnass zuschrieb. Dementsprechend hatten sich die Männer gehütet in dieser Quelle zu baden.

Vitruv, der große Architekt und Fachschriftsteller zur Zeit des Augustus erwähnt in seinem Werk über die Architektur[3] auch diese Quelle mit ihrer enervierenden Wirkung, die in der Nähe eines der Venus und dem Mercurius geweihtem Tempel in der Gegend von Halicarnassos floß. Von diesem Tempel gibt es keine Spur mehr.

Erwähnungen des Hermaphroditus tauchen in der Literatur bis auf das 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. auf, z. B. in den *Epigrammen der Anthologia Palatina* oder bei Ausonius.[4]

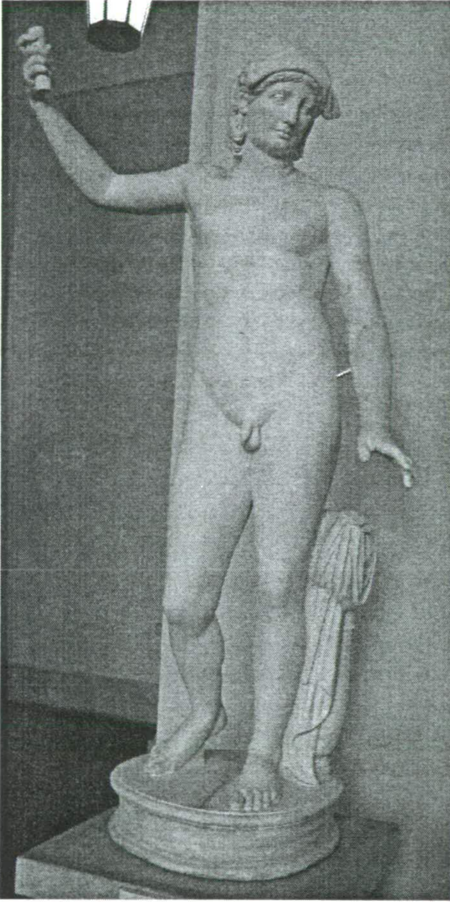
Der früheste literarische Beleg stammt also aus dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Das bedeutet natürlich nicht, daß die Idee des Hermaphroditos erst zu dieser Zeit entstand. Diese Idee hat in den religiösen Vorstellungen eine ganz alte Tradition. Bestimmt ist die Vorstellung von einer androgynen Gestalt nicht griechischen Ursprungs.

Die Mythologien des Gebietes zwischen dem Mittelmeerraum und Indien lassen Spuren der bisexuellen Vorstellung erkennen: das sind die Geschichten über die makrokosmische Entstehung der Welt und über die mikrokosmische Entstehung

[3] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2, 8, 11–12.

[4] *Anthologia Palatina* 2, 102; 9, 783; Ausonius Epigr. 100.

der Geschlechter durch Spaltung einer ursprünglichen Einheit.[5] Es gibt androgynische Auffassung gewisser Gottheiten, oder Mythen über weibliche und männliche Gottheiten, die allein zu zeugen vermögen. All diese Mythen sprechen von der Schöpfungskraft beider Geschlechter.



Der indischen, mesopotamischen, griechisch-römischen Religion war die Vorstellung von der Ureinheit von Himmel und Erde eigen, die später gespalten wurde. In der griechischen Mythologie vertreten z.B. Uranos und Gaia ganz klar das männliche bzw. das weibliche Prinzipium. Die jüngere akkadische Schöpfungsgeschichte des Berossos[6] läßt im dunklen Urwasser doppelte Menschen mit männlichen und weiblichen Genitalien entstehen. Wir könnten die Reihe mit Beispielen aus der hurritischen, syrischen, phönizischen Mythologie fortsetzen. Die westsemitischen und kleinasiatischen Muttergottheiten, wie auch ihre Geliebten und Priester haben entschieden androgyne Züge. Wenn wir die Darstellungen von Agdistis, Attis oder Adonis-Tammuz betrachten, wird es ganz klar.[7]

Der Kern dieser Geschichten ist immer die Auffassung der Welt und des Menschen als ursprüngliche Einheiten, die erst nachträglich gespalten wurden.

Der Gedanke, daß das Urelternpaar aus einer geteilten Einheit hervorgegangen sei, ist von Hesiods Theogonie fremd (obwohl es im Keim in der Geschichte über die Entmannung des Uranos steckt), aber für die orphische Kosmologie ist er charakteristisch: Aus dem Weltei geht der geflügelte, wunderschöne Hermaphroditos oder Phanes hervor und außer ihm Erikepaios "Weib und Erzeuger und mächtiger Gott".[8]

Alleinzeugende Gottheiten oder bisexuelle Gottheiten weisen ebenfalls auf die Auffassung einer ursprünglichen Einheit hin. Die orphischen Hymnen bezeichnen verschiedene Gottheiten als zweiförmig, z. B. Kuros und Kore, Dionysos, Selene, Adonis, sogar Athene.

Von Zypern kennen wir eine bärtige Aphrodite im weiblichen Gewand, die Gottheit wird hier auch mit dem Namen Aphroditos genannt.[9] Diese Vorstellung ist mit der zweigeschlechtigen Figur der Astarte verwandt. Sogar der höchste Gott, Zeus kann auch androgyn erscheinen; in Karien wird er mit 6 Brüsten dargestellt.[10]

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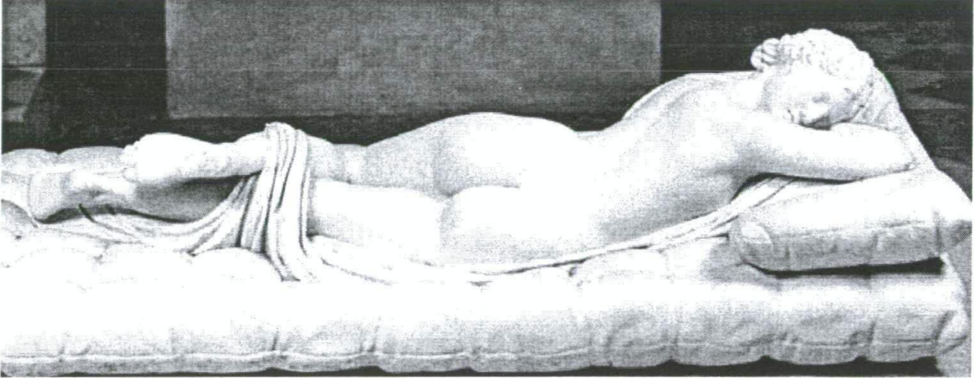
5 S. dazu Dietrich 1939, die orphischen Hymnen, Macrobius Sat. 3, 8, 1–3.
6 Berossos: FgrHist 680 F 1, 6.
7 Colpe 1969.
8 *Orphicorum fragmenta* 81, ed. O. Kern.
9 S. Macrobius, Sat. 3, 8, 1–3.
10 Picard 1954.

In Dionysos wird der weibliche Zug immer mehr hervorgehoben. Auf den alten Vasen erscheint er noch bärtig, männlich. Im Drama wird er von seinen Feinden schon als weiblich bezeichnet.[11] Einige seiner Standbilder sind Hermaphroditos sehr ähnlich. Wir sind hier schon in dem hellenistischen Zeitalter und die Verweiblichung entspricht zu dieser Zeit eher dem herrschenden Geschmack für mädchenhafte schöne Jünglinge als einem religiösen Gedanken.

Lateinische Dichter[12] stellen ihn als einen Weichling dar, die Christen hatten Dionysos öfter als androgyn angegriffen.[13]

Die Vereinigung der Geschlechter kann auch im Ritus des Kleidertausches entdeckt werden. Wie Nilsson in seiner griechischen Religionsgeschichte behauptet, lassen sich diese Feste auf den gemeinsamen Nenner von Initiationsriten bringen. Im Hochzeitsbett vertauschen Braut und Bräutigam ihre Kleidung. Das bedeutet eine Vereinigung beiderseitigen Lebenskräfte, damit die Zeugung begünstigt wird.

Ich möchte noch auf den rituellen Geschlechtswandel hinweisen, dessen Spuren in Mythen oder in mythisierenden Erzählungen zu entdecken sind. So wird z. B. der Kreter Siproites in eine Frau verwandelt, weil er Artemis nackt gesehen hat. Oder wir kennen den Fall Teiresias, der für eine Weile – wegen der Erschlagung einer Schlange – in weiblicher Figur lebte; er hat beide Existenzen ausprobiert.



Wie wir sehen, gibt es viele Parallelen zur Androgynität, die dem Ursprung her eine tiefere Bedeutung hat: die der ursprünglichen Einheit. Dieser Gedanke erscheint auch bei den philosophischen Schriftstellern. Platon läßt in seinem Symposium (189d–192d) Aristophanes (einen Teilnehmer des Gastmahls) eine phantastische Anthropogonie entwickeln, damit werden die verschiedenen Arten der Liebe als Ergebnis einer ererbten Urzustandes erklärt. Die kugelrunden doppelten Men-

[11] Aischylos, fr. 61 Nauck.

[12] S. z. B.Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 4, 20; Seneca, *Oedipus* 409.

[13] Georgius Naz., oratio 39,4.

schen der Vorzeit waren entweder Hermaphroditen oder die einen männlich, die anderen weiblich, die Genitalien nach rückwärts tragend. So übermütig waren sie, daß Zeus die Geschlechtsorgane nach vorne brachte und die Fortpflanzung ermöglichte.

Jeder heutige Mensch ist das *symbolon* einer ursprünglichen Ganzen und sucht immer seine von ihm losgerissene Ergänzung. Von einem Hermaphroditos stammen die Heterosexuellen, von den Ganzmännern und Ganzweibern die Homosexuellen beiderlei Geschlechter.

Der Ansicht des Hippokrates nach hat jedes Geschlecht in sich das Keimgut vom anderen. Dieser bisexuellen Potenz des Keimgutes entspricht die Identität der Psyche (Idee der bisexuellen Seele).

In einem Hymnus des stoischen Philosophen Kleanthes wird Zeus *physeós arkhégé* (Urmutter der Natur) genannt. In dem pseudoaristotelischen Schrift *de mundo* finden wir denselben Gedanken. Das geht höchstwahrscheinlich auf die aristotelische Idee der *coincidentia oppositorum* zurück. Doppelgeschlechtigkeit ist also bei den Philosophen Symbol dieser coincidentia.
Es ist höchstinteressant, daß das Mannweib auch in der Haggada erwähnt wird.

In der Hermetik und in der Alchemie erhält die Idee des Hermaphroditos eine besondere Bedeutung. In der hermetischen Literatur gibt es ein Urwesen, das alle Keime in sich enthält und andere Wesen – Doppelschöpfungen – aussendet, die ihm gleichen. In dem *Poimandres*[14] lehrt Hermes in seinen Offenbarungen, daß ein androgyner Nous am Anfang der Welt durch sein Wort einen Nous Demiurgos erzeugt, der dann weitere Wesen schafft. Der erste Nous erzeugt aber als sein Lieblingskind einen ihm gleichen Hermaphroditus, den Urmenschen, der sich über die Welt neigt und mit der ihn liebenden und ihn umarmenden Physis 7 Hermaphroditen zeugt, die den Planeten entsprechen. Später entschließt sich der erste Nous, die Doppelwesen zu spalten, dadurch entstehen Männer und Frauen, denen befohlen wird sich zu vermehren.

Manchmal wird die Zwittergestalt in den hermetischen Schriften konkret beschrieben, z. B. Aphrodite als männlich oberhalb der Hüften, weiblich unterhalb.[15]

Eine ähnliche Grundanschauung beherrscht die Alchemie, wo das Quecksilber dem androgynen Hhhermes gleichgestellt wird (das Quecksilber erscheint bald als *pneuma pheugon* männlich, blad als *argyrion hydór* weiblich, das mit dem roten Sperma des Arseus vereinigte um den Zinnober zu zeugen). Die spätere Alchemie fasste den zwitterhaften *Mercurius philosophorum* als genius dieser Kunst auf. Das androgynische Wesen entsteht im hermetischen Gefäß als Mercurius filius, als Zentralgestalt des alchimistischen Denkens.[16]

Das Mythologem vom göttlichen und menschlichen Hermaphroditus wurde in der Gnosis am weitesten ausgestaltet. Wie wir sahen, in der griechisch-römischen Mythologie spielten die doppelgeschlechtigen Wesen überwiegend eine kosmologische Rolle, hier, in der Gnosis wird ihnen eine soterologische Bedeutung zugeschrieben. Die Trennung von Mann und Frau, d. h. Männlich und Weiblich gilt als mythischer Erklärungsgrund des gegenwärtigen Unheilzustandes; die Herstellung der ursprünglichen Einheit wird also Inbegriff des Heils.

Die Darstellungen des Hermaphroditus erscheinen ähnlich der literarischen Bearbeitungen vom 4. Jh. v. Chr. Die Künstler wollten nicht das *monstrum* und *portentum* darstellen, sondern eine Idealgestalt, die Figur von Mann und Frau vereinend, schaffen. Das wurde ein tatsächlich neues Gebilde, das die männliche und weibliche Natur vollkommen in sich vereinigt und in dieser Vereinigung ein ganzes und vollkommenes Geschöpf darstellt. Wenn wir die ikonographischen Darstellungen betrachten, kann es als bewiesen gelten. Die Statuen tragen die Charakteristika von folgenden Typen: stehende Aphrodite, Aphrodite Kallipygos, Artemis, junge Satyrenfiguren, Dionysos, Hermes, Apollon, Attis.

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14 Poimandres, in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, 9, 18.

15 *Corpus Hermeticum* 4, 145.

16 S. Jung, 1952.

Die zwei Haupttypen der Hermaphroditos-Darstellungen sind die stehenden und liegenden. In Pergamon wurde ein schönes Exemplar von der stehenden Figur gefunden (heute in Istambul, Archäologisches Museum[17]). Der Hermaphrodit steht aufrecht und stützt sich mit dem linken Arm auf einen Baumstamm. Der Oberkörper bis unterhalb der Scham ist nackt, hier tritt der männliche Charakter hervor. Die Hüften sind schmal, die weibliche Brust ist schön gerundet. Weiblich ist auch die Haartracht, welche an die der Aphrodite von Melos erinnert. Für Attis-Darstellungen ist charakteristisch die Entblößung der Genitalien, betont durch die Wölbung des Gewands (im Fall von Attis wird damit natürlich nicht die Männlichkeit, sondern das Kastriertsein unterstrichen) Die Statue stammt aus der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.

Aus flavischer Zeit stammt die ebenfalls an die Aphrodite-Statuen erinnernde H.-Figur (Deepdane LLAG 13), hier ist die ganze Figur nackt, aber die Gestaltung des Körpers trägt dieselben Züge, wie Istambulsche Statue.

Ein mehrfach ergänztes Berliner Exemplar (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. SK 193) aus hadrianischer Zeit zeigt den Hermaphroditen wieder ganz nackt. Ein kurzes Gewandstück fällt über die Stütze neben dem linken Bein herab, ein zusammengefaltetes Tuch bedeckt den Kopf. Die Körperformen sind im wesentlichen die eines jugendlichen männlichen Körpers, Die Haartracht ist ebenfalls mehr männlich. An die weibliche Natur erinnert nur die leicht gewölbte Brust. Der Kopf ist leise geneigt, das Gesicht zeigt einen schwermütigen Zug, wie wir ihn an mehreren Antinoosbildern kennen.

Sehr oft wird Hermaphroditos liegend (ruhend oder schlafend) abgebildet. Mehrere Kopien gibt es von einer Darstellung des schlafenden H. Ein sehr schönes Exemplar stammt aus der Villa Borghese, die Kopie ist von der antoninischen Zeit (jetzt Rom, Natiuonalmuseum 1087). Ein stark sinnliches Element liegt diesem Typ zu Grunde, der übrigens die weitaus bekannteste H.-Darstellung des Altertums ist. Aufgrund des Raffinements der Darstelung besteht die Annahme, daß das Original bis auf Polykleitos zurückgeht. Dargestellt ist H. im wollüstigen Schlaf liegend, wie durch die Erektion des Gliedes angedeutet ist. Er wendet dem Beschauer den schön modellierten Rücken zu. Die Formen des Rückens wie auch die des ganzen Körpers sind weiblich. Der Haupt ruht auf beiden unterlegten Armen und ist nach vorn zugekehrt. Die Augen sind gheschlossen. Trotz des schlafenden Zustandes gibt es etwas Momentanes in dieser Stellung, das durch die wollüstige Erregung und durch die Bewegung des ausgestreckten linken Beines hervorgerufen wird.

Wenn wir mehrere bildliche H.-Darstellungen betrachten, gewinnen wir den Eindruck, daß die Künstler die Schönheit des jugendlichen weiblichen und männlichen Körpers in einer Form zu vereinigen versuchten und dadurch einen delikaten erotischen Zug, der in den liegenden Darstellungen noch stärker hervortritt, diesen Statuen geben konnten. Dieser Zug ist für die hellenistische Kunst charakteristisch und eben diese Art von Darstellung und Wirkung kann als Beweis gelten, daß die Künstler auf keinem Fall reell existierenden Hermaphroditen abbilden wollten, sondern eine delikate künstlerische Aufgabe verwirklichten.

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[17] Ohlemutz 1968.

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Gender Iconography in Early Modern Art

Ivan Gerat

SAINTS AND THEIR HEAVENLY BRIDEGROOM – PICTORIAL DOCUMENTS OF FEMININE MYSTIC IN CENTRAL EUROPE*

Some Central European narrative images from the lives of female saints cannot be understood adequately unless one considers their relation to older mystical traditions. This paper is intended as a step in a necessarily longer process of research and thinking, which should lead to a better understanding of the historical roots and connections of the late medieval visual culture of Central Europe.

Many of the pictures, which are going to be mentioned later in this paper, depict an extraordinary personal relationship of a saint to Christ – an intensive experience of spiritual closeness, love, or even unity which transcends the distance of those persons in historical time. It is well known, that the emotional dimensions of such religious experiences in late medieval Europe were substantially influenced and enriched by an integration of some older elements of the *sponsus-sponsa* mysticism, the tradition of mystical love for the Heavenly Bridegroom (Benz 1969, 540–62). The late medieval iconography very often interprets the Bride of Christ as an allegory of the human soul. This interpretation builds historically on the second spiritual meaning, described by Origen in his commentary to the *Song of Songs* (Com. Cant. 1,2a – see Putna 2000, 135). Such an iconography substantially differs from the earlier tradition, which stressed the first of the two spiritual meanings of the Canticle discussed by Origen and his followers, who interpreted the Bride as an allegory of the Church (Gilles 1968). The new interpretation opened the scene for new manifestations of love towards Christ. Such an accentuation might seem to be specifically feminine, but the most influential author, read in this connection in the later Middle Ages was a man – Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.

Bernard´s influence on the visual culture of the later Middle Ages was not free of paradoxes (Hamburger 1998, 113, 121–3). In his *Apologia,* Bernard had recommended for monks an imageless devotion – the pictures should be used only for the less sophisticated mass audience, for simple minded people, unable to imagine the higher truths of Christianity. Bernard also refers to Incarnation to argue for the use of images, which had been an argument known for almost thousand years by the time of his life: The invisible God of the Old Testament wanted to be seen and loved in the corporeal form of Jesus or at least in his image. Nevertheless, for the problem under discussion, Bernard´s new interpretation of the tradition of Origen was of greater importance. His ideal was a very close personal relationship to Christ, which could eventually take the form of a vision (Putna 2000, 48). According to Bernard, a soul at prayer should have a sacred image *(sacra imago),* of the God-man before it, an image, with which the soul is consubstantional (Serm. Cant. LXXX, PL 183, 1166–71). This image should bind the soul with the love of virtue and expel carnal vices and temptations. Bernard´s explanations of the bridal mysticism of the Canticle had been of great importance for the visionary and artistic representations of the

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mystical union with Christ. Bernard read the allegories of the Song of Songs as an account of affective mystical experience, identifying the loved bridegroom with Christ and the Bride with soul. His persuasive rhetoric was opening the way for self-identification with the Bride – on this basis, many late medieval nuns could imitate the Bride of the Canticle: the *imitatio Sponsae* has been added to the well known *imitatio Christi*.

Before coming to the authors of images, which will be discussed in this paper, the ideas of Bernard have been transformed several times. They had also influenced production of pictures and sculptures, so that they should be considered as possible visual sources of our images. An important part of this transformation process took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the south German Dominican convents. It even seems, that the nuns were competing among themselves to have the most interesting visions. This strong stream of surprisingly concrete supernatural experiences was developed without any direct influence of an abstract philosophical thought and argumentation, bound by the discipline of logic. The emotional needs of the mystically inspired ladies formed an integral part of their religious life. Their spiritual creativity was not always easy to accept for their preachers and spiritual leaders, such as Master Eckhardt with his cultivated philosophical speculation, putting an accent on the purity of inner spiritual life (Sokol 1993, e.g. 212). The role of a worldly picture – an artwork – in the mystical experience became really important. The nuns sometimes played with figures of the child Jesus, imitating motherly love. In its extremes, such a spirituality could even lead to what Dagobert Frey has called "erotic pathology": for example when the nun Margarethe Ebner took a life-size crucifix during the night in her bed and put it on her body (Frey according to Belting 1990, 464–466). Nevertheless, many visionaries did not need a carved or painted image to meet Christ. Ita von Hutwil, a visionary, whose experience is visually demonstrated by the famous picture of the so-called Rotschild Canticles (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the Yale University, Ms. 404, fol. 65v. – Fig. 1), lived around 1300 in the Oetenbach convent in Zürich. The Christ in her vision was identified with the sun, whose burning flames were claimed to have brought her a special knowledge, undescribable by human words. The divine light had filed her with so much divine sweetness, wisdom, joy and love, that she would not be able to accept more from it. In such a *visio beatifica,* she had tasted how it would feel to be in heaven already in her earthly life (Dinzelbacher 2002, 116). In spite of the sublime theological explanation, this vision has got an important erotical charge. From the formal point of view, it is irrelevant, whether the figure was thought to be the nun herself or only the personification of the soul. The expressive qualities of the gestures and faces of both Christ and the woman offer a persuasive non-verbal commentary on the emotional impact of the vision. One can also intuitively understand the associations connected to the fact, that the depicted mystical union takes place in the bed, where the female figure lies. Bernard himself insisted, that "the bedroom of the king is to be sought in the mystery of divine contemplation" (Hamburger 1998, 143). The emotional aspects of the contemplative devotion are also refered to in the Rothschild manuscript by the quotation from St. Augustines Confessions: "I call you, my God, into my soul, that prepares to seize you out of the desire you have inspired within it" (Augustine, Conf. 13,1). The whole picture might perhaps be understood as a metaphor, referring to an extraordinary spriritual experience, but the spiritual marriage *(connubium spirituale)* has taken a very concrete form, whose human aspects remind one almost of the classical experience of Danae (Dinzelbacher 2002, 143).

The visual manifestations of the spiritual love for Christ did not concern only female bodies. The best example for a pictorial projection of a similar feeling into a male body is the famous group of St. John sleeping on the breast of Christ (around 1290 – see Suckale 1998, Fig. 31). This sculpture has more versions, the one by Heinrich von Konstanz comes from the Dominican nunnery Katharinental bei Diessenhofen in Switzerland. It refers to the biblical narrative of

the Last Supper, where Saint John – the loved disciple of Christ – took a rest on the heart of his master (John 13, 23–25). Since the early Middle Ages, the theological explanations of John's relation to Jesus had been close to the traditions of *sponsus-sponsa* mystic. Since Origen's explications of the Song of Songs, the heart of Jesus – or even his lap – were understood as a mystical fountain of wisdom – *fons sapientiae* (Putna 2000, 140–1). In this sculpture, John is in very subtle way shown as both loving Jesus and and loved by him – for this reason, he became an ideal figure of identification for the nuns, wishing to be instructed how to surrender to the love of Lord. The pious feelings during a contemplative confrontation with such a picture used to be extremely intensive. This is reflected also by topoi, used to describe such experiences: according to a legend, one nun praying in front of this sculpture was seen by her colleague to hover in the air (Belting 1990, 463). Sometimes, the prayer in front of pictures or sculptures was preceded by a confession. Then the real vision with the eyes of body was followed by next stages of mystical experience, such as vision by spiritual eyes (those "tres etaz de bones ames" of a Dominican nun are reflected by an illumination from about 1300, now preserved in the British Library, London, formerly Add. 39843, fol. 29 – see Camille 1996, fig. 85).

Such an atmosphere was favourable for iconographic innovations. Among the new images, one finds also one new scene from the life of Saint Bernard himself: in the fifteen century in Germany there appeared quite a few woodcuts and also a painting of his unique experience in front of a crucifix, a miracle, during which he had been embraced by Christ (Squarr 1973, 378–80; Büttner 1983,149–50). One of the earliest examples of this iconography was painted after 1318 in the Cistercian convent of Wonnental im Breisgau (Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, cod. U.H. 1, fol. 195. see Suckale 1998, fig. 32).

For similar developments of *sponsus-sponsa* motifs in the pictorial hagiography of the later Middle Ages in Central Europe, one more way of the Bernardine tradition was important – the one through the mendicant orders in Italy. The well known effort of some church dignitaries to develop a new interpretation of the original ideals of Saint Francis led to a shift of emphasis: instead of action in the outer world, bringing with itself the controversial problems of poverty, it has been placed on the way of inner perfection, on a contemplation. The visionary contact with Christ was also included as one of the most important elements of the religious experience. Thus, the second, "improved" version of the legend of the Saint by Thomas of Celano also included an episode of the prayer in front of the crucifix in San Damiano, a miracle, when Christ bent down to the young saint and spoke to him (Krüger 1989, 188). For Francis, this encounter with the painted crucifix was a kind of prelude before his vision and stigmatization, which were painted many times, for example, in the frescoes of the upper church of Saint Francis in Assisi. The pictures and legends of Saint Catherine of Alexandria offer an example of some retrospective effects of the bridegroom mystic: The new form of spirituality also influenced the late medieval legendary lives of older saints. According to some legends, Catherine's prayers caused Christ first to turn his face towards her and later to place a ring on her finger. St. Catherine of Alexandria lived supposedly before 307 (or 315 – Assion 1974). Neither her oldest vitae, coming from the 9th century, nor the Golden Legend (Vidmanová 1998, 343–50) mention any event of this kind. It has been integrated only into some younger legends, including the old Czech Vita (Vážný-Petrů, 1999). The sposalizio miracle is one of the best examples of hagiographic projection – in poetry, it appears occasionally in the 13th century and in painting – according to

many influencial authors – only in the trecento (Krüger, 190) or even later (Réau 1958, 263, 268).[1]

Unregarded when and how it happened, the inclusion of the *sposalitio* miracle into pictures and legends of St. Catherine was an important stimulus for her cult – as a bride of Christ, she was believed to possess an extraordinary power of intercession. For this reason, in the iconography of the later Middle Ages, the mystical marriage (or engagement) of Saint Catherine of Alexandria to Christ (who is very often depicted as a baby sitting in the lap of Virgin Mary) became almost as popular a topic as her martyrdom. One of the best images of this kind is the panel from the altar of the Cistercian Abbey Church in Heiligenkreutz, painted in the early 15th century probably by a wandering French artist (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, see Tratner 2000). The architectural setting of the scene might have been an allusion to the *horutus conclusus* – a well known metaphor for the virginity of Mary. Other virgin saints – Barbara and Dorothea – observe the main scene, from which they are separated by a balustrade. The panel from Güssing (Hung. Németújvár, today Budapest, Hungarian National Galery, cf. Végh 1984), shows even more virgin saints – all *quattuor virgines capitales,* as present by the miracle of *sposalitio* without any separation from it. In this, for the time around 1500 remarkably archaic work, the iconographic tradition of the mystical marriage of saint Catherine is connected with the one of the picture *Virgo inter virgines.* Catherine becomes the privileged position, but remains integrated in the group of the most important early Christian virgins.

Compared to the high number of *sposalizio* depictions, two panels from Bátovce (Hung. Bát) in the collection of the Christian Museum in Esztergom present a rare subject matter. They depict the story, which preceded the mystical marriage – first, the young princess on the look for her (heavenly) bridegroom sees herself in a mirror (Fig. 1), than she recognizes Him in an image of Virgin and Child, which has been given to her by her mentor – a hermit (Fig. 2. – cf. Mucsi 1960, Török 1993, Bartlová 2003).

The miraculous connection to Christ was not closed for the newer saints, either. Saint Catherine of Siena, with her really extraordinary power of visionary imagination identified with the *sposalizio* miracle and claimed a similar vision for herself. Later, this event was also reflected in the iconography, representing either adult or infant Christ, because her biographer´s accounts vary. The main difference from Catherine of Alexandria is the Dominican habit and veil of the saint. Catherina of Siena experienced also an (invisible) stigmatization during her prayer in front of a painted Christ in Pisa – an event which according to the saint´s friend and biographer, Raymond of Capua, took place in 1375. In the panel from the Dominican retable, depicting the event (around 1470, Schloß Lichtenstein – see Jacob-Friesen, 2001) we see not only the Saint in the Dominican habit, but also the rays descending upon her from the wounds of the crucified Christ.[2] Besides the appropriations, some original motifs are to be found in her understanding of the mystical love to Christ and in its iconographic manifestations. My examples are taken from a less known pictorial cycle, coming from early 16th century Krakow (now preserved in the

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[1] Earlier examples of the same subject are really disputable – e.g. in the mural on the ceiling of the crypt in the Sainte-Catherine Chapelle of Notre-Dame in Montmorillone (Vienne), which dates back to around 1200, the iconography was not quite the same – Christ puts a crown on the head of the Saint instead of putting a ring on her finger (Kluckert 1997, 408–9). Such a picture used older Byzantine iconographic schemata of Christ crowning the personification of Ecclesia, the subject, connected to the older explanations of the Canticle as described above. If the traditional identification of the Montmorillone Saint with Catherina is not absolutely wrong, this picture, lying not so far from original centres of Bernardine thougt, might even be the earliest example of the later transformed topic.

[2] Stigmatizations are also known from the lives of St. Margarete of Hungary †1270, or Heinrich Seuse †1366 – see Klaniczay 1994.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

depository of the National Museum in Warsaw): the saint drinks blood from the side wound of Christ (Fig. 3) and changes her heart with her heavenly Bridegroom (Fig. 4).[3]

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[3] The role of Christ in this iconographically very rich cycle is not only that of lover – he also gives back to the saint the cloth which she has given to a beggar (DIA) or feeds her with his own body in a miraculous communion (DIA). This scene slightly resembles one motif from the iconography of the most important biblical female saint, showing her love to Christ – St. Mary Magdalene (DIA 206 – Lukas Moser, altar of St. Mary Magdalene, closed, 1431. Tiefenbronn, parish church). In this example, the miraculous element in the comuniom was not an apparition of Christ, but the apparition of the saint clothed in her hair, angels have brought her to give her a last chance to receive Holy Communion.

Fig. 5.

In the fifteenth century, the influence of bridegroom mysticism on iconography has become really powerful. Around 1400, an image from the life of saint Bridget of Sweden has included this motif into a depiction of a eucharistic miracle in a manuscript of her Revelations (Pierpont Morgan Library MS 498, fol. 4v, see Camille 1996, fig. 8. For literary sources – Reber 1963, 212–3).

Later, this tradition also influenced the pictorial legends of Saint Elisabeth, the daughter of the Hungarian king Andrew II. Elisabeth was married,[4] but her extraordinary relationship to the celestial *sponsus* has been considered in many texts, even in canonization documents by the Pope Gregory IX (Reber 1963, 209–12). It took more than two centuries, until the elements of this mystical tradition, present also in the legend of the saint, written by the Dominican writer Theodor of Apolda (Rener 1993, 107, see also Reber 1963, 182, Klaniczay 2000, 219), which had inspired many images before, were represented by visual art. This happened in a panel painting, created between 1474 and 1477 as a part of the wing of the main altar retable in Košice (Fig. 5). For the first time, the vision of the Saint in a hospital has been painted. There are several similar events mentioned in the legends of the Saint, but neither of them explains all details of the picture. One of those passages describes the vision as a punitive miracle, which took place during a Mass, when Elisabeth looked with pleasure on her earthly husband instead of her heavenly Bridegroom. Another speaks about the visions, which should consolate the Saint during her hard work in the hospital. Our picture presents a synthesis, which has not only the textual, but probably also visual sources of slightly different content (see Gerát 2002). The visual confrontation of the personal devotion of the saint with the liturgical ritual ends with the victory of the latter – only Elisabeth can see God directly. Such a solution could have been inspired by an Italian branch of the *devotio moderna* movement, (Sopko 1996) which had its supporters also at the court of the king Mathew, who contributed substantial sums for the construction of the church and is even considered as a patron of the altar (Suckale 2003). Spiritual impulses of different characters, coming by long and complicated ways through the centuries, met in this picture to supplement the original core of the iconography of the Saint,

[4] In the iconography, it was not the saint, but her husband, who became as first the privilege to see Christ in a vision. According to a legend Elisabeth put a leper, whom she had found and bathed, into her marital bed. A servant told her husband that she had a man in her room, but when Ludwig entered, God opened his inner eyes to see the crucifix in the bed – one example of this well known topic comes from Luebeck around 1420 (Saumweber 1994, 153–5). The relief of the north portal in Košice (Hung. Kassa, Germ. Kaschau), perhaps because of the exceptionally narrow space at the sculptor disposal, expresses a very personal, even intimate relation of the husband to Christ. The vision of Ludwig served as an excuse for the love of his wife for Christ, whom she saw in the poor and sick, but has nothing to do with the bridal mysticism.

stressing the active help to the poor and sick, by an important contemplative element. Such a new synthesis might even be historically true – at least it visualized the influence of the Dominicane mystique an the legends of the Saint. Precisely in this new visual form it could address the inhabitants of the late medieval town, especially women, working in the municipal hospital.

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Ridovics Anna

THE CHANGING ASPECTS OF THE FEMALE ROLES THROUGH THE CULT OF ST. ANNE IN THE VISUAL ART FROM THE HISTORICAL TERRITORY OF HUNGARY (14–16TH C.)

At the end of the 15th c. St. Anne became one of the most popular saints. The veneration of St. Anne peaked in the circle of humanist clerics, in the court aristocracy, in the circle of urban burgoise and in the folk religion. Witness to this are numerous patronages, namings, expressions in the visual art and an explosion in the production of texts on her history, prayers and miracles[1].

ST. ANNE, THE MOTHER OF VIRGIN MARY

St. Anne has an important role in the christological idea of Incarnation-Passion-Eucharistia. She is the Mother of Virgin Mary, grandmother of Jesus Christ, she is a fundamental figure of Jesus's human genealogy. St. Anne's story does not appear in the canonical Gospels, we don't know from the Bibel even the names of Mary's parents. She is, however, an important figure in the apocryphal Protoevangelium of James – written about 150. AD. – and texts deriving from it, like Pseudo-Matthew (5. c.). The Protoevangelium tells the story of Joachim sacrifice, rejected because he and his wife Anne had no child, of their sorrow turned to joy by angelic visitation, and the angel's message that they would become parents. This is the central motiv of Anna's story, that the old woman because of her pious life, and prayer deserves God's grace, to have a child. That's why she became the patron saint of childbearing. For centuries the history of St. Anne (and Joachim) was told – in the texts or visual representations – as part of the history of the birth the Virgin Mary. At the end of 13th c. Legenda Aurea by Jacobus de Voragine and Speculum Humanae Salvationis by Vincent de Beauvais introduced the figure of Anna and her family to wide-ranging public. From the end of the 15th c. the life story of St Anne was extracted and reported as a story in its own right. The so called "boom period" of St. Anna's independent legends was from c. 1480 to 1555 – in Latin and in the vernacular.

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[1] Beda Kleinschmidt O.M.F. *Die Heilige Anna. Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum. Forschungen zur Volkskunde 1–3.* Düsseldorf, 1930; Katheleen Ashley–Pamela Sheingorn ed. *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. St. Anne in Late Medieval Society,* Athens and London, 1990; Ton Brandenbarg, *Heilig familieleven, verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan her begin van de moderne tijd (15de/16de eeeuw).* Nijmegen, 1990, 9–16. English resume: Holy family life. Propagation and Reception of the History of St. Anne in the Urban Culture of the Low Countries and the Rhinland at the Beggining of the Modern Era. 15/16th c.

THE CULT IN HUNGARY

In our country, in the historical territory of Hungary, the veneration of St. Anne also appeared as a part of the cult in honoeur of the Virgin Mary in the liturgy relating to Mary's feasts (Immaculate Conception, 8 of Dec., Birth of Mary 8 of Sept.) in the 11–12th c.[2] The main roles in the propagation and spreading of St. Anna's veneration were played monastic orders of hermits, augistiners, paulianers and specially franciscaners and the clarists. We can find the mass of St. Anne in the mass service to the whole Hungarian middle ages, sequences and hymns lauded her figure. The outstanding writer of the franciscan preaching literature, the minorate Pelbart Temesvari (1435 k.–1504) in his sermons collections (*Sermones de Sanctis, Pars aestiva, XXXVI–XXXVIII,* and the *Stellarium IV* book) in Latin four sermons dedicated to the mother of Mary. His work was published abroad several times in the first part of 16th c. The earliest known Hungarian language St. Anna texts and St. Anne legends were saved in the codices written for clarists from the beginning of 16th c.: *Teleki-codex* (1525–1531, Marosvásárhely [Tîrgu Mures, Rumenia]), *Kazinczy-codex* (1526, 1527, 1541) *Debreceni-codex* (1515), *Érdy-codex* (Carthauser anonymus, 1526–27). The most complete is the *Teleki-codex.*[3] The first seven chapters describe the genealogy of Anna beginning with the story of her mother, Emerencia, then Anna's life, three marriages and her death. Nine chapters illustrate the power of St. Anne in the light of miracles.

The peak of the saint's veneration is the second half of the 15th c. and the first part of 16th c. The figure of St. Anne functioned symbolically for a wide range of social groups in their cultural practises. She represented the moral values and piety for the humanists, and she represented the cult of family to gentry and aristocracy. She was called on by individual women as a sympathetic intercessor in childbearing. She bore a metaphorical relation to a number of crafts (mining, tailoring), and was therefore an appropriate patron. She exemplified affective behavior to nuns in covents. People prayed to her for protection againts plague and in the last hours of their life. The Tusdays were dedicated to St. Anne, because it was the day of her birth and her death too. In the court circles and in the circle of the urban middle-classes and common people the figure of St. Anne was highly venerated. Pious brotherhoods were founded in honoeur of St. Anna (as in Pozsony [Pressburg, Bratislava, Slovakia], Eperjes [Presov, Slovakia], Igló [Spešska, Nova Ves, Slovakia], Nagyszeben [Sibiu, Hermannstadt, Rumenia] in the 15–16th c.), they played together with other brotherhoods an important role in town life. Several new patronages, altar foundations, relics, pilgrimages characterize the flourishing of her cult[4]. The memorials in the visual arts were rich and varied, especially important are the series of altars in Upperland (now belonging to Slovakia) in the Szepes and Sáros Regions and the transylvanian saxon altars (now belonging to Rumenia).

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[2] Lajta Edit: A "Nagy Szent Család" ikonográfiája. A későközépkori művészet elvilágiasodásának tipikus példája. In *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* I. (1954): 34–48.; Bálint Sándor: *Ünnepi kalendárium. A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából. I–II.* Bp., 1977. II.: 95–118.; Ridovics Anna: *Az Isten Mindenhatóságának Tárháza, azaz Szent Anna magyarországi kultusza és ikonográfiája egy jezsuita imádságoskönyv tükrében* (PhD dissertation) Bp. 2000.

[3] *Teleki-kódex. Nyelvemléktár 12.* Kiad. Volf György. 1884; Katona Lajos: A Teleki-kódex legendái. In *MTA Nyelv- és Széptud. Oszt. Közl.* XVIII. (1904): 667–735.; Katona Lajos: *Folklór kalendárium.* Bp., 1982. 249. In his selected works: "A kedd asszonya" (*Ethnographia,* 1905.).; Abaffy Csilla: Teleki-kódex. In *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon (ÚMIL)* F. Almási Éva – Bartók István ed. Bp., 1994. III.: 2068.

[4] Pásztor Lajos: *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* . Bp. (1940.) 2000. 30, 165; Bálint 1977. II.: 367.

ICONOGRAPHY

The iconography of St. Anne in the middle ages is concentrated around two theological ideas: the Immaculate Conception and the Holy Kinship of Jesus Christ. In the 15th c., after the Council of Bassel (1439), the discussion about the Immaculate Conception between maculists and immaculists had flared up again with great intensity[5]. The immaculists believed, that Mary was already untainted by original sin before the conception considering the merit of the Christ's Passion, she as praeredempta, received earlier the savouring grace of the Cross sacrifice. Maculist defended the view that Mary was santicified in Anne's womb after the conception. The feast of the Immaculate Conception was inaugurated into the Roman church calender by the franciscan pope Sixtus IV. in the 1480-s., privileges were attached to it's visual expression. He also inaugurated the feast of St. Anne into the Roman church feast calendar on 26-th of July in 1481. Throughout the middle ages, during the theological discussions different types of iconography could express this meaning, the meaning of conception. In the mariological narrative scenes the Angel's message to St. Anne, or usually Anna's meeting with Joachim at the Golden Gate was the common frame-theme for it.

ST. ANNE TRINITY

The most influential expression was the devotional image of the St. Anne Trinity, it had already been depicted from about the 13th c. onwards showing the three generations together. Anna and her daughter, the Virgin Mary and Jesus as a child, the grandson. At the end of the 15th c. according to the instructions of the pope Sixtus IV. the devotion to St. Anna Trinity flourished. The Latin name of St. Anna Trinity-expression, Mettertia was adapted from a latin helpasking breathed prayer with alegedly magical properties from the middle ages: *O sancta mater Anna, nunc mihi succure Mettertia.* The carved and painted images of this Holy "earthly" Trinity were belived to have saving power, protected against plague and helped in every need. The people trusted in the force of reciting and writing the holy three names, as if they were magical words. The earliest known expressions of the St. Anna Trinity in the Hungarian visual arts are dated to the 2. half of the 14th c. – woodcarving in Felsőerdőfalva (Stara Lesna, Slovakia) between 1350–1370,[6] wallpainting in Petőszinye (Svinica, Slovakia)[7] around 1360 and the wallpaintings by the master Johannes Aquila and his workshop in Velemér (Vas county)1378, in Bántornya (Turnišče, Slovenia) 1389, in Mártonhely (Martjanci, Slovenia) c.1392.[8] *Fig. 1.*

The wallpainting is placed on glorified important liturgical place in the inner decoration of the augustiner church in the West Hungarian village, Velemér. On the lower south side of the triumphal arch we can see the Hodigitria type, standing monumental figure of St. Anna, holding her small daughter, Mary. She is embracing her son, the Jesuschild. On the other side of the triumphal arch is depicted the crucified Jesus Christ with his lamenting mother Mary and Evan-

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[5] Levy d'Ancona, Mirella, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance.* New York. 1957; Ashley–Sheinsorn 1990, 7–49.

[6] Radocsay Dénes, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai.* Bp.1967, 16., 25., 164., ill. 9.

[7] Prokopp Mária, "Felvidéki műhelyek". In Marosi Ernő ed. *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül,* I. Bp., 1987, 475.

[8] Radocsay Dénes *Falképek középkori Magyarországon.* Bp., 1977; Marosi Ernő ed. *Johannes Aquila és a 14. századi falfestészet. Tanulmányok és dokumentumok a Bp.i Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség gyűjteményéből.* Bp., 1989; Prokopp Mária, "Johannes Aquila és műhelye". In Marosi Ernő ed. *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül,* I. Bp., 1987, 482–484.

Fig. 1. St. Anna Trinity wallpainting, master Johannes Aquila and his workshop, Velemér, 1378.

gelist John. On the top of the arch is Jesus Allmighty in all his glory. In the background of the sanctuary is portrayed Annunciation. The lower part of the arch represents the earthly life of Jesus Christ, from birth to death, from the miracle of the Incarnation to the saving power of the Crucifixion. St. Anna has a very important role in the genealogy of Jesus. The St. Anna Trinity emphasizes the lineage of Christ's physical Body. The matrilineal Trinity is the Trinity of the Incarnation.

VIRGA DE RADICE JESSE

Later the composition with the three persons became more realistical, as on the winged altar of St. Anne from Kisszeben (Sabinov, Sáros Region, Slovakia), made around 1510–15[9]. *Fig. 2.* In the center shrine we can see the carved St. Anne Trinity. Anna has not such a monumental figure. The grandmother and her daugther in same natural proportion, are sitting together on a bank and the little naked Jesus is held by Mary. Under the shrine, on the predella there is the sleeping Jesse, from whose body grows a little tree. In the Old Testament Jesse is the father of king David, according to the prophecies the Messiah has to be born from his progeny. Anne is descended from the royal house of David. The text of the Legenda Aurea explains, that St. Anne

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[9] Ltsz. 52.757.1., 52.757.4–5. Hungarian National Gallery; Végh János, "A Szent Anna-oltárok mestere". In Mojzer Miklós ed. *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria régi gyűjteményei.* Bp., 1984, fig. 108.

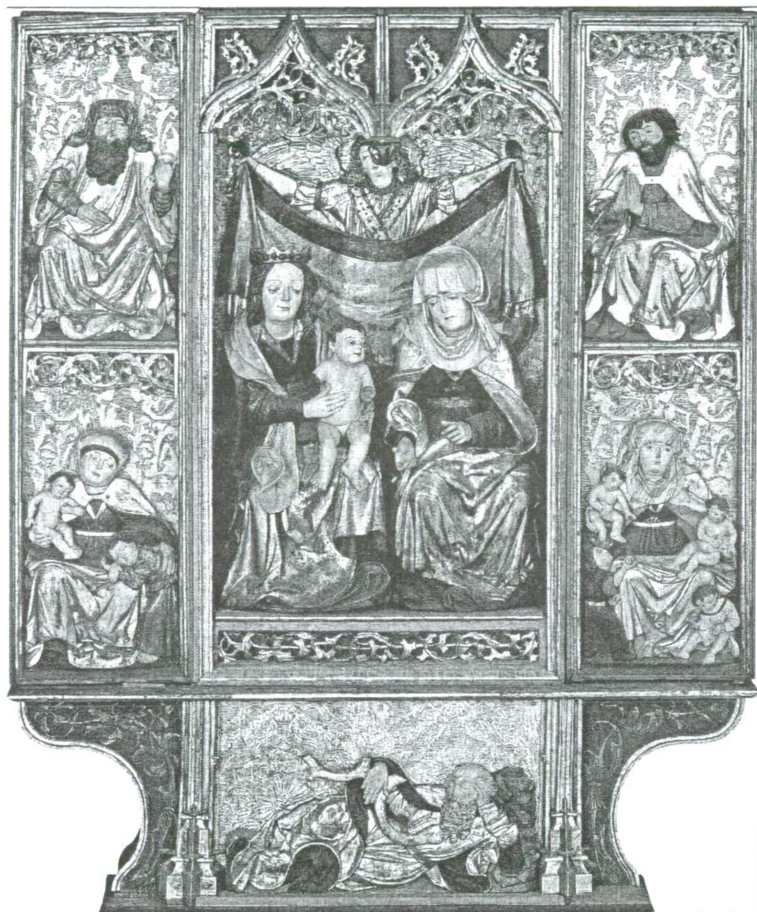
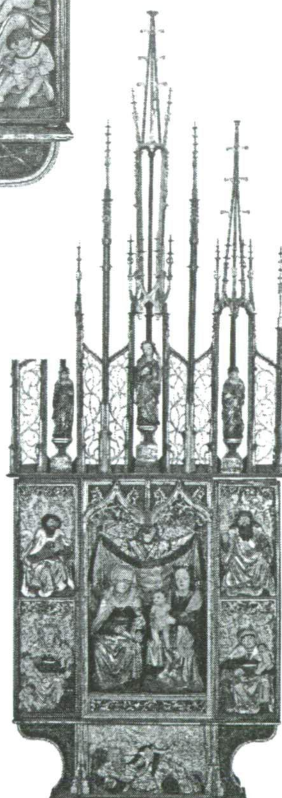


Fig. 2. Altar of St. Anne from Kisszeben, c.1510–15.
Hungarian National Gallery



is the tree, growing out from the root of Jesse, bearing a holy fruit.[10] Instead of the patrilineal genealogy of the New Testament (Mathew 1/1–16) – Jesse, David, Salamon, Jacob, Joseph, Jesus – this idea offers a matrilineal genealogy according to the Immaculate Conception, stressing the role of St. Anne. The wingreliefs introduce two large woman, two other daughters of St. Anna with their husbands and children. Mary Cleophas and Mary Salomas were born of two other marriages of St. Anne.

On the wings of Anna-altars usually we can find expressions portraying the scenes from the legend of Anna and Joachim (Almsgiving, Rejection of Joachim's sacrifice, the angel's message

[10] *(Cap. CCXXII. / 192.) "Est nempe sancta Anna illa arbor bona, de qua virga excisa per se divinitus floruit. Haec est sterilitas secunda et simplicitas sancta. Haec est radix omni laude colenda, de qua egressa est virga de radice Jesse".*

to Joachim, Meeting at the Golden Gate) – like on the panels from Berzenke[11](Bzinov, Slovakia) c. 1450., on the altarpanels in St. Egidius church of Bártfa (Bardejov, Sáros region, Slovakia) 1485.; or the figures of the saint's family.

HOLY KINSHIP

According to the legend of Anne's three marriages (trinubium), which originated around the 9th c., she bore three daughters and have seven grandchildren, including Christ[12].

From the biblical exegesises in 9th c. the opinion arose that – according to some sentences of the New Testament (like Marc 3,18; 15,40; Mathew13/55, 27,56; John 19,25; Lukas 6,15) –the apostles and Jesus were blood relatives, were cousins. The three Marys were sisters (John ev. 19, 25), so the mother could be only Anna. John the Baptist was the son of St. Elisabeth, the grandson of Anna's sister, Esmeria. For three Marys were required three fathers. So Joachim died very early and then – according to the jewish laws – the widow Anna had to be married to the brother of Joachim, Cleophas, and after his death to Salomas. So were born Mary Cleophas and Mary Salomas, or in other sources Mary Jacobi. The genealogy of the Holy Kinship assured to Anna the role of the matriarch. The earliest examples in the visual arts are known from the 13th c.[13] The veneration of the Holy Kinship was influenced very much by the textes of Legenda Aurea and Speculum Humanae Salvationis at the end of the 13th c., and by the vision of St. Coletta at the turn of the 14–15th c.

ST. ANNA WITH HER THREE DAUGHTERS AND GRANDCHILDREN

Fig. 3. Holy Kinship wallpainting, Marosszentanna, end of 14th c.(?)

In the Hungarian visual arts we know of a group of wall-paintings from East Hungarian churches Szőlősvégardó (Podvinorgadov, Ugocsa–Bereg region, Ukraine) Feketeardó, (Csernotiszov, Ugocsa–Bereg region, Ukraine) Feketegyarmat (Iermata Neagră, Arad region, Rumania) – early 15th c., Marosszentanna (Sîntana de Mureş, Maros region, Rumania) –

[11] Ltsz. 55.833.1–2,5–6. Hungarian National Museum; Török Gyöngyi, "Két oltárszárny belső képei Berzenkéről". In Mojzer Miklós ed., *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria régi gyűjteményei.* Bp., 1984, 26.

[12] Pamela Sheingorn, "Appropriating the Holy Kinship. Gender and Family History". In Ashley–Sheingorn 1990, 169–197.

[13] Geneology of the Imola Psalter after 1204, Bibliotheca Communale di Imola, MS. 100. Fol.10v; Gautier Coincy, La Genealogie de Nostre Dame en roumans, Paris, Arsenal MS 3517. Fol. 7. around 1300. In Ashley–Sheingorn 1990, 169.

end of 14th c.(?)[14] The dating and the analysis is quite difficult because of their bad condition, some of them are damaged, some of them are heavily restored. Compositionally they are very similar. In the centre is depicted the monumental figure of Anna with her three Mary-daughters. Here are no husbands. The grandmother opening her mantel embraces or caresses her daughters, who are standing with their sons. The Virgin Mary and Jesus are sitting on Anna's lap. *Fig. 3.* On the wall-

Fig. 4. Drawing after the Holy Kinship wallpainting, Feketegyarmat, early 15th c.(after Rómer)

painting at Feketegyarmat the crowned Madonna is probably holding an apple, like new Eva and Jesus, as new Adam is caressing her face. *Fig. 4.* In front of the Jesuschild's other hand is a bird. (may be the dove of the Holy Ghost, or a bird reminding us of the forecoming suffering.) The apostles children are raising two little boards with inscriptions: *Pater noster (qui es in celis Santificatus); Ave Maria (gratia plena.)* The texts and the expressions are praising the Incarnation at the Annunciation, the Immaculate Conception and the heavenly brides. All family members are under the saving mantel of St. Anna. The grandmother and her daughters and grandchildren are seen on the panel painting from Dubravica (Slovakia) too, made between 1510–1520 in the expressive style of the Danubian school[15], *Fig. 5.* At the beginning of 16th century the subject is similar, but the expression is not hierarchical, it is full of life and looks like a genre painting about a middle-class family nursury at the first sight.

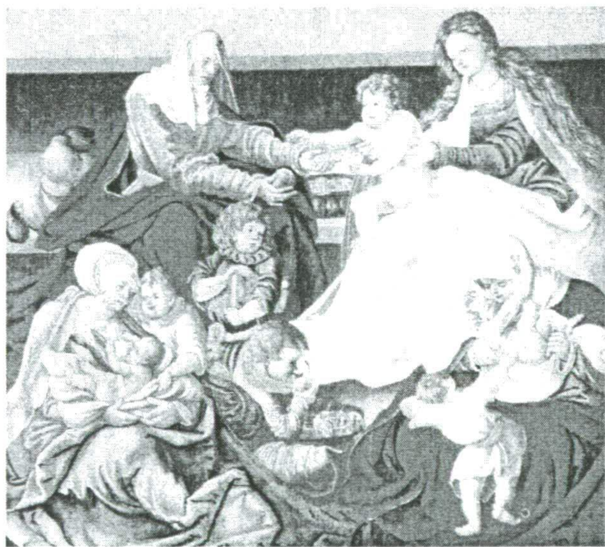


Fig. 5. Holy Kinship panel painting from Dubravica, between 1510–1520, Hungarian National Gallery

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[14] Rómer Flóris, *Régi falképek Magyarországon.* Bp., 1874, 15–23.; Radocsay Dénes, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon.* Bp., 1977, 172.; Wehli Tünde, "Tematikai és ikonográfiai jelenségek". In Marosi Ernő ed., *Magyarországi művészet története 1300–1480 körül.* 1987, 212.; Prokopp Mária, "Falfestészet". In Marosi Ernő ed., 1987, 605–606.

[15] Ltsz. 8133. Hungarian National Gallery; Végh János, "Krisztus rokonsága Dubravicáról". In Mojzer 1984, 105.

THE GREAT HOLY FAMILY WITH THE HUSBANDS AND ALL RELATIVES

During the 15th c. the expression of the Holy Kinship became more and more popular, the most flourishing period was the end of 15th c., beginning of 16th c. We can find on some altar-panels all the members of the Holy Kinship, the husbands and other relatives too. Sometimes the whole family was shown compositionally on one panel, other times on different panels. These expressions were most popular in German speaking countries. On the central panel of the altar from Szmrecsány (Smrečany) (Lipto Region, Slovakia) c. 1510.[16] *Fig. 6.* is shown the St. Anne Trinity, on the wingpanels are depicted the other Marias with their apostol-sons (Mary

Fig. 6. Holy Kinship altar by the Master of Okolične panels from Szmrecsány , 1510.

Salome with James the Greater, John the Evangelist and Mary Cleophas with Simon, Jude Thaddeus, James the Less, Joseph the Just, otherwise named Barsabee.). Behind the parapet are standing the husbands, on the central panel are the three husbands of St. Anne and Joseph, on the

[16] Radocsay Dénes, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei.* Bp., 1955, 452. Katarína Biathova, *Maliarske prejavy stredovekého Liptova.* Bratislava, 1983, II: 91, 206–207.

wings there are Alpheus the Mary Cleophs's husband and the Anna's sister, mother of Elisabeth, Esmeria, her grandson Emerius (in other sources Emyn, Eminen), his wife Memelia and the baby S. Servatius, who became the first bishop of Tongeren, on the other wing Mary Salomas's husband, Zebedeu and St. Elisabeth with her Zakarias end their son, John the Baptist, and Eliud the other child of Esmeria. A new item in the legends of Anne at the end of the fifteenth c. is the story of Emerentia, the mother of Anne. The text of Legenda Aurea speaks only of Anna's sister, Esmeria. Emerentia refused to wed, because she knews that Christ would be born of a virgin. Through the meditation of the hermits on Mont Carmel (precursors of the Carmelites) it became clear to Emerentia in a vision – a family tree with many branches – that she sholud enter into marriage after all. From her Christ would be born through the female line of Anne

Fig 7. Panels of the St. Anna-altar, St. George Church, Szepesszombat, 1508–10.

and Mary. She then marries Stollanus. (In the other sources we find Susanna end Ysachar.) Story of Emerentia was well known in the text of the Teleki-codex and we can find her figure on the altarpanels too. Like on the St. Anna-altar – made around 1508–10 – which is standing in the St. George Church at Szepesszombat (Spišska Sobota, Szepes Region, Slovakia)[17], *Fig. 7.* In the central shrine is placed the carved St. Anne Trinity. The outside painted panels are seen, when the altar is closed. On the eight panels are depicted the families of the Holy Kinship. There are in the upper part St. Anna and the three Maries with their husband and children. There are in the lower part the other, relatives of Mary and Jesus from the matrilineal side. First is the picture of the parents of St. Anne, Emerentia and Stollanus. Here we can see St. Anne in her childhood

[17] The program and the composition is very similar to the St. Anna-altar from Leibic (Lubica, Szepes Region, Slovakia), 1510–1520, exhibited in the Hungarian National Museum: Ltsz. 53.574. 1–20. On both altar the name of Emerentia is written incorrectly: Emerentiana. (She is another saint, the foster-sister of Saint Agnes.) Radocsay 1955, 175, 364, 449. Anton Cyril Glatz–Peter Zubko, *St. Georgs-Kirche in Georgenberg (Spišská Sobota).* Kosice, 2001, 34–39.

with her sister Esmeria. The next three panels represent the line of Esmeeria – her family, her son's and grandson's families. Behind the parapet on each panel is an open-air background with wonderfull landscape and nice buildings, probably buildings of a rich town, or castles of a rich family. The families are diffusing richness, prosperity, safety, peace and piety. The female figures are in the center of each panel, like the power keeping together the members of the family. As a powerful grandmother, St. Anne forms the central figure of the influantial family, the Holy Kinship. She is the ideal of female role model, pious daughter, wife, mother, grandmother. Thus family trees, marriages, fertility, motherhood and family relations play a prominent role in the

Fig. 8. Holy Kinship-altar from Segesd, beginning of 16th c

representation of the life of St Anna. The late iconography of the Holy Kinship shows bourgoise values, demands of the urban middle classes, demands on the family portrait, demands on the group portrait. The Holy Kinship – altar from Segesd, (Şaeş/ Schaas, Rumania) *Fig. 8.* from the beginning of 16th c. is an example, when the figures of the Holy Kinship all are in one composition together with the kneeling donator, who seems to be involved in the family on one panel.[18] Anna is sitting in the centre, the naked Jesus is standing on her lap on a pillow with a gesture of blessing hand. The small, long haired Mary is kneeling in front of him also on her mother's lap and reading a book.

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[18] I thank for Mr. Zoltán Szilárdfy for the photo.

EDUCATION OF MARY

In the western visual art from the earlier period, 12–13th c. we can often find a book in the Anna's hand, or in the hand of her daughter Mary sitting on Anna's lap, or standing beside her mother. St. Anna's book generally is to be understood here as the book of the Old Testament, in which the Messiah was promised to humankind.[19] The text in the book usually informs us of the holy selection of Mary, like preinformation about the Annuntiation, when Mary through her submission to the divine word, enable God's redemptive plan to be brought to fulfillment (Psalm. 44, 11–12 or Isaiás 7, 14). According to apocryphal texts the little, three-year Mary was specially clever and well educated, as Pseudo Matthew claim: *No one could be found who was better instructed than she (Mary) in wisdom and in the law of God, who was more skilled in singing the songs of David (Psalms).* It was of course, possible that Mary was literate when she was born, but a natural assumption in the Middle Ages was that she was taught in the Temple, just as children were taught in contemporary monastic schools.. In the face of expansion of the Marian narrative, consistent with the apocryphal accounts, it is particularly striking to find development in another direction, namely that of Mary's mother, Anna, as her teacher.[20] Such scenes occur first in England, early in the 14th c., in wall painting, stained glass, sculpture, embroidery and manuscript illumination.[21] This image proves the knowledge about female literacy in the Late Middle Ages. This culture considered the mother's role as her childen's first teacher. Childrens literacy was a mother's responsibility. The imagery of St. Anne and her daughter served as the vehicle for communicating that responsibility. The devotional image of Anne teaching the Virgin Mary flourishes more when the legends of St. Anna introduced the mother well educating her three daughters. We can find a lot of information in the text of the Teleki Codex about the wise, pious mother.[22] It holds up the example of St. Anne to parents in the upbringing of their children. They should bring them up and instruct them in all Christian virtues, just as St. Anne did with her daughters.

We think, that one of the earliest Hungarian example of the Virgin's education is in the Breviary of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi, illuminated by Francesco da Castello (1480–90)[23]. *Fig. 9.* The miniature illustrates the feast of Nativity of Christ (88 verso), we can see the story of Mary and Jesus in five medallions and in one initial. In the left corner we can see the three girls in the (church) interior, the first one is the Virgin Mary[24]. She has a book in hand and her teacher, I think she is her mother, Anna, who has an open book on her knee. They are reading the book of the Old Testament. Surely Prophet Isajah's text (7:14) "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son". In the next medallion is the scene of the Annunciation, in the middle the Nativity initial. The education of Mary and the nativity of Jesus are depicted together too on a historiated initial decorates a book of sermons made for a house of Cistercian nuns in the diocese of

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[19] Ridovics 2000, 85–86. About the other aspects of the interpretation.

[20] Pamela Sheingorn, "The Wise Mother". The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary. In *Gesta XXXII. The International Center of Medieval Art,* 1993, 69–80. Footnote 7. Further lit.: Klaus Schreiner, "wie Maria geleicht einem puch': Beitrage zur Buchmetaphorik des hohen und spaten Mittelarters". *Archiv für Geschihte des Buchwesens,* XI (1971): 1437–64. Ridovics 2000, 84–87.

[21] Sheingorn 1993, 79. footnote 11. Further lit.

[22] Ridovics 2000, 70–73.

[23] Zentai Lóránd: Kálmáncsehi Domonkos Breviáriuma. In: Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon. Katalógus. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. Bp., 1985. 141–142. XXVII. Plate. Further lit.mal.; Vizkelety András: Brevier aus dem Besitz des Dominicus Kálmáncsehi. In: Schallaburg '82. Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541. A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállításának katalógusa. 1982. 427–428. Abb. 38. Ridovics 2000. 86–87.

[24] This scene was told earlier the scene "12 years-old Jesus is teaching in the church."

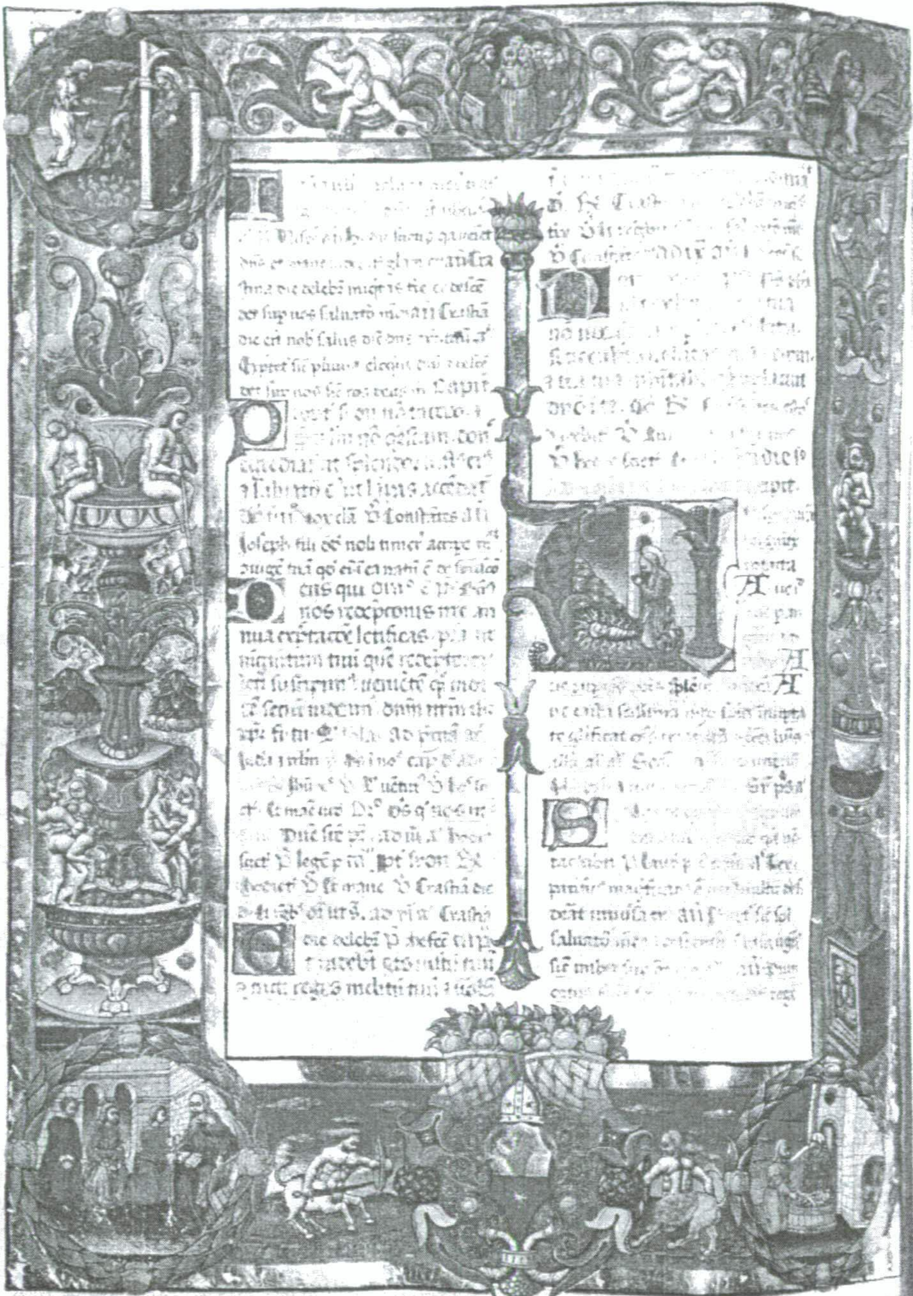

Fig. 9. Breviary of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi, illuminated by Francesco da Castello (1480–90)

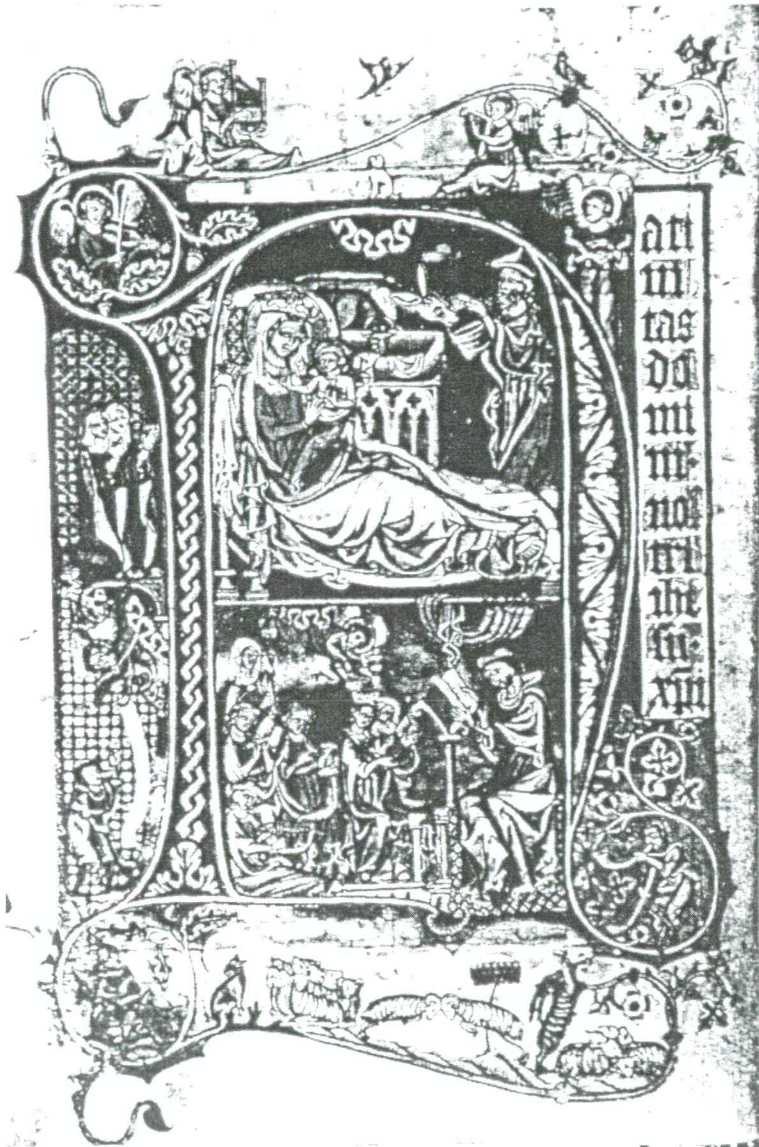

Fig. 10. Book of sermons for the house of Cistercian nuns in the diocese of Constance, 1325–1350.

Constance between 1325–1350.[25] *Fig. 10.* The lower part shows Mary as a member of a class of girls taught by a schoolmaster. In the Breviary of Kálmáncsehi the figures of St Anna and her three daughters connect the idea of the relatives of Jesus, the Holy Kinship to the theme of the Nativity.

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25 Oxford, Bodleian Liberary, MS Douce 185. Fol. 35v., Sheingorn 1993, 69–70, fig. 1.

CHANGING ASPECTS OF THE ST. ANNA CULT

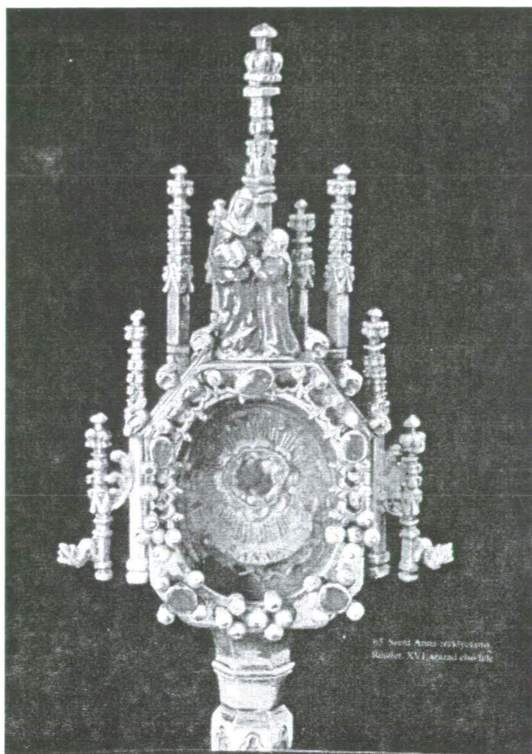

Fig 11. St. Anna reliquiar from Tompa, 16th c.

In the cult of St. Anna was manifest the honnour of the fertile motherhood, the love of the children, the family ideal of the populous kinship. Referring to three marriges of St. Anne her figure stresses Christian conjugal ethics: the most important cause for which matrimony was ordained was for the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and to the praise of his holy name. But the Trinubium legend of Anna's three marriages were discussed from the beginning, at the same time of the peak of the veneration from the end of 15th c. the critical voices became stronger. One of the most important venerator of the saint is the german benedictian Johannes Trithemius, the author of a very influencial book about Anna. He judged the image of the Immaculate Virgin's mother as the thricemarried women as inconsistent, incompatible. He became convinced that there was no historical basis for the trinubium. The opinion arose that Anna had only one husband, Joachim and only one daughter, Mary. At the same time the representatives of the reformation critisized the increasing cult of St. Anna, because even her name was not mentioned in the Bibel. Finally the Council Trent (1545–1563) forbade the Trinubium. At the 24-th session the Council passed a resolution "Decretum de reformatione matrimonii" (Decret about reforming marriage), it declared the sacramental character of marriage, which is a once binding union not possible to dissolve. Certain aspects of Anna's cult were sharply curtailed. In the 2. half of 16th c. the figure of the matriarch, the powerful grandmother keeping together the big family of the holy Kinship was overshadowed by a nurturing, educating mother, a careful grandmother and the new ideal of the pious widow. The Holy Kinship disappeared as a subject in art late in the 16th c. From 17– 18th c. one of the most important, most popular devotional images of St. Anna was that of her teaching her daughter to read, to pray from a book, rarely from rollscript, more often from the stone-tablets of Moses. Like on the St. Anna reliquiar from Tompa with the little enamailed statue of the mother teaching her daughter (16th c.).[26] *Fig. 11.* The expression of Mary's education, the pray and the good reading of the Bible got a new, apologetical meaning during the catholic restauration, counterbalancing the Bible-veneration of the Reformation in Catholic countries.

[26] Dávid Katalin, *Magyar egyházi gyűjtemények kincsei.* Budapest, 1981, 22, fig. 63.

Altti Kuusamo

VAGHEZZA AND THE CARNIVALIZATION OF THE DIONYSIAN NYMPH IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY IMAGERY OF THE BIRTH-CHAMBER

LA NINFA AFTER QUATTROCENTO – AND AFTER ABY WARBURG

The article discusses some moving accessory female figures in the imagery of the Birth of the Virgin Mary in the mid-sixteenth century. The purpose is to locate the change in the depiction of female accessory movements and gestures in this particular subject matter and discuss the gender-specificity of some expression used in the description of female movements in some treatises of women published (by men) in the mid-sixteenth century. The purpose is to try to shape a connection between the new mode in pictorial representation of gestures and the word *vaghezza*.

Before the presentation of the theme in question we have to ask: what happened to the famous striding nymph of the late fifteenth century whom Aby Warburg presented ca. 1900 and who haunted his imagination and the imagination of many others until the present day? Did the nymph remain the same in the mid-sixteenth century – and if not, how can we recognize her in her changing attitude?

The concept Warburg created for the striding lady was the famous *"bewegtes Beiwerk"* – and ever since it has troubled many researches in Art History. By this notion he meant the expressive movements of the figures in late quattrocento art. He held the view that these expressive elements in Renaissance art came from antiquity in a situation in which the Florentine festive culture was strongly effected by the relief-sculpture of the Roman antiquity.

In his unpublished file from the year 1900 called *Ninfa fiorentina* Aby Warburg paid a lot of attention to the image of the classical nymph which he found from the fresco-image of Domenico Ghirlandaio (S. Maria Novella, Florence, 1485–90) representing the *Birth of John the Baptist.* In this fresco the young servant girl is running into the birth-chamber with fluttering garments and carrying a fruit basket on her head. Warburg identified the servant figure as a representative of bacchic maenads from the classical Roman sarcophagi (Warburg 1900).

Consequently, Warburg found out that the canephor in question had a certain affinity to the frantic maenad of the antique Dionysian sarcophagi. He thought that a girl was a kind of a domesticated maenad in the high bourgeois Renaissance milieu *(der Maenade als Wochenstubenwärterin)* (*Grundbegriffe* II, 20, in Gombrich 1970, 299).

Warburg was never quite precise with the iconographic reference in question. He never paid attention to the precise iconographic context for the carrier-nymph in the Roman relieves. For example he never thought that the model could be found in the image of the birth of Dionysus. He was only interested in the idea of the cultural continuity of psychic expressive gestures (*Nachleben* of Antiquity) in the broad sense.

In his late project of the *Mnemosyne-Atlas* Warburg returned to the subject of a striding woman. There, in the screen number 46 devoted to the *Nympha* he introduced a motif of the striding woman *(Fig. 1)*. The screen was actually called *Domestizierung der antiken Nymphe oder Mänade in christlichen Genrezenen der italienischen Frürenaissance* (Gombrich 1970, 297–298). Again, the problem was of the lack of the precise iconography. Warburg didn't ask for the specific Christian context of meaning in spite of the fact that at least six or seven of the pictorial fragments shown on the screen were connected to the theme of the childbirth (of the Virgin Mary or Saint John the Baptist).

Fig. 1. Warburg's Mnemosyne-Atlas, the screen number 46:
Domestizierung der antiken Nymphe oder Mänade in christlichen Genrezenen der italienischen Frürenaissance. (Photo: The Warburg Institute)

Later, in the sixties, Nicole Dacos called attention to the subject of dancing maenad in the 15th century painting. She focused on Filippo Lippi's famous tondo (as the first example of the canephor in antique disguise) and some other figures – all from 15th century (1962, 443–444). Neither did she pay any attention to iconography of the model (antecedent) lurking behind the maenad-figure, nor to the theme of childbirth in the images she referred to. What is more striking: the same way as Warburg she was only interested in the nymphs of the 15th century.

In addition to the problem of a special iconographic context there was even a bigger problem: could we shut eyes to the immediate afterlife of the striding figure during 16th century? In fact Warburg never followed the theme of the striding nymph very deep in the 16th century. The same was certainly the case of his followers and those who were so eager to take the example of Warburg as the paradigmatic case in point of the Renaissance image of the accessory woman.

Indeed a lot of attention has been shown, in recent research, to the nymph of Ghirlandaio, but only to the same nymph Warburg already found. This happed though the mid-sixteenth century imagery is full of interesting cases in which the striding or walking nymph – or nymphs are to be seen. Inga Fransson has said: "A comparative study of all these Nymphas could throw more light on the problem of how the different artists have handled and interpreted the pathos-formula" (1980, 304). But there is no comparative study of those nymphs who strode into the picture after Ghirlandaio – and especially after Raphael. The only nymph after Raphael brought up many times as a paradigmatic model is the canephors in Parmigianino's fresco in S. Maria della Steccata in Parma, 1533–39 (Fermor 1993, Vaccaro 1998).[1] Question is: what is the role of the striding nymph in the mid-sixteenth century? If there is a change, how can we trace it?

Thus it is challenging to look at the pictures from Raphael onwards and put Warburg's interesting views concerning "accessories in motion" into test and observe some pictures depicting the birth-chamber in the Italian Mannerism. It should be asked whether we can really use the Warburgian hypothesis of the "accessories in motion" when studying striding nymphs and *canephoroi* of the mid-sixteenth century? Moreover we have to ask: What is the role of Dionysian accessories in motion in the changed cultural situation – especially when the language of gestures comes into question? In a word: what was the fate of the domestication of the "Warburg's maenad" in the changed cultural context?

A STRIDING "CHORUS FIGURE" AND HER MOVING ATTRIBUTES

I have studied the problem of the striding servant girl in the birth scenes of Gaspar Becerra, Francesco Salviati and Prospero Fontana. Many of the figures depicted their frescoes are vividly moving midwives or canephors flanking the main episode – finally breaking through in the foreground of the scene. There is an apparent change in the characterisation of *caneforoi* compared to the nymph of the end of quattrocento and of High Renaissance. Midwives or *ancellas* are getting more speed and are more anonymous looking around mid-sixteenth century. *Mise-en-scène*

[1] It has become a habit to refer to the concept of *"bewegtes Beiwerk"* of the late quattrocento as if it could give an interpretative key to the all accessory figures after Ghirlandaio (Ady Meyer-Weinschel – fromthe early thirties-, Omar Calabrese, Sharon Fermor, Paola Tinagli, Inga Fransson, Gombrich, Dacos, Roland Kany, Patrizia Castelli, Claudia Cieri Via, etc.). It is striking that hardly anybody has been interested in canephors of the mid-sixteenth century – besides famous images of Parmigianino –, probably because many followers of Warburg really thought that *Pathosformeln* were emptied and became somewhat too kitschy during the 16th century.

Fig. 2.

also changes and proxematic relations are getting narrower and the whole birth chamber turns out to be crowded. We can see this change in Gaspar Becerra's fresco *Birth of Mary* (made according to *modello* of Marco Pino) in SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome (cappella della Rovere, 1548–1550 – *Fig. 2*)[2] Although the left side of the fresco is destroyed we can still see the sitting midwife whose hands are moving into two directions at the same time and who has been depicted in a "pyramic" form, in the *figura serpentinata* position. This position originates via Marco Pino from Michelangelo who thought Marco the advantages of the movement which reminds of the flames of fire (Lomazzo 1584, 22–23). Especially the lady rushing from the right is hurrying with a speed which gives a special vivid tone to the whole picture. Perhaps the most crowded birth scene is the brown ink drawing of The Birth of Mary by Francesco Salviati (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna)[3] from the late 1540ties *(Fig. 3)*. In the foreground there is an event of the washing of Virgin Mary. *Ancellas* are running and the number of midwives seems to double. Elements seem to intertwine with each other in this nebulous scene. We can see the same tendency to crowd the scene with female figures even earlier in Salviati's oeuvre, in his drawing *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (Holkham Collection, Earl of Leicester, no. 7 – *Fig. 4*)[4].

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[2] Cfr. Jaffé 1986, 184. Jaffé focuses mainly to his own discovery: the new connection between Becerra's fresco and Pino's *modello* for the fresco; he doesn't pay any attention to the problem of movement or *figura serpentinata* form.

[3] See Benesch 1964, 329–330. The date of the Albertina-picture is unsure. Most likely the drawing is from the late 1540s.

[4] A. Popham thinks that the drawing is made by Salviati (Popham 1976, 21; cfr. Ibid., 18). Popham is certain that it is a sketch for the famous *Birth of Saint John the Baptist,* the fresco made in 1550–51 (Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato, Rome). For some curious reasons Luisa Mortari excludes the drawing totally from her monograph of Salviati in spite of its obvious modal connection to the oeuvre of Salviati (cfr. Mortari 1992).

Fig. 3.

Moshe Barasch has called attention to the interesting extract in Alberti's treatise *On Painting* (*Della Pittura,* 1436) in which Alberti speaks of the movements of the body. He states (Book III, §. 42): "In a storia I like to see someone who admonishes and points out to us what is happening there, or beckons with his hand to see; or menaces with an angry face and with flashing eyes, so that no one should come near" (Alberti 1991, 77–78). Barasch calls these actors as "chorus figures" (1997, 303– 304). Indeed in the birth scene these *mediators* are striding maenads filling the foreground of the picture between spectator (outside of the picture) and the main episode of scene – sometimes looking back to the viewer of the picture.

Fig. 4.

How can we describe the apparent change in gesticulation – especially when we think the change of terms used in describing movements? The important book is Agnolo Firenzuola's *Dialogo della bellezza delle donne* (1541). When dealing with the beauty of women Firenzuola focuses on two central terms, *leggiadra* and *vaghezza.* In his marvellous book *Michelangelo and the language of Art* David Summers states that "*vaghezza* and *leggiadra* were (…) deeply related" (Summers 1981, 169–170). In spite of ambiguities in definitions there is a slight, but important difference or discrepancy between the two concepts. Let us look some definitions more thoroughly.

In his definition of *leggiadria Firenzuola* emphases utterances which refer to strict control and comportment. Charm (leggiadria) for him is expressed when a women moves "with grace, modesty, nobility, measure (…) so that no movement and no action would be without rule, mode, measure and design" (1848, 272). According to Sharon Fermor Firenzuola's *leggiadria* "denotes a movement which is carefully composed, a deportment in which every action appears considered and controlled. The body should be held upright and contained, but rigid, so that it retains measure of grace" (Fermor 1993, 137). Fermor emphasises that in leggiadria, "movement appears without effort" (1998, 128; cfr. 1848, 273).

The important thing for Fermor is to see the role of dance as a correlative for the pictorial movement. According to Fermor dance was a form of "mute rhetoric" of which there were many references in literature of the time (1993, 131–132). Indeed, the *terms* used of dance have to be seen in adjacent relation to those terms used when speaking of movements in visual arts – from Baldassare Castiglione to G. P. Lomazzo. In Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano arte* (men) and *dolcezza* (women) are presented as clear oppositions. Thus Castiglione's idea of *ritenuto* had its climax in women's behaviour: heavy musical instruments and active and violent movements were not

suitable for her (1981, 270–271). There is passage in Pietro Bembo's book *Gli Asolani* (1505) which tells of women's dance containing *"cari rivolgimenti"* (endearing turns) which are bold and ornamented with *vaghezza* (1961, 102–3). Lomazzo's testimony speaks broadly against dance dominated only by *leggiadra*. Lomazzo talks about difficult movements in Italian dance in which there are wrenches of the body *(storcimenti)* and one have to fling the legs – *lanciar le gambe* (1584, 152). Probably this passage truly tells something about masculine form of the dance called *gagliardezza* (cfr. Fermor 1993, 134,). Burke, instead, has emphasised "the reform of gestures" at that time – and a Spanish influence on Italian culture (1994, 75–76). Rudolf Bell has recently referred to the treatise of Simeon Zuccolo called *La pazzia del ballo* (1549) in which the writer warns of the moral dangers of the sensual and sexually charged dance (1999, 188– 190). Bell also refers to other treatises on dance of the time, such as Rinaldo Corso's *Dialogo del ballo* (1555). In what way the 16th –century gesture-reform in dance was gendered remains to be seen in future research.

Anyhow it is easy to see that *leggiadra* is not the term which could pave the way to understand what is happening in paintings which picture interior drama of the child birth after High Renaissance. What would, then, be the verbal equivalent of the vivid and complicated, twisted and even uncontrolled movements of servant girls – especially in the birth scenes?

VAGABOND GESTURES

Firenzuola has a long definition for the term *vaghezza*. For him *vago* (charmed) (and *vaghezza*, charm) means three things: "First, movement from place to place, as Petrarch well demonstrates": "Bring your wandering *(vaghi)* thoughts to a better place". Second, desire or desirous. Third, beautiful; Petrarch has written: "The beautiful *(vaghi)* behaviour and angelic manners" (1848, 275). Firenzuola continues: "From the first meaning, movement, we derive the word vagabond *(vagabondo)*, and from vagabond, that is, a man who wanders, we derive second meaning, that is desirous, because a thing that is in motion and wanders here and there seems to arouse in others a greater desire for it than one that stands still and which we can see at our case." (–) "...charm indicates that special beauty that has within it all those elements whereby anyone who looks upon it is obliged to become charmed *(vago)*, that is, desirous" (1848, 275–76).

Fermor does not sense *leggiadria* and *vaghezza* as oppositions. Philip Sohm instead wants to stress the difference between two concepts. Sohm states: "The term *vaghezza* contains the ambivalence of feminine beauty." It was thought "to be a superficial quality" (1995, 768). "It should be emphasised that Firenzuola himself was ambivalent in defining *vaghezza*. He oscillated between ethereal and proportionate qualities." Sohm makes an important remark: "*Vaghezza* (...) marked the seductive powers of woman and certain styles of colouring that attracted the (male) viewer" (1995, 761). He also sees *vaghezza* as indeterminate and unbounded (1995, 767) Patricia Simons holds that Firenzuola "describes woman's charm *(vanghezza)* in a way that sounds contradictory, for he combined elements that modernism holds apart" (1995, 291). Mary Vaccaro connects *vaghezza* to inventive means of the flying imagination. She makes a reference to Parmigianino's way of drawing with wandering hand (1998, 139). In fact the idea of flying thoughts as *vaghi* comes clearly from Petrarch (Firenzuola 1848, 275). According to Sohm both "*grazia* and *vaghezza* are also defined by Firenzuola by their elusiveness" (1995, 766).

It is important to note that Sohm accentuates "the unstable qualities of *vaghezza* derived from traditional notions of woman as inconstant and vacillating." The background of the word was Aristotelian: woman as inconstant, vacillating and unstable (Sohm 1995, 767, 773). Sohm's solution here is interesting and helps us to see also better those steps taken according to strange rhythm in mid-sixteenth century painting. Sohm: "Firenzuola wanted to see that *vaghezza* means

just those qualities which make women superior to men" (Sohm 768). It can also mean the ways to accentuate anonymous narcissistic accent in the depiction of woman's movements: the ways how men see the unbound beauty of women dominated by uncontrolled movements.

It was Lomazzo who in his *Trattato* treated the functions of *vaghezza* principally in the context of movement (1584, 129, and note18). Lomazzo connected *vaghezza* especially to the vivid movement of the body (1584, 145–146). Sohm doesn't see necessary to pay more attention to the problem of movement, especially the vivid one, in Lomazzo. Lomazzo's view comes very close to the pictorial depiction of hurrying *ancelle* in the birth scenes around mid-sixteenth century. According to Lomazzo *vivacità* is the quality which makes the sculpture 'almost live' (1584). This is very close to the characterisation Francesco Bocchi gives for vividness (1962, 153).

In this sense it s not hard to understand that *vaghezza* can easily mean the charmed and desirous representation of inconstant movements. Furthermore it could also indicate the means of seductively uncontrolled beauty. In its extreme expression *vaghezza* clearly means the opposition of *decorum* in representing female movement. The lack of decorum was the strongest argument against paintings of Salviati and Vasari pronounced by Giovanni Gilio in his famous writing *Errori dei pittori* (1564): the painting of *modo misto* which mixed poetic and historical mode of representation and which used too many pagan details (1961, 15–16). Surely one can say that *modo misto* defined by Gilio was the mode of painting very close to the principle of *vaghezza:* the depiction of figures was pagan, eccentric and vagabond in holy contexts.

It is fairly good to remember that Bembo in his *Gli asolani* (1505) associates the adjective vago to nymphs: "le vaghe Ninfe, le vaghe donne..." (1961, 76). Indeed we have also learned from Erwin Panofsky the following definition: "In Renaissance writing every pretty girl is called a *ninfa;* and conversely, in Renaissance painting every *ninfa* is a pretty girl dressed up *all'antica*" (1946, 287). The model of nymphs depicted in pictorial scenes of the Late-Renaissance comes from sargophagi of the antiquity. The question is: Are nymphs in the mid-sixteenth century more nymph-like (being more *vaghi*) than before – only because of the more systematic reception of the antique models, and because of the increase of the anonymity of the figural delineation of nymphs at that moment?

Many writers of the 16th century characterize the term *vaghezza* quite the same way as Firenzuola. In his book *Dialogo dove si ragiona delle bellezze* (1542) Niccolò Franco connects *vaghezza* to vividness of the movement (1542, 50r). Especially interesting is his idea that the duplicating of gestures with fingers means *vaghezza* (ibid 48r). All the associations Franco uses the term *vaghezza* are slightly eccentric. Federico Luigini in his *Il libro della Bella Donna* (1554) mentions *la vagezza* in the context which refers to movements and bodily heterotopy (1913, 255). It is not surprising that Oliveri named a woman in Franco's and Luigini's treatises "troppo disunito", too divided (1935, 116).

When defining how Francesco Bocchi saw *vago* and *vaghezza* Erin Campbell refers to Giorgio Vasari and others who used "adjectives vago and vaghezza to describe the use of colour which was pretty but without substance." "In his *Eccellenza* Bocchi assigns the 'feminine' qualities of the *morbido* and the *dolce* and of *vaghezza*" (2000, 229–230). It is also interesting to know that Campbell translates *vago* as "lovely" (2000, 230). *Vago* also means the using of soft colours in oil painting – as Bocchi accentuates in his writings (ibid.). The same goes with Vasari.

Additionally it is good to know that Bocchi applies the term of *vago* also to grotesque-imagery – which is very much in line with Vasari's opinions about grotesque. In this way Bocchi connects *vago* to bizarre fantasies which are composed with *leggiadro artifizio* (1971, 189). Also Lomazzo sees *vaghezza* in the connection of the excessively artifice mode in painting (1584, 173–174).

With good reason it can be said that the 16th-century concept of *vaghezza* describes the best way the capricious and even fickle movement of *ancelle* and midwives in the Manneristic pictorial scenes of the childbirth in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, Italian 16th century criticism gives

a good picture how the concept of *vaghezza* was completely gender-specific. The concept was only used for a certain kind of movements – which men had certainly felt quite auto-communicative with all its outbound quality. Yet they were movements coined by men for the pictorial world of that time representing odd and unbound beauty in the pictorial scenes overloaded with inconstantly moving female figures representing a new idea: beauty *con copia.*

Richly ornamented movements still hold its Dionysian *basso ostinato* of the previous century – even though the gesture arsenal is represented as innocently capricious as if *ancelle* could not control their limbs or bodily movements and as if it could be determined according to a new and fuzzy vocabulary of gestures. It really seems that in the mid-sixteenth century a woman with *leggiadra* turns out to be passive in her role whereas a woman with *vaghezza* is active – mostly in practical narrative roles around the childbirth still representing her beauty.

According to David Summers "the identification of movement and ornament was not unique to the Renaissance" (1981, 90). Summers also stresses the importance of *furia* of the figures, especially in Michelangelo's and his follower's art. "*Furia* gives the greatest grace and loveliness that a figure may have: it seems to move itself. And to represent this movement no form is more suited than a flame of fire, which, as Aristotle and all the philosophers say, is the most active of the elements."(1981, 271; Lomazzo 1584, 22–24). The form of *figura serpentinata* was also appropriate to describe the attitudes of women, too – as we have seen in Pino's case.

We can securely state that the concept of *vaghezza* gives us a textual key for the mode of the striding female figure. It gives us a key to the fast moving nymphs around the representations of the birth scenes, as well. Finally it gives us a bit more understanding of the vivid and inconstant looking female figures painted by Salviati, Becerra (Pino), Prospero Fontana and many others in the mid-sixteenth century.

FIGURE 1.
Differences in representing female movements in the interior space – The Birth Scene

The end of the 15th century	Mid-sixteenth century (1548–1565)
Low proxemic intensity	High proxemic intensity
Slow action	Quick movements
Domestic characters	Anonymous characters – and anonymous characteristics
Small, intimate space	Large, anonymous space
Episodes, acts are discernable	Episodes, acts fuse (simultaneity)
Horizontal space	Deep space (From Sebastiano to Salviati)
Limited space	Unshaped space
The unity of action	Heterogeneity of action
Chorus figures in margins	Chorus figures take the command
Few assistant figures (*dignitá*)	Plenitude of assistant figures (*copia*)
Leggiadria, grazia: slow and controlled motion	*Vaghezza* – quickly moving *ancelle:* unbounded movements
Furia of the figure Metonymic clarity	Metonymic sliding
Hypotaxis	*Parataxis*
Homotopy	Heterotopy
Centre/margin – differentiation	Marginal figures in the centre
'Bewegtes Beiwerk'	Carnivalization of 'Bewegtes Beiwerk'
Miracle by means of slow motion	Miracle by means of repetitive action
Canephor on the *limen*	Canephor inside the *Thalamus* (or interior)
Anna's bed in the centre	Washing of infant Mary by midwives in the centre
Antique motifs in the margin	Antique motifs in the centre or in the foreground

Especially Salviati drawing *The Birth of the Virgin Mary* in Albertina is an evocative example to illustrate characteristics in the right semantic axis of the Figure 1: *Parataxis* prevails and (former) marginal female figures conquer the centre and take the aesthetic command – and fuse – in the foreground of the scene. Female figures are anonymous and at the same time there is a plenitude of action, and, finally, it is the multiplication of beauty through which an instant *vaghezza* takes over.

E. H. Gombrich is certainly right when he states: "The servant girl as an ornamental figure is less bound by the rules of decorum than is the company of sacred personages and thus she can perform a role similar to the soubrette in Opera" (1970, 312). Gombrich refers to the pictorial servant girls of the late quattrocento. However, in the mid-sixteenth century a situation is strikingly different: *ancelle* are in the main role with all their Dionysian characteristics and with their unintentional gestures in motion.

Servant girls change the centre of birth-scenes as ornamental in such a way that finally the centre is lost. In that way the boarder-line between the central episode and the marginal disappears. The servant girl enters in the foreground. This also means the end of domestication of antique maenad which Warburg was so fond of. For Warburg the female figure of Ghirlandaio's quattrocento-fresco was a sign of *Entdämonisierungsprozess,* (the process of dedemonisation) but for us the servant girls of 16th century stand for the victory of artificial style over the subject-matter, or: the victory of antiquity over the domestic Christian scenes, or the victory of difficult gestures over the gestures of decorum, or victory of the anonymous Dionysian principle over the domestic territory. The classical canephor as a servant girl in Mannerist art represents the stage in which Beauty conquers the sacred context. In the end there is the excess of inconstant beauty in the sacred place – and therefore the context turns out to be almost a profane one. It should be noted that this all happens at the eve of Italian Counter-Reformation.

The role of the Dionysian figure, the striding maenad, changes from the liminal figure of the late quattrocento frescoes to the central one – reserved to a sacred protagonist. While changing the figure transforms into an anonymous one. As a vivid figure the striding maenad has lost many of her former accurate characteristics. Although something inaccurate has replaced the former characteristics, she is certainly *vago,* vivid, complex in all her *delicatezza* and in that sense totally careless of the decorum and dignity or even *sprezzatura* (carelessness with care) which determined the character at the beginning of the 16th century. In a word: all her gestures belong to the *vago* category of *vaghezza.*

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Horváth Gyöngyvér

A STRUGGLE OR A GAME? AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET GUIDO RENI'S *ATALANTA AND HIPPOMENES*

Next to Caravaggio, there was another painter in the Italian art scene at the beginning of the seventeenth century, not less controversial in his character but a very opposite of him: Guido Reni. The 'Divine Guido' as he was named by his rapturous audience, was peaceable, shy and deeply religious, phobic and misogynist, but at the same time he was vain and boastful, a clever agent on the art market and a smooth operator. According to his contemporary biographer, Malvasia, Reni by himself hardly ever took part in the intricate games of love and desire, in "the elective affinities". Was he asexual, homosexual or cross-gendered, as Richard E. Spear suggests (Spear, 1997), we will never be able to decide. Nonetheless, one can be sure that Guido Reni did understand interpersonal relations – or at the very least, he was able to paint them.

In order to represent Guido Reni's responsiveness to the issues of gender, I will offer an interpretation of a masterpiece in his oeuvre, the *Atalanta and Hippomenes*. The analysis will approach the issue of gender from a narrative viewpoint and will discuss three different aspects of it: composition, the relation of Reni's painterly solution to the myth depicted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* and then its temporal structure. Finally, offer a few examples of the similar gender-related problem.

Fig. 1.

PICTURES OF DESIRE

Built up from the same elements – a man, a woman and the device of temptation, the apple – we can find in Guido Reni's oeuvre two different compositions with two alternative stories of desire, both from the second decade of the seventeenth century.

The subject of the first one *(Fig. 1)* is not puz zling at all: we can see a naked couple in happy ignorance of their bodies.[1] They are in front of a tree in a peaceful garden, where even the wild animals seem angry but not dangerous. The woman is offering the fruit of the tree to a man who takes it willingly. In an almost symmetrical composition, the tree is the axis of the painting giving the object of their relationship: the apple. Furthermore, if we are still hesitant, the serpent winding upon

[1] Guido Reni *The Temptation of Adam.* ~1620 oil on canvas, 277x196 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.

Fig. 2.

its trunk can strengthen our identification of the woman as Eve and the man as Adam from the Old Testament. Reni's depiction of the scene is based on the traditional compositional scheme, which has been used widely since the early Christian era.

Let us turn our attention to another painting, which consists of the very same elements: a man, a woman and some apples *(Fig. 2)*.[2] However, with a little sense of visuality, anyone could undoubtedly tell us that this painting does not depict the Adam–Eve story. As we can see, our second example is also a narrative painting: therefore, we should be able to recognize the actors, the conflict and the solution. The actors' glances, gestures and their movements provide the system of their relationship and their attitudes. Compared to the Adam-Eve painting the first thing, which comes to our mind, is the lack of symmetry, immobility and co-ordinated relationship. Instead, the figures are in motion, in a stiff phase of running. In addition, they are in contrast: the figure of the man shows an open form, painted with straight lines emerging from his head and passing towards his limbs, therefore, translating the visual signs into the verbal, he is the one who plays the active, dominant and masculine role in the story. The woman's figure has a curved form, she is defined by semicircular lines, starting from her left foot following her trunk, suggesting that she is answering the action of the man and thus she plays the re-active, feminine role. Their gestures refer to each other indirectly: the man's motion is directed to the apple, which is on the ground while the woman is bending down to catch it, therefore it is the man who must have thrown the apple. The woman is subordinated to the fruit, which is – in accordance to the first painting – the device of temptation and seduction. They are moving towards the side of the painting, away from the centre and the viewer, against each other, – so it may be a kind of competitive relation.

Reni, depicting the ancient fable of Atalanta and Hippomenes, abandoned the tradition established by his ancestors, and engaged a challenging and strongly gendered pictorial solution. Before we proceed, let me betray a little secret in advance: the woman will lose the race, however, not for being slow, but because she wants to be defeated.

A PATTERN OF A BEHAVIOUR?

The painting of Atalanta and Hippomenes, examined in this essay is part of the collection of Prado, Madrid. Another probably autographic replica with the same subject exists at the Museo di Capodimonte, in Naples *(Fig.3)*. Both of them are attributed to Guido Reni on stylistic grounds, as neither of them are signed or dated and there are no facts known to us about the circumstances of the ordering.[3]

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[2] Guido Reni, *Atalanta and Hippomenes.* ~1618–19, oil on canvas, 206x297 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid and 191x264 cm, Museo di Capodimonte, Napoli.

[3] The Madrid-painting was first mentioned in the inventory of the Spanish Royal collection in 1666 as 'autograph by Guido', then by Cosimo Medici in the diary of his trip in 1668–69. In 1881 the painting was sent to Granada as replica, and it was taken back to the Prado Museum in 1963. A newly made restauration in 1965 resulted in the re-discovering of the painting.

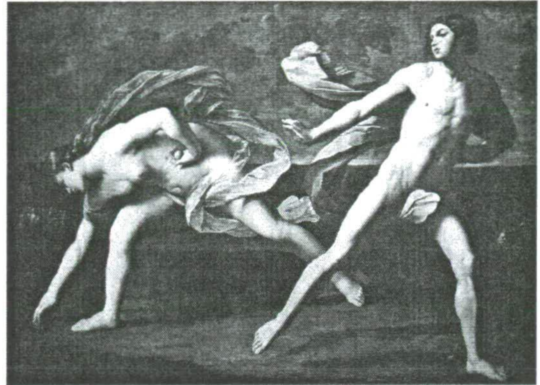


Fig. 3.

Concerning our painting of discussion, apart from the historical approach offered by Stephen D. Pepper from 1983, there is only one relevant approach of interpretation. Marc Fumaroli in 1987 gives an iconographic interpretation taking Hippomenes' gesture of his right hand as a gesture of rejection. Collecting and examining various interpretations of the story from sixteenth and seventeenth century emblem books, Fumaroli claims that the painting corresponds to Christian interpretations in the tradition of the *Ovide moralisé,* whereby the three apples signify lustfulness, refused by the male character, thus embodying the Christian soul who resists the temptation of a guilty love, but taken up by the female character who thus recalling the earthly desire and personifying Eve. In this way, the fable is the prefiguration of the Fall, concluding that the painting summarizes an orthodox Christian meditation on the subject.

Based upon Reni's behaviour described in biographical sources[4], Richard E. Spear interprets Reni's oeuvre from gendered viewpoint. Accepting Fumaroli's suggestion on Hippomenes' gesture, he writes: "Something of Reni's attitude to women can perhaps be seen in his painting Atalanta and Hippomenes in which Hippomenes' peculiar gesture towards Atalanta seems to be one of rejection, as if he were repulsed by the full-bodied female nude."(Spear, 1996, 202). However, there are several examples of analogous gestures, pro and contra.

Although I accept Fumaroli's results in his iconographic interpretation of the Ovid's fable, I cannot agree with the prerequisite he took particularly in the case of Reni's painting (namely, taking Hippomenes' gesture as a disdain and renouncement from the earthly desire and female temptation), and consequently, I cannot agree with his conclusion. In my opinion, as the logic of the picture reveals, this peculiar movement of Hippomenes' hand is simply the gesture of throwing the apple, but it guides us to a problem of Reni's visual narration. With this gesture, Reni accomplishes a special temporal structure, which at the same time expresses the gendered, hierarchic relation of the two actors and harmonizes with their position represented in the Ovid's description.

An early mention of the subject of the painting appears in the Gonzaga Archive in Mantua in the 17th century as a painting by Guido, and the painting remained there until the end of 17th century. The scholars usually refer here to the Napoli version, which in the 18th century was part of the Pertusati Collection, Milan, and was transferred to the Capperoni collection, Rome, and acquired by the Naples Gallery in 1802. Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia's only mention of the subject is in his catalogue of engravings made after Reni's painting, included him in his lives of Bolognese artists. It is not known which painting he refers to.

Despite the fact that we know Guido himself made replicas of his own paintings, some experts consider the Madrid version to be the authentic (and thus the earlier) and the Napoli version as a copy. The paintings have no difference in composition, only in colour and tone.

The dating of the two paintings is based upon stylistic grounds, since it reveals Reni's mature style of his Bolognese period following his resettling in that city after having left Rome. He completed some of his most powerful canvases in this period: *Samson* (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), and the series of the *Feats of Hercules* painted between 1617–21 for the Duke of Mantua (now in Paris, Louvre). According to Pepper (Pepper, 1984, 236) the paintings of our present discussion can be related to these series, therefore can be dated on the second decade of the 17th century; the most accepted date is 1618–19.

[4] Spear refers to Malvasia, cf. Spear 1997, 51–59.

OVID VERSUS RENI – TEXT VERSUS IMAGE

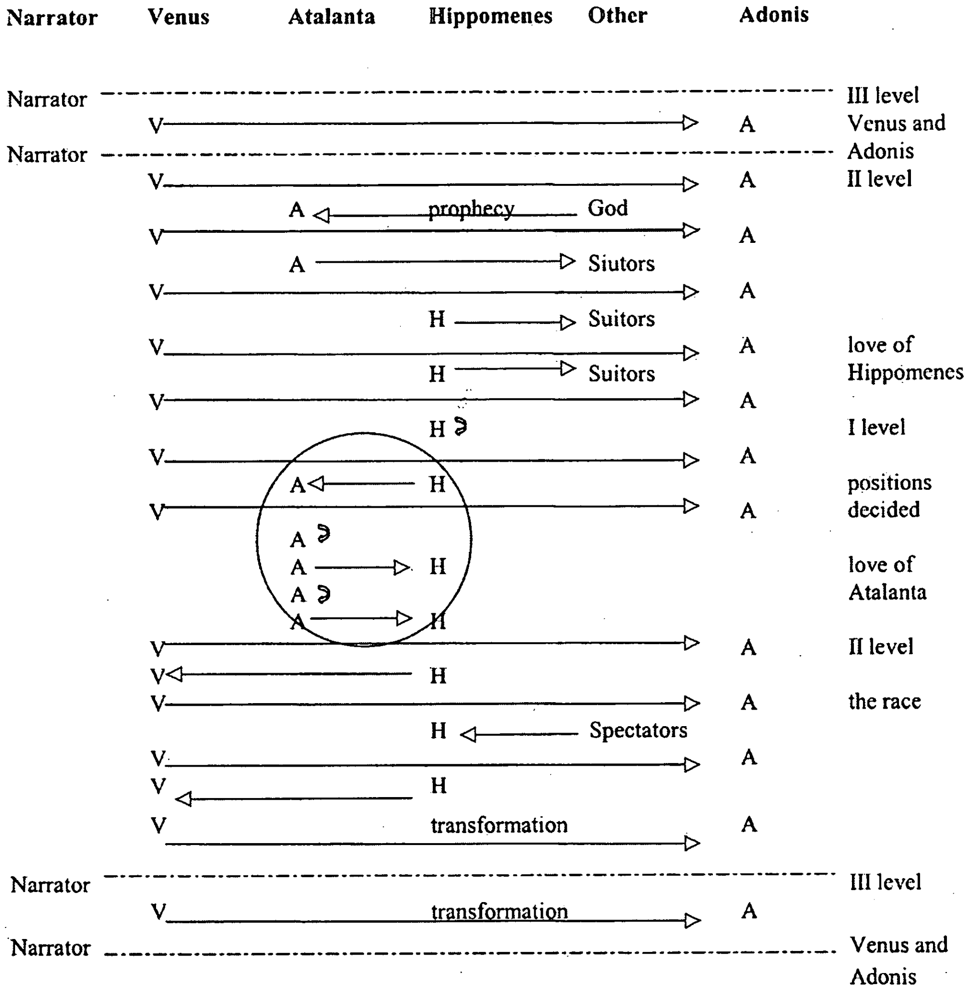
An investigation of the painting must include, like all the examinations of the story, the textual accounts of the circumstances of the race. The subject of the painting is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It fits into the sorrowful tales of the Tenth Book (X. 519–739), which is about love, won and lost. The legend is embedded in the story of Venus who accidentally falls in love with Adonis. She tells him this fable as a warning and as a moral teaching in order that her love would not be irresponsibly bold, and would keep himself away from beasts which nature had well-armed. In the end, however she still fails and loses her lover.

According to the ancient sources, Atalanta was a beautiful maiden, a skilled huntress and an excellent runner. She received an ill prophecy about her marriage. Hence, she challenged her suitors to be swifter than her if they wish to win her hand; the penalty for the loser was death. She surpassed them until Hippomenes, a descendant of gods, arrived. Before the race, he invoked the Goddess of Love for help. Venus listened to his pleas and gave him three golden apples form the garden of Tamasus in Cyprus. During the race he put the goddess's 'device' into practice throwing them one by one. With Atalanta stopping to pick them up and consequently losing valuable time, her rival took spatial advantage, reaching the finish-line first and winning the race. Guido Reni chose the central episode of the competition as a kind of turning point, nevertheless the story does not end here, since Hippomenes forgot to thank or make an offering to Venus who raised their sexual desire in revenge. The couple's lust defiled a sacred place, Cybele's temple. As a punishment, they were turned into lions and, furthermore, Cybele made them carry her carriage. Still, Venus's warning to Adonis was in vein, a wild boar stretched him to death with his tusks. Venus in her deep sorrow changed him into a flower.

I am examining the narrative structure of Ovid's text first. In the model *(Fig. 4)* arrows mark the direction of the dialogue, whereas curved arrows show the person talking to oneself. The text is successive, revealing changes in the standpoint, chronological with a double frame, built up by the alternation of dialogues and narration. The story takes place on three levels, its structure is seen constructed step by step: the narrator of the whole book begins with the story of Venus and Adonis on the external level, which is the frame of the tale of Atalanta and Hippomenes' tale. Then we come to the dialogue between Venus and Adonis, which forms the next section of the text. Here, on the middle, second level Venus takes the role of the narrator and speaks to Adonis who remains silent throughout the whole story. Finally, we reach the internal level, the most embedded and direct part of the story, where Ovid allows the actors, Atalanta and Hippomenes to speak to each other with their own words in a form of a dialogue. After this culmination the narration slowly recedes to the indirect second and then third level. I marked this central place with a circle to signal the emphasis of the whole text. This is where the positions of the race are decided. In this part, Hippomenes changes his status: after addressing the suitors, he catches sight of Atalanta, falls in love and decides to participate in the race. He encourages himself and asks the help of the Goddess. His next speech is directed to Atalanta, in the form of an introduction. At this point, she also realizes her emotions and hesitates whether to conquer or to be conquered, then expresses her own desire. What follows this event is the consequence of Atalanta having confessed her love.

During the race, two non-equal competitors are to measure their speed and strength. There is a lot at stake: the life of Hippomenes. None of them are indifferent to the outcome of the race, unlikely to a normal competition, here, both of them would like to reach the same aim, the victory of Hippomenes. The positions and the stakes are different but the goal is shared. Not even with the help of Venus can Hippomenes be sure how Atalanta will react to the throwing of the divine apples. The race for him is a struggle for survival and the victory is a question of

Ovid, Metamorphoses, X. 519-739



[Narrator [Venus-Adonis [Atalanta-Hippomenes] Venus-Adonis] Narrator]
III level II level I level II level III level

Fig. 4.

life and death. When Atalanta decides to pick the golden apples up, she not only accepts the trick and the defeat, but surrenders to the love of Hippomenes. From that moment onwards she

is aware of the outcome of the race, which from her point of view becomes a game without stakes, a game to be carried through. She fights not against but for Hippomenes. Her game proceeds in accordance with an unspoken agreement, her will is to obtain the beloved man through an apparent defeat, which at the same time is a victory for her as well. In this fable, the male is the one who acts and the female is the one who knows. Atalanta's tacit, yet active acceptance of the divine intervention fulfils Ovid's quote: "conquer [e.g. in love] *and* to be conquered [e.g. in the race]" (Ovid, 1951, 107) and makes this story a fable of a desired defeat.

In regard to the narrative images, spectatorship is understood as the act of an afresh recognition in that the painting reminds the viewer of a familiar (sometimes known only as a fragmented) story rather than telling a new tale. Anyhow, an image cannot tell a story in its continuity, all it can do is to represent different, but isolated moments. The first problem the artist has to face is to choose the part of the story, which may stand for the whole. Usually this is the Aristotelian turning point. In our case instead of visualizing the love and desire, (which is the main subject of this tale) painters obviously depict the race, generally its conclusion, with no reference to the frame story and to the consequences of the forbidden love. Thus, the indirect tale becomes a direct one, and the viewer is identified with the position of Venus, in that he or she possesses the entire narrative.

The usual depictions of Ovid's fable concentrate on the race in progress: the story is represented in this manner in the woodcuts of the sixteenth century.[5] These examples show the race as a social event in a landscape scene: a pleasant view rich in hills and trees encircle the ground marked out for the running-race. The competitors are shown in one of the motions associated with running, and they are usually accompanied by large number of spectators who encourage them with lively gestures. The same depiction can be seen in the fresco of the Palazzo del Té in Mantua designed by Giulio Romano (*The Hare,* medallion, Sala dei Venti), and this compositional scheme re-appears after Reni also in the sketch of Rubens (Paris, Collection Heugel), and in the oil painting based upon his composition but executed by J. P. Gowy (Madrid, Prado). However, Reni turns away from this traditional composition and puts the characters and their personal relation in 'premier plan'.

Guido here accomplishes two magnificent nudes in life-size in their plasticity, imparts to their bodies a great sense of motion and swiftness as well as surrounds them with some flying draperies. The figures stand against the dark background, filling the whole canvas. However our image seems bare as Reni ignores all the elements, which might help him to express or suggest the story. The background is featureless, the setting is limited to a few patches of grass, a few pebbles, to some swirling dark clouds. The miniature spectators can hardly be seen, and the main characters are isolated and put into light very close to the plane of the picture. The enamel-like surfaces of their bodies are almost shining. Atalanta's cold bluish draperies adjusted to her pale white body was painted with Reni's light, silvery palette, the darker body of Hippomenes was accomplished with warm colours which also reappear in his purple draperies; it is not accidental at all that his figure reminds us of the Belvedere Apollo (Cocke, 1984, 39). Reni's interest in opposing qualities of gender can be traced here once again.[6] The keywords, which would help us to describe the forms are again symmetry and asymmetry. We have already seen the open and closed forms of the figures. They are symmetrical in their position: the weight of their bodies is on one leg and their other legs just slightly touch the ground, showing a very unsteady posi-

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[5] See pictures no. 4–6, Fumaroli, 1987.

[6] "Reni's lifelong interest in expressing pairs of opposite forces was aided in part by Caravaggio's mastery of the same technique, which manipulated the rhetorical procedure of the Carracci in order to raise the emotions of the spectator." (Landrus 1995, 23).

tion and suggesting movement. The upper parts of their bodies are almost the rotated version of each other, but the four legs show the asymmetry of the mirror-image. The parallel lines of Atalanta's right hand and Hippomenes' right leg or the perpendicular lines of the two adjoining legs show the diagonal forms, which construct the composition of the painting. The motion which puts them very close to the picture plane, is directed from the inside left to the front on the right side. As a consequence of Reni's choice of showing an empty, narrow stage focusing exclusively on a still image of motion forces me to concentrate on the movement as one of the basic element in this analysis.

NARRATION OVER TIME

The representation of any kind of story, action or motion, which has a temporal extension inevitably raises the problem: how to depict through the restricted possibilities of an image a change, which happens in time. In our case, it is the impossibility of showing an uninterrupted motion of the race. In addition, any illustration of a story has to deal with the problem of the text, which can be arranged in a chronological order, so that the image itself confronts the linearity of the passing time. First, I am to prove that this particular painting has a special narrative structure, namely it aims to depict not only a single moment but covers a period of time. In my understanding, this is the reason why it shows two very close moments of the race. Time could be traced here by the help of the character's movements. Investigating the 'screenplay' of the short interval of the race, I will dissolve the continuous action into a series of time points, in a way that the temporal units should coincide with the narrative units. The most 'advantageous' position from where this can be done is that of the apple.

The apple is first in the hand of Hippomenes, who throws it at a certain moment and then it is in the air for a while until it reaches the ground and possibly rolls on. Hippomenes is depicted in the moment of throwing the fruit, his head is slightly turning back, whereas his right hand is stretched out. In this moment the apple ought to be drifting in the air. At the very same time, Atalanta may or may not recognize what is happening, but this is the earliest moment for her to realize the movement of Hippomenes. After that she hesitates for a while whether to accept the apple or not, that is, whether to go for the trick – the gesture of accepting the fruit. In the moment of throwing, it is impossible for the apple to be on the ground, and it is likewise not possible for Atalanta to reach out for it, because she still does not know where the apple will touch the ground. Furthermore, Atalanta wants to be conquered and thus may decide to delay her move; whereas Venus also interacts by making the apple heavier. Meanwhile Hippomenes must continue with the speedy run without any delay, because it is in this short interval of time when he can catch up and gain the advantage that enables him to win. It is also in this short interval when their directions of movement must be opposite. Atalanta and Hippomenes hold different temporal positions in the picture, that is, they are seen not in simultaneous but in successive seconds, and therefore the overall view of the situation, which Reni demonstrates exists adequately neither in the text, nor in the reality of objective time.[7] The direction of time is also the direction of the action and the hierarchy of the characters. The narrative related to the image

[7] In the history of research some authors (Fumaroli, Kruckmann) have already mentioned this characteristic of the painting without problematizing it. On the complementary handling of time see Sturgis 2000, 24–27.

should be read in opposite direction to the usual direction of reading in Western culture[8]: it begins on the right side of the painting, where Hippomenes leads us to the scene, followed by the duration when the apple is flying, which is not depicted in the painting as if it did not carry useful information. Last, we can see Atalanta on the left bending to pick it up. This gap of time should be filled in by the viewer.

Reni represents here different moments in time within a single image, namely two close consecutive elements of the story, which theoretically result in a paradox situation. However, these adjoining moments are merged by the viewer unconsciously so they do not disturb our sense for reality. The priority of the narration prevails over the consistent employment of time. Special condensing is required here, not only because the logic of the event has priority over that of the linear time, but because we need to recognize the tale. The focus of the events are all in the picture, however these moments do not coincide in the case of the two actors. Time duplicated creates the double *punctum temporis*. In this situation, it cannot be decided whose standpoint is dominant in the story and whether the earlier moment is pointing to the later or vice versa.[9] This duality could be a quite democratic way of handling the actors: there are two people living in their own time, two parallel lines of action run side by side. Under the aegis of theatricality the characters act according to their main role in the story. Abandoning the continuity of time Reni shows an episode of action, which logically creates its necessary effect, the pictorial equivalent of Aristotelian dramatic 'plot-result' in art.[10] This turning point is also expressed by the motion of the two characters: their movements reveal them in a final position from which point the motion turns to the opposite direction.

THE GENDERED NARRATIVE OF THE SUBJECTIVE TIME

Such a temporal structure is a special but not a unique form of expression in painting. When it presents a relation of two (group of) actors – usually it is a male-female conflict – in many cases it involves a gendered relation of the couples.

A similar temporal solution, that is the simultaneously demonstrated successive moments can be found – though in less sophisticated way than in Reni's painting – in Uccello's *Saint George and the Dragon* (London, National Gallery) that depicts a fragment of the Golden Legend. The narrative structure, just as the time, flows from the right to the left: first the saint, the active male character is shown in the struggle stabbing the dragon in the earlier phase of the fable, while the princess, an elegant lady keeping the dragon on the lead, is playing the passive, female role presenting the later moment, the result of the struggle. At first sight, the painting supports a hard but charming contradiction because we know that the bounded dragons are harmless. On the other hand here again "clearly, two consecutive incidents from the story of The Golden Legend are illustrated in the picture." (Davies 1959, 309)

The same treatment of time but reversed positions in personal relations can be followed in Titian's *Death of Actaeon* (London, National Gallery) as an example from the sixteenth century. The painter's magnificent technical expertise in his late period became a tool for expressing the dramatically condensed scene of a mythological subject told by Ovid. The young hunter, Actaeon accidentally catches sight of the naked, bathing Diana. Here in the picture, as a venge-

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[8] The compositional scheme in western european paiting usually follows the direction from right to left here this direction is reversed. Cf. Krüger 1998, 106.

[9] Cf. Goodman on flashbacks and foreflashes (Goodman 1981).

[10] Cf. Spear 1996, 199.

ance of the Goddess, he is transformed into a deer and at the same time is attacked and ripped apart by the pack of dogs. These phases are consecutive in the text, but they are represented simultaneously in order to depict two aspects of the fable, the transformation and the death of the young hero, the victim of the abrupt anger of Diana.

The viewer's skill for visual reading in the case of Jacques Louis David's *Oath of Horatii* (Paris, Louvre) is activated similarly to that of Reni's *Atalanta and Hippomenes*. The direction of the narrative is tending here from the front left to the right back side of the painting. The highly praised 'unity of time' in David's painting – which was appreciated even by his contemporaries (Puttfarken 1981, 292) – is gained by the duplicated moments. These moments are shared by the relentlessly enthusiastic men willing to struggle as the 'pre'-phase of the fable, and by the group of women desperately mourning on the loss caused by the cruel attitude of men in the 'post'-phase of the fable. The cause – as a primarily and active substance –, represented by the group of male painted by clear, straight lines, is contrasted with the result of their action shown in the form of the crumbled and weak group of female, drawn by indefinite, curved lines. In this story, the feminine role unambiguously involves the later, the re-active, thus subsidiary character, depicted as a helplessly suffering participation without the possibility of making decisions. Indeed, in this feminine role approved by Classicism one could not trace that shivering and exciting but secret game of desire that Atalanta pursue in Ovid's fable. However, the twofold properties, the active–passive, the former–later and the straight-line–curved-line dichotomies correspond with Reni's solution in his *Atalanta and Hippomenes*.

The above mentioned examples, regardless of style and historical period they belong to, reveal the same manoeuvres: on the one hand, the usage of temporal tricks to suggest the progression of the narrative, on the other hand, they demonstrate the hierarchic, gendered relations among the male and female participants. The main advantages of our painting, the *Atalanta and Hippomenes* could be that while it shows a profound expression and the complexities of sexual desire, it also reveals Reni's pictorial solutions that are in accordance to his approach to the Ovid's text.

UNSATIABLE WORDS

The *Atalanta and Hippomenes* has never become a famous, widely admired cultural icon. The disinterest among scholars and spectators may have been caused by its chilly classicism, by the difficulty to attract its viewers. In spite of their nudity, the figures in the painting lack eroticism, which is especially conspicuous when one compares it to the paintings of Reni's contemporary, Caravaggio. Furthermore, the figures of Atalanta and Hippomenes do not communicate with the viewer: they act their role on the stage, they are aware of being watched, but they are isolated from the outer world and closed in their own. Thus, the viewer is left alone with the cool and smooth surface and the internal is almost unapproachable. However, the viewer may forgive: the nature of love operates in this way. Love, experienced by others, is always concerns exclusively the two persons involved, and the viewer could be nothing else than an outsider spectator. Reni strengthens this by their movements, which simply bypass the viewer.

After seeing several of Reni's artworks, better or worse, I am still convinced that this painting is unique and unsettling in his oeuvre, and hardly fits into his art. All interpretations, involving mine, seem to be unsatisfactory in that it cannot unravel the secret enigma of the painting, which I believe is more than a fulfilled love story with certain complications.

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Lubomír Konečný

"A BEARD SUITS A MAN": BEARDED LADIES IN THE LATE RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE ART

It has been stated more than once that "in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries depictions of human oddity [...] appeared regularly in the work of both minor and major artists".[1] Among these oddities, there is a group consisting of representations of bearded ladies – that is to say, beings who manifest one of the secondary traits of the opposite sex. From the standpoint of medicine, what was at issue is known today as hirsutism or the growth of male facial hair in women – a phenomenon familiar from a whole number of period records, both written and visual.[2] For this reason I shall show, to begin with, a few of the most significant representations of bearded ladies in the art of the Late Renaissance and Baroque periods. Next I shall try to adumbrate how these representations could have been understood by those who commissioned them, and how contemporary viewers might have "read" them, to the extent that period sources allow.[3]

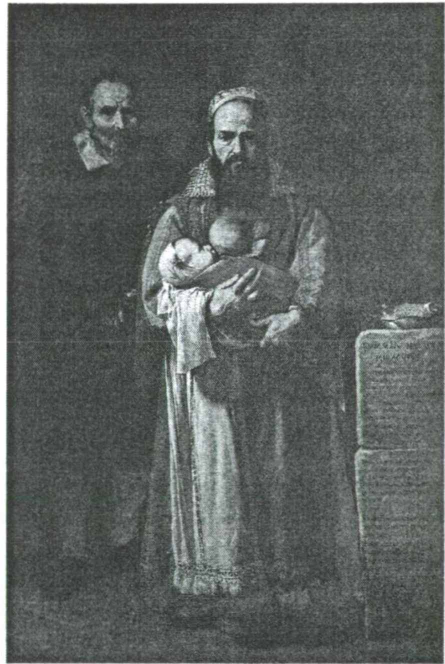

Fig. 1. Jusepe de Ribera, Magdalena Ventura with Her Child and Husband (1631). Toledo, Palacio Lerma, Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli. From Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1992, 94, fig. 25.

There is no doubt that the overlife-size painting of Magdalena Ventura with her child and husband, painted in 1631 by Jusepe de Ribera, a Spanish artist active in Naples, is the most famous of such representations *(Fig. 1)*.[4] It is more than probable that this rather shocking picture, commissioned by Don Fernando Afán de Ribera y Enríquez, the third duke of Alcalá and Neapolitan viceroy from 1629 to 1631, owes its existence first and foremost to the interest in misfits, expressed by the social elites. In this case, we even know that the painting was hung in a palace housing a collection of natural curiosities. An inscription

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[1] Quoted from the front flap of Barry Wind's 1998 book which represents the most recent and best informed survey of representations of human deformities in Baroque art, and provides an ample bibliography of writings on the subject.

[2] Corfier 1935; Ravin and Hodge 1969; Scholz 1975: Nowakowski and Scholz 1977; Zapperi 1995.

[3] In this paper, I will not take up the iconography of St. Wilgefortis or Kümmernis, a Portuguese princess who did not want to marry a pagan bridegroom, and, for this reason, her father had her crucified and God lent her the appearance of a bearded man. See Weckwerth 1974 (with more bibliography).

[4] On this painting, see Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, 100, cat. no. 49; Felton and Jordan 1982, 128–31, cat. no. 11; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1992, 93–5, cat. no. 25; Wind 1998, 55–8; Spinosa 2003, 281, cat. no. A 101.

chiseled into a stele on the right tells that thanks to her beard Magdalena Ventura was considered "EN MAGNV[M] NATVRAE MIRACVLVM" [A Great Wonder of Nature], and briefly recapitulates her life story:

> Magdalena Ventura, from the town of Accomoli in central Italy, or in the vulgar tongue, Abruzzi, in the kingdom of Naples, aged 52 years, the unusual thing about her being that when she was 37 she started to become hairy and grew a beard so long and thick that it seemed more like that of a bearded gentleman than that of a woman who had borne three sons by her husband, Felici de Amici, whom you see here. Jusepe de Ribera, a Spanish gentleman of the Order of the Cross of Christ, and another Apelles in his times, painted this scene marvellously from life on the orders of Ferdinand II, Third Duke of Alcalá, Viceroy of Naples, on the 16th February 1631 (Wind 1998, 56).[5]

Fig. 2. Dominik Custos, Helene Antonia (ca. 1600). From Scholz 1975, 28, fig. 1.

Due to its naturalistic style, Ribera's painting convincingly portrays all of his model's sexual attributes. On the one hand, we have a lush black beard and coarse facial skin; on the other, one fully rounded breast. Magdalena's female traits are further emphasized through the bobbin and the spindle on her left, traditionally associated with female industry and domestic works. All evidence indicates, however, that the main reason behind the commissioning of this exceptional painting was the Duke of Alcalá's wish to own a depiction of the celebrated "wonder", which he could then include in his collection of curiosities.[6]

We will not be too far from the truth if we assume similar motivations behind other Late Renaissance and Baroque depictions of bearded ladies. One of the oldest among them, and, at the same time, one that acquired much fame, is a portrait of a Helene Antonia, engraved by Dominik Custos sometime around 1600 *(Fig. 2)*.[7] Born in Liège, she lived at the court of the Archduchess Mary in Graz from the age of eighteen onwards. Years later, the English country gentleman John Evelyn remembered in his diary of 15 September 1657:

> The hairy woman, twenty years old, whom I had before seen when a child. She was born at Augsburg, in Germany. Her very eyebrows were combed upwards and all her forehead as thick and even as grows on any woman's head; a very long lock of hair out of each ear neatly dressed. She also had a most prolix beard and mustachios, with long locks growing on the middle of the nose, like an Iceland dog exactly the colour of a bright brown, fine as well-dressed flax. She was now married and told me that she had one child and it was not hairy nor were any of her relations. She was very well-shaped and plaid well on the harpsichord (Wind 1998, 57).

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[5] For a careful analysis of this inscription, see Clifton 1995; and for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage of the phrase "from life" Swan 1995.

[6] For the intrinsically related concepts of wonder and amazement, which played important role in the early histories of aesthetics, science and collecting, see Greenblatt 1991, 19–23; Kenseth 1991; Onians 1994, Daston and Park 1998, Fischer 1998, Campbell 1999, Daston 2001, 13–7; Stafford 2001, 6 and passim.

[7] See Scholz 1975, 28, fig. 1. This lady's fame is attested by the fact that, some twenty years later, in 1622, she was depicted by an unknown Austrian painter in a rather mediocre painting now in the chateau of Velké Losiny in Moravia see Mžyková 1998, 25.

Evelyn's careful description of the girl evinces not only an almost scientific inquisitiveness, but also a certain "non-scientific" empathy and wonder. According to Barry Wind, the hairy girl from Augsburg belonged "to the reversible world [mundus inversus], where feminine charm and beauty – pleasing shape, musical talent – and deformity exist in uneasy antithesis." This particular case, however, was one of hypertrichosis rather than hirsutism – the former term refering to an abnormal phenomenon in which the entire human body, whether male or female, is covered with an almost animal-like fur.[8] From a medical point of view, the case involving the unnamed girl from Augsburg is identical to that of Petrus Gonsalus (Pedro Gonzales) and his descendants. Gonsalus was born 1540 in Tenerife, in the Canary Islands, covered with hair. He was brought up in the court of the French king Henry II; upon the death of the king, he moved to the Netherlands and then eventually to the court of the Farnese dukes in Parma. In the Netherlands, Gonsalus married a beautiful young girl with whom he later had four children, all of them covered with hair. He and his family are known to us from a series of depictions whose origins and relationships to one another are to this date unclear. The most famous among them, found on the first folio of the "Bestiary" of the Emperor Rudolf II, seems to have been painted by the court painter Dirck de Quade van Ravensteyn *(Fig. 3)*.[9] On the left, we see the father of the family and on the right, his wife. Between them, the painter represented their two daughters. Joris Hoefnagel, another painter at Rudolf's court in Prague, described Gonsalus as "a marvellous work of nature", and portrayed in several miniatures various members of his family.[10]

Fig.3. Dirck de Quade van Ravesteyn (attr. to), Petrus Gonsalus with his Family. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Min. 129, fol. 1 r. From Haupt et al. 1990, pl. 1.

Fig.4. Juan Sánchez Cotán, Brígida del Río [La barbuda de Peñaranda] (1590). Madrid, Museo del Prado. From Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1972, fig. 69.

Far more eloquent is a painting by the Spanish artist Juan Sánchez Cotán, at the Prado in Madrid *(Fig. 4)*.[11] This singular work shows a wondrous being which seems at first glance to be a bearded man dressed in a woman's clothing. The figure's real identity, however, is revealed to us in the upper left-hand corner of the canvas: "BRIGIDA DEL RIO DE / PEÑA ARA[N]DA DE E / DAD DE L AÑOS / MDXC". According to the inscription, the

[8] Zanca 1983; Baumeister, Egger, Schildhauer, and Stengel-Rutkowski 1993.

[9] For the fascinating story of Petrus Gonsalus, as well as for all documents, both iconographic and literary, pertaining to his family, see Manfred Staudinger's extensive entry in: Haupt et al. 1990, 92–7; also Hendrix 1995, 375–9; Daston and Park 1998, 194; Hertel 1998 (with further literature); Zapperi 2004.

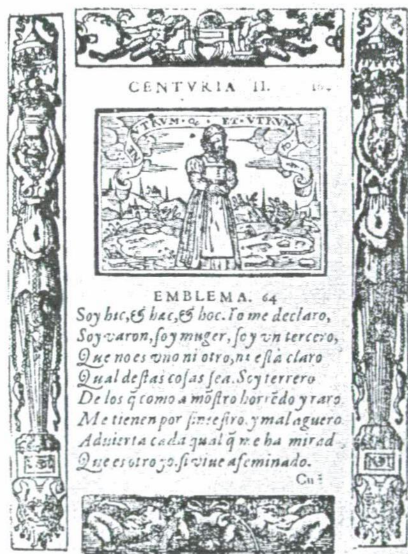
[10] Haupt et al. 1990, 95–6.

[11] Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1972, 62 and 92–3, cat. no. 172; Mena Marqués 1986, 68, cat. no. 17. Also see note 12 bellow.

painting dates from 1590, and depicts a noteworthy phenomenon – the fifty-year-old Brígida del Río, born in Peñaranda. Her fame was based on the fact that her face was overgrown with a conspicuous beard, despite her being of the female gender. It goes without saying that "curiosities" of her sort did not have easy lives: Brígida del Río travelled around Spain, cashing in on her physiological "otherness" in order to make her everyday life easier. She made her grand tour in the early 1580s and it was doubtless at this time that a number of her portraits were executed. Sánchez Cotán's painting documents her stay at the royal court in Madrid in 1590. In 1603, this singular canvas is recorded among the artist's property inventoried upon his entry into the Carthusian monastery at Granada in 1603.

Further evidence regarding the celebrated bearded Brígida del Río (and Sánchez Cotán's painting as well) is to be found in quite an unexpected place – a book entitled *Emblemas morales,* published in 1610 by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco. One of its emblems *(Fig. 5)* consists of (1) the phrase "NEVTRVMQ[VE] ET VTRVMQ[VE]" [Neither one nor the other], (2) an image conspicuously reminiscent of Sánchez Cotán's, and (3) the following epigram:

> Soy hic, & haec, & hoc. Yo me declaro,
> Soy varón, soy muger, soy un tercero,
> Que no es uno ni otro, ni está claro
> Quál destas cosas sea. Soy terrero
> De los que como a monsto horrendo y raro.
> Me tienen por siniestro, y mal aguero,
> Advierta cada qual que me ha mirado,
> Que es otro yo, si vive afeminado. (Covarrubias 1610, II, no. 64)


CENTVRIA II.

EMBLEMA. 64

Soy hic, & hac, & hoc. Yo me declaro,
Soy varon, soy muger, soy vn tercero,
Que no es vno ni otro, ni està claro
Qual destas cosas sea. Soy terrero
De los q̃ como a mõstro horrẽdo y raro
Me tienen por siniestro, y mal aguero.
Aduierta cada qual q̃ me ha mirad
Que es otro yo, si viue afeminado.

Fig. 5. Sebastian de Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales,* Madrid, 1610, II, no. 64: "Neutrumque et utrumque".

[I am he, she, it. I proclaim that I am a man, I am a woman, I am a third person – he who is neither he nor she, about whom it is unclear which of the two he is. I am the terror of those who look at me from the left, as if I were a horrible and rare monster and an ill omen. Everyone who has looked at me from the right is my other "I", even though he lives like a woman].[12]

Although there are small differences between the figure appearing in the book and the bearded lady in the painting (mainly in the position of the hands and in details of the clothing), their relationship to each other is evident. In addition, Covarrubias himself confirms this in a comment in his book, which ends with the following words: "This figure is a portrait of the bearded lady of Peñaranda." [La figura es el retrato de la barbuda de Peñaranda.]

Cotán's painting at the Prado closely matches the epigram cited above, which ends with a warning for men not to behave effeminately – although, of course, the depiction is not of a man in a woman's

[12] The emblem is easily available in Henkel and Schöne 1967, 977; and Bernat Vistarini and Cull 1999, 550, no. 1120. Its relationship to the painting by Sánchez Cotán was pointed out by Rodriguez 1990, 119–20 and 129–30, note 27; Rodríguez de Flor and Sanz Hermiga 1993; and Konečný 1994, from where most of what follows is derived.

clothing, but rather of a bearded lady. Nevertheless, the relationship between the painting and Covarrubias' motto is more complex than that, for the words "neutrumque et utrumque" are used by Ovid in the fourth book of his *Metamorphoses* (4. 379) to characterize Hermaphrodite or Androgyne, the son of Hermes (Mercury) and Aphrodite (Venus) – a mythological being who was both man and woman (or neither man nor woman): in short, "neither and both".[13] A comment made by the author himself provides evidence that Covarrubias was in fact inspired by the character of Androgyne:

> Cuentan las fábulas q[ue] Hermafródito, hijo de Mercurio y de Venus, como lo insinúa su nombre, querié[n]dose lavar en una fuente, cuya Deesa era una ninfa dicha Salmacis, la qual, enamorada dela hermosura del moço, se arrojó en el agua y se abraço con él tan apretademente q[eu] no se pudo desasir della, y pidiendo a los Dioses c[on]servassen aquella laçada de los dos, lo alcançó dellos y se hizieron un enxerto. Esta fábula tiene mucho de historia natural y moral, porque entre otras cosas prodigiosas de naturaleza notamos ésta, q[ue] suele nacer una criatura con ambos sexos, a la qual llamamos Andrógyno, q[ue] vale tanto como varón y muger. Desta materia tenemos dicho alguna cosa en el tesoro de la lengua Castellana, y sacando de aquí dotrina moral con Cicerón, li. 3 de sus Tusculanas: Non est turpius, aut nequius efoeminato viro. Que es la sentencia con q[ue] cessamos nuestra octava. El mote está tomado de Ovidio lib. 4 Metamorphoseos. Neutrumque, & vtrumque. La figura es el retrato de la barbuda de Peñaranda. (Covarrubias 1610, II, xxx)

> [Fables recount that Hermaphrodite, son of Mercury and Venus, as his name indicates, wanted to bathe in the fountain of the nymph of Salmacis, who became enamoured of him, dove into the water and held him so firmly that he could not free himself. She then entreated the gods that she might be forever united with him in the embrace and got her wish. The result was the formation of a being half man, half woman. There is much of natural and moral history in this fable, as amongst the miraculous products of nature we can find creatures that are both male and female whom we call Androgynes and who live like men and women at once. We can find words to this effect in one of Cicero's moral teachings in the third book of his Tusculanae Disputationes: "Non est turpius, aut nequius efoeminato viro" (the octave ends with these words). The dictum is borrowed from the fourth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses: "Neutrumque, & utrumque." The figure portrays the bearded lady of Peñaranda.]1[14]

It follows that the epigram from Covarrubias' Emblemas morales would correspond more closely to a picture depicting the mythological Hermaphrodite than one depicting the bearded lady. Nonetheless, this transformation from a Hermaphrodite to a bearded lady must be understood as an attempt at an update, as indicated by the last two lines of Covarrubias' comment. This is doubtless true of the picture, whose source lies not in Greco-Roman mythology, but in the Spain of the day: that source is neither Hermaphrodite nor Androgyne, but rather Brígida del Río from Peñaranda.

The idea of a bisexual being had occupied European thought and imagination at least as far back as Plato, and it sees that this interest reached one of its peaks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15] The problem was discussed in the most varied contexts, from all possible perspectives, but almost all thoughts on the subject had one thing in common: they took as their starting point the mythological traditions of antiquity, sometimes combined with other ideas

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[13] For Ovid's discussion of Hermaphrodite and its context, see Silbermann 1988, Brisson 1986 and 1990.

[14] The reference is to Covarrubias 1943, 118–9: "El que tiene ambos sexos de hombre y muger [...]. Tal fingen los poetas aver sido un hijo de Mercurio y Venus, por lo qual le llamaron Hermafrodito, y este nombre se estendió a todos los andrógynos que naciessen con ambos sexos."

[15] From the rich and steadily growing literature dealing with various aspects of hermaphroditism – in addition to volumes quoted in note 13 – see Zola 1981, Aurnhammer 1986, Androgyn 1986, McLeod 1998, Raehs 1990, Fend 2003.

rooted in the Bible and Christian morality. The great majority of authors who wrote on hermaphroditism manifested an unbounded faith in ancient authorities and a total lack of empirical evidence. This is why they imagined Hermaphrodite under two guises: either in the way he is represented in the art of late antiquity – a being with a charming, soft body, long hair, breasts and a penis; or as he was described by a series of early medieval authorities – as a weird monster, vertically divided into two halves, one male and the other female. The first attempts at describing and examining real bisexual individuals in an exact, medical manner date back to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century – that is to say, the days of Sánchez Cotán and Sebastián de Covarrubias.[16] This given, it is not too surprising that Covarrubias talks of Hermaphrodite in the text that comments on the depiction of the bearded village lady, expressing an interest that fluctuated between a simple, primitive curiosity and the seeds of scientific approach. Between these two approaches – primitive and scientific – to physical abnormality lay the outline of a third one, represented in Covarrubias' book: a tendency to situate these strange, repulsive and yet fascinating phenomena within the framework of some pre-existing system validated with the stamp of tradition, thus ridding them of their disturbing, hallucinatory qualities, at least in part. For an educated humanist, this meant the system of ancient mythology. And this is why Sebastián de Covarrubias mentions Hermaphrodite in connection with the portrayal of Brígida del Río.

We may characterize the manner in which Covarrubias discusses the case of the bearded lady from Peñaranda as a "mythologization of (abnormal) reality". A real being marked by an ambiguous sexual identity is here interpreted as a mythological Hermaphrodite. However, the very opposite is a complementary manifestation of this process: the "de-mythologization" of the mythological pantheon. Brígida del Río was a real being one could see with one's own eyes; the mythological Hermaphrodite however, was not. This process opened new possibilities for understanding and conceiving the problematization of sexual identity brought on during the Late Renaissance and Baroque. A good example is the so-called "androgynous" portrait of the French king François I, painted around 1545 by Niccolò Bellin da Modena, and now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[17] The painting shows the king's head on a body conceived as a "composite deity" whose attributes recall not only the female deities Minerva and Diana, but also the male ones of Mars, Mercury and Cupid (which is confirmed by the text below the image). However, this portrait of François I does not point to the king's sexual mis/orientation, but rather constitutes a composite representation of him as ideal ruler. His beard does not only identify him in the portrait, it is the attribute of masculinity par excellence, for the beard was traditionally understood as a sign of masculine force and superiority. Accordingly, men were counseled to grow beards to demonstrate their difference vis-à-vis women, so as to confirm that "a beard suits a man". A beard signified a male – that is to say active – stance towards the world and life in general. Women – both Leonardo's Mona Lisa and the bearded Brígida del Río – posed with their hands crossed in front of their bodies, thus signifying their passivity, modesty and submission.[18]

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[16] See Aurnhammer 1986, 135; Davidson 1987–98, 19 and 38.

[17] See Waddington 1991 and Russell 1997, 139–44.

[18] For this gesture as an enactement of social norms, in connection with Leonardo's Mona Lisa, see Zöllner 1993, 126 and 136, note 105; and idem 1994, 57 and 81.

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ANSPIELUNGEN AUF DIE PHILOSOPHIE IN DEN FIGUREN DER LIEBE. CESARE RIPAS *ICONOLOGIA*

Meine Untersuchung baut auf einigen wohlbekannten Erkenntnissen der Ripa-Forschung[1] auf, die es wert ist, in Erinnerung zu bringen und dabei einen Blick auf die Liebe und ihre Figuren zu werfen.

Seit der ersten Auflage, "In Roma. Per gli Heredi di Gio. Gigliotti, 1593" ist die *Iconologia* in mehreren Ausgaben und Übersetzungen in den wichtigsten europäischen Sprachen (das heißt: Französisch, Deutsch, Englisch, Holländisch) herausgegeben worden.[2] Durch diese vielen Ausgaben und Übersetzungen ist der Text nicht derselbe geblieben, sondern er hat, wie wir auf den Deckblättern lesen können, immer neue Zusätze und auch Abänderungen erfahren, nicht nur durch Cesare Ripa selbst, sondern auch durch einige seiner Mitarbeiter.

Normalerweise[3] werden sechs italienische Ausgaben betrachtet und verglichen: Roma 1593, Roma 1603, Padua 1611, Siena 1613, Padua 1618, Padua 1625.[4]

Die erste Ausgabe (1593) ist ohne Bebilderung und enthält 354 Stichwörter für insgesamt 699 Beschreibungen. Die nächste Ausgabe (1603) ist mit 152 Xylographien[5] ausgestattet; der Text enthält 70 neue Stichwörter (einige von ihnen, wie die Monate, die Musen, die Nymphen, die Horen, sind von mehreren Untertypen zusammengesetzt), und so haben wir eine Totalsumme von 1085 verschiedenen Beschreibungen. Die Ausgabe von Padua 1611 hat 52 neue Bilder und auch sieben Verzeichnisse,[6] die das Nachschlagen des Buches erleichtern. Dasselbe geschieht auch mit den nächsten Ausgaben, in denen wir, dank des Beitrages der Freunde und Mitarbeiter Fulvio Mariottelli,[7] Pier Leone Casella und vor allem des Giovanni Zaratino Castel-

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1 Vgl. Mandowsky 1939, Werner 1977, Okayama 1992, Tung 1993, Balavoine 1997, Maffei 1997.

2 Über die Besonderheiten und die Unterschiede einiger dieser Ausgaben und Übersetzungen vgl.: Tung 1993, Okayama 1992, Maffei 1997.

3 Vgl, zum Beispiel, Balavoine 1997: 68–97, Maffei 1997.

4 Es gibt insgesamt zwölf italienische Ausgaben. Die weiteren sind: Milano 1602 (sehr seltsam), Padua 1630, Venetia 1645, Venetia 1667, Perugia 1764–67 (5 Bände). Vgl. Mandowsky 1939: 325 und Tung 1993: 4–13. Bis zum Tode (den 22. Januar 1622) pflegte Cesare Ripa die Ausgaben von 1603, 1613, 1618; vgl. Mandowsky 1939, 10–13. Im Folgenden werde ich nur das Jahr angeben, um mich auf die verschiedenen Ausgaben zu beziehen.

5 Maffei 1997, 104, Anm.14 bemerkt, daß das von Emile Mâle lakonisch vorgeschlagene, und dann mehrmals wiederholte Zuschreiben der Bilder zu Giuseppe Cesari, Cavalier d'Arpino genannt, vorsichtig betrachtet werden müßte.

6 In der Ausgabe Padua 1611: Tavola delle Immagini principali; Tavola d'alcune cose più notabili; Tavola d'ordigni diversi, & altre cose artificiali; Tavola de gl'Animali, e delle Piante citati; Tavola delle parti del corpo humano, naturali, finte, & artificiali, di attioni e movenze; Tavola de' colori; Tavola degl'Autori citati.

7 Fulvio Mariottelli war ein Mitglied der Accademia degli Insensati von Perugia; vgl. Mandowsky 1939: 279–280 und 293.

lini,[8], einem immer größeren Interesse für die Kultur der Antiquitäten (besonders Epigraphe und Münzen...), und, wenn auch in kleinerem Maße, für die Philosophie[9] begegnen.

So ist es auch mit den Figuren der Liebe geschehen, wo aus 15 Liebesfiguren in der ersten Ausgabe 27 in der letzten geworden sind. Und man muß auch bemerken, daß in Bezug auf die Liebe und die Philosophie die zahlreichsten und die wichtigsten Zusätze in der Ausgabe von Siena 1613 von Cesare Zarattino eingefügt worden sind.[10]

In der *Iconologia* sind alle Figuren bekanntlich menschliche Figuren, die durch ihre Kleidung, Haltung, und ihren Gesichtsausdruck, und auch durch die Gegenstände (Dinge und Tiere, Blumen und Pflanzen), die sie in ihren Händen halten oder an ihren Füßen liegen, Sachen und Ideen, Gefühle und Meinungen, dargestellt werden.

Die Figuren der Liebe sind also Männer und Frauen, Jungfrauen und Knaben: normalerweise sind dies Personifikationen männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts, je nach Geschlecht der italienischen Stichwörter.

Aber jede Regel hat, wie man weiß, ihre Ausnahmen. So werden *Forza d'amore, Forza d'amore, sì nell'acqua come in terra (Die Kraft der Liebe, Die Kraft der Liebe zu Wasser und zu Erde)* und *Oblivione d'amore (Vergessene Liebe)* von einem Kind dargestellt, weil die Betonung auf die Hauptperson, das heißt *Amore*, fällt, und bekanntlich ist *Amore* ein Kind. Außerdem ist die zweite Figur des *Amor di se stesso*, die von Cesare Zaratino in der Ausgabe von 1613 hinzugefügt wurde, eine Frau. Zaratino erklärt, daß er die "Selbstliebe" besonders aus grammatikalischen Überlegungen als weibliche Figur dargestellt hat, weil *Amore di sé* sowohl im Griechischen als auch im Lateinischen weiblich ist: *Philautia*, aber vor allem «..weil die Selbstliebe mehr in den Frauen verwurzelt ist, da sich jede, wie häßlich und dumm auch sei, für schön und übergescheit hält».[11].

In der *Iconologia* kann jede Figur mehrere Untertypen (z. B. die Monate, die Länder von Italien, die Musen u.s.w.) haben und jedes Stichwort kann von mehreren Beschreibungen illustriert werden, und deshalb finden wir ein Thema auch unter anderen unterschiedlichen Stichwörtern.[12] Außerdem hat Ripa alle Figuren nach alphabetischer Reihenfolge geordnet. Diese Art, das Material zu ordnen, ist einerseits sehr praktisch, um etwas zu finden, aber anderseits ist es nicht sofort klar, was Ripa über einzelne Ideen und Begriffe dachte. Wir können uns sogar fragen, ob Ripa tatsächlich von Fall zu Fall eine klare Ansicht vorschlagen wollte.

All das gilt auch für unser Thema: auch die Figuren der Liebe bilden keine geschlossene Gruppe. So wie die Liebe viele Untertypen hat, die von Gott, Heimat, Tugend, Kinder und so weiter handeln (zuletzt, in der letzen Ausgabe, die wir in Betrachtung genommen haben, finden wir acht verschiedene Untertypen der Liebe), so finden wir die Liebe auch in einigen Figuren, die andere Subjekte darstellen, wie die Fröhlichkeit, das Glück, die Festigkeit, die Unbeständigkeit, die Qual, den Ursprung und so weiter. Auch über die Liebe finden wir also in der *Iconologia* keinen systematischen und vollständigen Diskurs.

Kommen wir zu den Liebesfiguren im Einzelnen.[13]

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[8] Über Giovanni Zaratino Castellini vgl. Ferrua 1958 und 1959 und Palma 1978.

[9] Vgl. Maffei 1997: 103–105. Zum Beispiel wird Aristoteles 48mal in der Ausgabe 1603 und 123mal in der Ausgabe 1625 angeführt, Plato 12mal und dann 29mal, Seneca 12mal und dann 30mal u.s.w. .

[10] In der Ausgabe von 1618 finden wir, in Bezug auf die Liebe, nur eine neue Figur: *Instabilità, overo incostanza d'amore.*

[11] "...per che [l'Amor di se stesso] è più radicato nelle Donne, atteso che ciascuna quasi per brutta, e sciocca che sia, bella, e saccente si reputa" (Padova 1618, 22).

[12] Zum Beispiel redet Ripa über Gott in *Amore verso Iddio, Flagello di Dio, Gratia di Dio, Preghiere a Dio, Querela a Dio, Sapienza divina.*

[13] Ich benutze die Ausgabe von 1618.

Es folgt nun das ganze Stichwörterverzeichnis der Figuren der Liebe, wie in Ripas Werk in alphabetischer Reihenfolge (in Klammern das Jahr der Ausgabe, wo jede Figur zum ersten Mal erschienen ist; mit Z habe ich die von Zaratino verfassten Stichwörter versehen).
Allegrezza d' amore [Froelickheit der Liebe] (1593), *Amor di virtù [Tugendliebe]* (1593), *Amor verso Iddio [Liebe zu Gott]* (1593), *Amor del prossimo [Nächstenliebe]* (1593), *Amor di se stesso [Selbstliebe]* (1593), *Amor di se stesso 2 [Selbstliebe 2]* (1613, Z), *Amore secondo Seneca [Liebe nach Seneca]* (1593), *Amor domato [Gebändigte Liebe]* (1613, Z), *Amor di fama [Ruhmesliebe]* (1593), *Amor della patria [Vaterlandsliebe]* (1613, Z), *Carro d'amore [Liebeswagen]* (1603), *Contento amoroso [Zufriedenheit in der Liebe]* (1603), *Falsità d'amore overo inganno [Falscheit in der Liebe oder Betrug]* (1593), *Fermezza d'amore [Standhaftigkeit in der Liebe]* (1593), *Fortuna giovevole ad amore [Glücksrad der Liebe]* (1593), *Forza d'amore [Die Kraft der Liebe]* (1593), *Forza d'amore, sì nell'acqua come in terra [Die Kraft der Liebe zu Wasser und zu Lande]* (1603), *Gioia d'amore [Liebsfreude] (1593), Giudizio overo indizio d'amore [Urteil oder Hinweise der Liebe]* (1593), *Instabilità, overo incostanza d'amore [Unbeständigkeit oder Unstetigkeit der Liebe]* (1618, Z), *Oblivione d'amore [Vergessene Liebe]* (1613, Z), *Oblivione d'amore verso i figliuoli [Vergessene Liebe zu den Kindern]* (1613, Z), *Origine d'amore [Ursprung der Liebe]* (1613, Z), *Passione d'amore [Liebesleidenschaft]* (1603), *Riconciliazione d'amore [Versohnung in der Liebe]* (1613, Z), *Tentazione d'amore [Versuchung in der Liebe]* (1593), *Tormento d'amore [Liebesqual]* (1593).

Wie wir schon gesagt haben, sind die für uns interessantesten Figuren jene, die Giovanni Zaratino der Ausgabe von Siena 1613 hinzugefügt hat: unter diesen habe ich drei Personifikationen gewählt: *Amor di se stesso 2 (Selbstliebe 2), Oblivione d'amore (Vergessene Liebe)* und *Origine d'amore (Ursprung der Liebe).*

Wir haben schon gesehen, warum *Amore di se stesso 2* (Padua 1618, 21–23)[14] eine weibliche Figur ist. Sehen wir jetzt, wie sie ist.

Auf dem Kopf trägt sie einen Knallerbsenkranz, in der linken Hand hält sie eine große und gefüllte Tasche und eine Rute mit einem Blatt, worauf *Philautia* geschrieben ist. In der rechten Hand hält die Frau eine Narzisse. Zu ihren Füßen befindet sich ein Pfau.

Zaratino erklärt uns natürlich die Bedeutung der Gegenstände, die diese Frau umgeben. Wir werden uns aber bei den Betrachtungen aufhalten, die er den Erklärungen voranschickt.

Die nach Philosophie "duften". Weil Zaratino die Selbstliebe unmittelbar mit der Selbsterkenntinis in Zusammenhang bringt und Dichter und Philosophen zusammen anführt: schon am Anfang, das Orakel von Delphi, Horatius und Varrus, und sofort nachher, vor Julius Lipsius und Catullus, die *Rhetorik* und die *Ethik* von Aristoteles, und auch einen Brief von Cicero an Atticus, und noch an Plutarch....[15]

Zaratino erinnert an die aristotelische Unterscheidung zwischen der "schlechten" und der "guten" Selbstliebe (die erste kommt sicherlich häufiger vor und wird in schlimmsten Sinne Selbstsucht genannt, durch die zweite liebt ein Mensch den besten Teil von sich und so verbessert er sich), aber seine Betrachtungen drehen sich um die "schlechte" Selbstliebe. Zaratino behauptet, daß die Selbsterkenntnis der richtige Weg sei, um das Glück zu erlangen, aber es sei auch am schwersten, sie zu erreichen. Der Grund dieser Schwierigkeit ist gerade die Selbstliebe, die jemanden blind macht. Blind vor allem den eigenen Fehlern gegenüber, und wer sich selbst liebt, ist unfähig, sich wirklich zu erkennen, weise zu werden und schließlich das Glück zu erlangen.

Die Selbstliebe ist also vor allem dem Glück hinderlich, und dann, so setzt Zaratino fort, erzeugt sie Hochmut, Eitelkeit und schließlich Anmaßung und Haß. Denn wer sich selbst liebt,

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[14] *Amore di se stesso 1* (Padua 1618, 21), ist eine Figur von Cesare Ripa. Sie ist einfach Narziss, der sich im Wasser einer Quelle spiegelt.

[15] Einige Zitate: Horaz, *Carmina,* I, 18, 14; Aristoteles, *Rethorika,* I,1; Cicero, *ad Atticum* XIV, 20, 3; Catull, *Carmina,* XXII, 15–18; Aristoteles, *Ethik Nikom.,* IX, 8.

hält sich und das Seine für schön und gut, und geringschätzt die Anderen und das Ihre. Kurz gesagt: die Selbstliebe betrügt die Menschen, genau so wie die unvernünftigen Tiere betrogen werden. Wie Platon sagt: In ihren eigenen Augen ist eine Henne sehr schön, und das gleiche passiert auch dem Hund, dem Ochsen, dem Esel und dem Schwein.[16]

Oblivione d'amore (Padua 1618, 377–378) ist ein beflügeltes Kind, bei einem Brunnen sitzend, in der Nähe der antiken Stadt Kyzikos. Es trägt einen Mohnkranz und schläft, aber es hält mit seiner Linken ein Doststräußlein und auch einen Polypen, während es mit der Rechten das Gesicht stützt. Sein Ellenbogen liegt auf einem Stein auf.

Diese Figur wird so erklärt: das beflügelte Kind bedeutet die vergessene Liebe, die verschwunden, oder aus dem Sinn verflogen ist. Und es schläft, weil die Geliebten, die ihre Liebe vergessen haben, ihre Sinne ruhen lassen. Das gelang ihnen nicht, als sie von Liebeskämpfen und Liebesstürmen gefangen waren.

Wir gehen über auf die Bedeutung der Gegenstände und bemerken, daß diese Figur eine interessante Ähnlichkeit mit *Piacere* hat: beide haben Flügel. Cesare Ripa erklärt, was die Flügel bedeuten sollen, indem er nicht die *Oblivione d'amore,* sondern den *Piacere* (*Vergnügen*) beschreibt.

Die Flügel zeigen, daß das Vergnügen bald endet und flieht. Ripa fügt eine lateinische Etymologie hinzu: im Lateinischen bedeutet fliehen *volo, volare,* und darum bezeichnet man das Vergnügen als *voluptas.*

Die Etymologie ist falsch, aber es ist wahr, daß, wie das Vergnügen, die Liebe nach vielen Gelehrten des Altertums und auch der späteren Zeitalter (zum Beispiel nach Servius, Boccaccio und Pierio Valeriano[17]) beflügelt ist, weil sie leicht, oft und gerne davonfliegt.

Aber nicht bei allen Autoren hat die Liebe Flügel gehabt. Die Frage wurde sehr oft debattiert:[18]: nach einigen, zum Beispiel nach Plato, hat die Liebe Flügel, weil sie die Seelen hinauffliegen lässt,[19] nach anderen, wie den Dichtern der sogenannten Mittleren Komödie Eubolo, Araro, Alessi, besitzt die Liebe keine Flügel, weil sie schwer ist.[20]

Die dritte Allegorie ist ohne Zweifel die originellste. *Origine d'amore* (Padua 1618, 385–391) ist eine Frau, die einen durchsichtigen, runden, großen und dicken Spiegel in der rechten Hand gegen das Auge der Sonne hält, die mit ihren Strahlen den Spiegel durchdringt, und eine auf der linken Hand gehaltene Fackel anzündet (in dem, falschen, Bild, hält die Frau den Spiegel mit der linken Hand und die Fackel mit der rechten[21]). Vom Griff des Spiegels hängt ein Papierstreifen, wo folgendes Sprichwort geschrieben ist: *Sic in corde facit amor incendium.*[22]

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16 Zaratino führt aus zweiter Hand an: vgl. Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum,* III, 77.

17 Valeriano 1556: 155r: "Quamvis autem et in Olimpia, et vulgo esset alatum Victoriae simulacrum, apud Athenienses tamen exarmatum alis cernebatur, ut et Pausanias et Heliodorus Periergeta meminere. [...] Id ea de causa factum Pausanias tradit, ne Victoria discenderet Athenis, ac alio quopiam abvolaret. Ita numen apud se perpetuo detineri posse arbitrati sunt Athenienses, dum alarum omen, veluti quoddam instabilitatis signum, reformidabant. Nam quae Amori alae attribuuntur, ad frequentissimas in eo rerum vicissitudines referuntur, ut Propertius de eo qui figuram eius pinxerat libro II: *Idem non frustra ventosas addidit alas/ Fecit et humano corde volare deum,/ Scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda,/ nostraque non ullis permanet aura locis.*"

18 Vgl. Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria,* II, 4, 26 und Lasserre1983.

19 Plato, *Phaedr.* 251bd, 252bc, 256e.

20 Zaratino führt aus zweiter Hand an, und zwar aus Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII 262b-e (Ateneo 2001, 618).

21 Über die Fehler der Illustratoren sehe Maffei 1997, 106–108.

22 "Donna che tenga uno specchio trasparente rotondo, grosso, & corpulento, incontro all'occhio del Sole, il quale con i suoi raggi trapassando per mezzo dello specchio accenda una facella posta nella mano sinistra, dal manico dello specchio penda una cartella, nella quale sia scritto questo motto: SIC IN CORDE FACIT AMOR INCENDIUM". Man muß daraufaufmerksam machen, daß Zaratino von "specchio trasparente" redet. In der Tat sehen wir im Bild, daß die Frau mit ihrer rechten Hand keinen Brennspiegel, sondern ein Brennglas hält.

Die Erklärung ist besonders weitläufig und für uns interessant, weil wir in Zaratinos Beobachtungen mehrere Anspielungen auf einige bekannte Ideen und Lehren der "platonischen" Überlieferung finden: die Liebe als Wunsch der Schönheit, die Augen und die Ohren als Fenster der Seele, weil der Mensch ein Mikrokosmos ist, der mit dem Makrokosmos durch diese Kanäle in Verbindung treten kann...

Aber gehen wir der Reihenfolge nach.

In der Erklärung wird von Zaratino eine große Schar von *poeti e leggiadri prosatori* wie Boccaccio, Petrarca, Cicero, Atheneus, Plutarch, Museus, Cino da Pistoia, Statius, Eliodorus, Apuleius, Suidas usw. angeführt (natürlich stammen diese Zitate nicht alle aus erster Hand, z. B. Apuleius aus Ficino), um zu beweisen, falls überhaupt nötig, daß "der Ursprung der Liebe durch das Auge, durch Sehen und Schauen einer schönen Sache entstehet".[23]

Außerdem lesen wir auch einige mehr oder weniger berühmte Liebesgeschichten, wie zum Beispiel jene der Liebe zwischen Zariadre und Odate, die Geschichte von Jaufré Rudel und der Gräfin von Tripoli, die von Sansone und Dalila, von David und Bersabea, Antonius und Kleopatra, und die Anekdote von Araspade, einem Gefolgsmann des Königs Kyrus), um einige zusätzliche Ideen zu erklären: z. B. daß die Liebe auch durch Hören oder durch einen Traum entstehen kann, daß die sinnliche Liebe, oder vielleicht besser der Liebeswunsch mehrere Stufen hat, die wir fast unvermeidbar alle ersteigen müssen, oder auch wie gefährlich die Liebe sein kann.

(In Klammern machen wir darauf aufmerksam, daß Zaratino vor allem erklären möchte, wie die Liebe auch durch Hören entstehen kann: das Hören ist nach ihm nicht ausreichend, um sich ineinander zu verlieben: es ist jedenfalls immer in irgendeiner Weise notwendig, eine *Idea* zu haben, die auf jeden Fall immer von einem Sehen kommt, auch durch die inneren Augen der Phantasie. Und so ist auch in diesem Falle die Vorstellungskraft sehr wichtig).

Bis hier ist alles ganz der Überlieferung gemäß, und das Bild könnte etwas Ähnliches wie die *Galatea* (1511) von Raffaello oder die Putte von Botticellis *Frühling* (1478 ca.) sein, wo die Liebe von einem durch einen Pfeil getroffenen Herzen dargestellt wird (selbstverständlich von einem von einem Bogen geschleuderten Pfeil).

Botticelli und Raffaello sind, wie auch viele andere Maler, den Dichtern und den Schriftstellern gefolgt, welche die Metapher des Bogens und der Pfeile benutzt haben, um zu sagen, – die Augen wie ein Bogen, die Blicke wie die Pfeile- daß die Liebe plötzlich und unversehens in den Augen durch die Blicke im Herzen entstehe.[24]

Aber, wie wir gesehen haben, ist das Bild von *Iconologia* ganz anders: es gibt in diesem Bild keinen Bogen und keine Pfeile, sondern die Sonne, Strahlen, einen Spiegel und eine Flamme.

Zaratino hat Ficinos *El libro dell'amore* gelesen (ein Kommentar zu Platons *Symposium*), und hier bezieht er sich offensichtlich auf das vierte und die folgenden Kapitel der siebten Rede, wo Marsilio Ficino den Ursprung der *amor volgare*[25] und andere damit zusammenhängende Phänomene durch die Lehre des Geistes als Dampf des Blutes erklärt.[26] So redet er ja von Herzen, Augen und Blicken, von Fenstern, genau genommen aus Glas, und Strahlen und Pfeilen, aber auch von Geistern und Blut, von Sonne und von Spiegel:

"...Aber da dieser Dampf (den man Geist nennt) aus demselben Stoff besteht wie das Blut, aus dem er hervorgehet, schickt er durch die Augen wie durch ein Glasfenster Pfeile aus, die ihm

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[23] "L'origine d'Amore deriva dall'occhio, dal vedere, e mirare un bello oggetto" (Padua 1618, 385); weiter (S. 387) lesen wir: "l'occhio è principe, duce, guida, cagione e origine d'Amore".

[24] Vgl. Kliemann 2001.

[25] Ficino hat schon über den«amore moderato, el quale è di divinità partecipe» gesprochen (Ficino 1987: 206).

[26] Vgl. Klein 1975.

gleichen. Wie die Sonne (das Herz der Welt) in ihrem täglichen Umlauf das Licht aussendet und in diesem Umlauf auf der Erde verbreitet, so entsendet unser Herz, indem es in unaufhörlicher Tätigkeit das Blut in seiner Nähe in Bewegung hält, von dort aus (d.h. vom Blut in seiner Nähe) die Geister in den ganzen Körper und mittels dieser wiederum versprüht er die Funken der Pfeile durch alle Glieder, besonders aber durch die Augen".[27]

Kurz darauf, da Aristoteles[28] geschrieben hat: "...daß aus einem Spiegel, den die Frau während der Regel mit ihrem Blick fixiert, Blutstropfen austreten", erklärt Ficino, daß die Augen wie ein Spiegel seien und so werde in ähnlicher Weise der Geist, dünner Dampf des Blutes, von den Blicken getragen, vom Herzen durch die Augen, wie ein giftiger Pfeil zu dem Herzen, und hier, im verwundeten Herzen, kondensiere er sich wieder, zu Blut. Und dieses fremde Blut störe das Blut des Verwundeten, und dieses gestörte Blut werde krank... [29]

Nach Ficino ist also der *amor volgare* vor allem eine Krankheit des Blutes. Trotzdem betont er die Rolle der Augen: Die Liebe entsteht also im Herzen nicht durch das einfache Schauen oder Sehen (d.h. durch das Schauen der Schönheit), sondern durch ein "Sich-Schauen" oder, besser, ein Begegnen von Blicken. Die Blicke sind Strahlen. Sie bestehen, wie eben die Strahlen, aus Licht: indem sie sich erblicken, verbinden die Verliebten miteinander Licht mit Licht...[30]

Kehren wir zu Zaratino zurück, der fleißig und listig von Ficinos Werk abgeschrieben hat. Aber er macht nur eine Anspielung auf die Abstammung des Geistes aus dem Blut und unterschlägt die ganze Passage, in der Ficino als *physicus,* das heißt als Arzt, die Rückverwandlung des Geistes in Blut und den Ursprung der Liebe als eine Art von Blutkrankheit beschreibt.

Zaratino bevorzugt die Idee der Blicke als Lichtstrahlen, mit einem ausdrücklichen Bezug auf Plato[31], der in Ficinos Kommentar fehlt.

Außerdem kannte er ein kleines Werk eines französischen zeitgenössischen Mathematikers, Orontius Finaeus: *De speculo ustorio*[32] (wahrscheinlich lag ihm die italienische Übersetzung von Ercole Bottrigari[33] vor) und so konnte er die Bemerkungen des Ficino über den Spiegel und das Begegnen der Blicke sammeln und ursprünglich entwickeln, um durch eine glückliche Fügung ein ganz neues Bild aufzubauen. Er schreibt:

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[27] "...Ma sì come questo vapore di sangue che si chiama spirito, nascendo dal sangue è tale quale è il sangue, così lui manda fuori razzi simili ad sé per gli occhi come per finestre di vetro; e come el sole che è cuore del mondo pe 'l suo corso spande el lume, e per le sue virtù diffonde in terra, così el cuore del corpo nostro, per uno suo perpetuo movimento agitando el sangue a sé propinquo, da quello spande gli spiriti in tutto el corpo e per quegli diffonde le scintille de' razzi per tutti i membri, maxime per gli occhi..." (Ficino 1987: 190)

[28] *De insomniis,* II, 459b: "...che le donne quando sono nel corso del sangue menstruo, spesse volte macchiano lo specchio, guardando fiso, di gocciole di sangue".

[29] "Chi si maraviglierà adunque che l'occhio aperto, e con attentione diricto inverso alcuno, saecti agli occhi di chi lo guarda le frecce de' razzi suoi, e insieme con queste frecce, che sono e carri degli spiriti, scagli quel sanguigno vapore el quale spirito chiamiamo? Di qui la venenosa freccia trapassa gli occhi, e perché l'è saectata dal cuore di chi la getta, però si getta al cuore dell'uomo ferito quasi come a regione propria a sé e naturale, quivi ferisce el cuore e nel suo dosso duro si condensa e torna in sangue. Questo sangue forestiero el quale dalla natura del ferito è alieno, turba el sangue proprio del ferito, e 'l sangue turbato e quasi inerconito inferma" (Ficino 1987, 192).

[30] "...e mortali allora maxime pigliano mal d'occhio, quando frequentemente e fiso, dirizzando lo occhio loro all'occhio d'altri, congiungono e lumi co' lumi, e miseramente per quelli si beono l'amore" (Ficino 1987, 205).

[31] Über die Augen und das Licht vgl. *Timeo* 45b–c

[32] *De Speculo ustorio/ Orontio Finaeo Delphinate/ Regio mathematico authore/ Lutetiae, ex officina Michaelis/ Vascolani, via Jacobea, ad insigne/ Fontis MDLI.*

[33] *Dello specchio che accende il fuoco ad una data distanza, trattato di Oronzio Fineo... tradotto in lingua italiana,* Venezia 1581, Franceschi.

"Die Begegnung mit den Augen, aus der sich die Liebe herleitet, haben wir mit dem Spiegel dargestellt, der auf das Auge der Sonne gerichtet ist. Der Spiegel ist von der Machart, wie sie Orontius Phinaeus in seinem Traktat über die Brennspiegel beschreibt...

Die vorliegende Figur ist ein Gleichnis. Wie der Spiegel (das künstliche Auge, das sich auf das Auge der Sonne richtet) eine Flamme entzündet, indem sich die Strahlen der Sonne in ihm brechen, so auch unsere Augen (natürliche Spiegel, die sich einer schönen Sonne zuwenden). Indem die Strahlen ihres Lichts durch sie hindurchdringen, entzündet sich im Herzen (sc. des anderen) die Flamme der Liebe, und das Sinnbild dafür ist die Fackel in der linken Hand, auf der linken Seite des Herzens".[34]

Und so, zuerst gelingt es ihm darzustellen, daß die Schönheit, Platons und Plotins Schönheit, wie die Sonne strahlt. Dann, indem er die Blicke durch ihren Stoff darstellt, vermittelt uns Zaratino die enge, unmittelbare Verbindung zwischen Licht und Augen; und schließlich durch den Vergleich der Augen, die nichts mit einem normalen Spiegel gemeinsam haben, sondern mit einem brennenden Spiegel vergleichbar sind, es gelingt ihm zu erklären, warum es scheint – oder ist es wirklich so? –, daß die Blick-Strahlen stärker werden, wenn sie zusammentreffen, so daß sie ein Feuer im Herzen entflammen können.

Um über die Liebe zu sprechen und Sinnbilder der Liebe zu bilden und zu erklären, ist es, wie wir gesehen haben, möglich, oder vielleicht notwendig, über viele andere "Dinge" zu sprechen, auch über einige wichtige philosophische "Dinge". Wie zum Beispiel die Verbindung zwischen Selbstliebe und Selbsterkenntnis, die Selbsterkenntnis als Weg zum Glück, und die Verbindung zwischen Augen, Blicken und Licht...

Jetzt betonen wir noch einmal die Wirksamkeit und die Originalität des Sinnbildes *Origine d'amore* von Zaratino, der die Blicke durch ihren Stoff und die Augen als Lichtquellen dargestellt hat, um uns verständlich zu machen, was die Dichter schon seit jeher gesagt haben, und zwar daß die Augen der Menschen *lumina* und die Sonne und der Mond die Augen des Himmels sind.

Und wir dürfen die Flügel der Liebe nicht vergessen, ein treffendes Bild für die Zweideutigkeit der menschlichen Dinge.

Auch die Liebe hat eine Doppelbedeutung.

Außer der Sinnbilder, in denen die Liebe ein bestimmtes Objekt hat (wie zum Beispiel die Liebe zu Gott, zum Nächsten, zum Ruhm, die Heimatliebe), ist die Liebe in der *Iconologia* jene Liebe, die einen Mann mit einer Frau verbindet und vereinigt.

Eine menschliche, irdische Liebe, die nur eine Leidenschaft und fast eine Krankheit ist (wenn auch keine Blutkrankheit, wie für Ficino).

Eine Krankheit, die durch Augenansteckung plötzlich und unversehens übertragen wird.

Es fehlt die himmlische Liebe, die die Seelen der Liebenden emporhebt (denken wir an Dante und Beatrice).

Und es fehlt auch die kosmische Liebe: in den Sinnbildern der Liebe finden wir keine Spur der Liebe, welche die ganze Welt umfasst und durchdringt.

In der *Iconologia* bewegt die Liebe nur das Herz der Menschen, und keineswegs «...il sole e l'altre stelle».[35]

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[34] "Il riscontro de gli occhi, dal qual procede l'origine d'Amore, l'habbiamo figurato con lo specchio incontro all'occhio del sole. Lo specchio è di quella sorte de li quali ragiona Oronzio Fineo nel suo trattato De Speculis Ustoriis... La presente figura è una similitudine, si come per lo specchio occhio dell'arte posto incontro all'occhio del sole, passando i raggi solari s'accende la facella; così per gli occhi nostri, specchi della natura posti incontro all'occhio d'un bel sole passando i raggi della sua luce, la facella d'amore nel cor s'accende, di che n'è figura la facella posta nella mano sinistra, dal lato manco del core (Padua 1618, 387)"

[35] Dante, *Paradiso* XXXIII, 145; vgl. Dronke 1965.

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A. Agnes Sneller

CESARE RIPA IN THE NETHERLANDS (1644–1750), A GENDER VIEW

INTRODUCTION

The Amsterdammer Dirk Pietersz. Pers (1581–1659) published his translation of the 1624–1625 edition of the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa in the sixteen-forties. As Jochen Becker (1971, II) states in his introduction to the reprint of the text, Pers's work must be seen against the background of Dutch intellectual life in those years, with its abundant production of emblem books, the deep historical interest in hieroglyphics and visual metaphor and the beginning of allegorical encyclopedias. Dutch researchers assure us that Pers translated Ripa with immense care. His only significant intervention was the rearrangement of the entries in Dutch alphabetical order. In Becker's view, the poet-publisher Pers used his publications as accessories in an effort to disseminate Christian humanism with "unceasing solicitude to help improve the citizenry". In his translation of the *Iconologia* he seems to be moved by the same considerations to fit the allegories into a context of bourgeois didacticism.

Ripa's decriptions are usually referred to as allegories; he himself speaks of `imagini', images. In modern scholarly usage a sharp distinction is drawn between allegory and symbolism. The studies by Erwin Panofsky (1939, 1962) on this subject are worth reading. However, in Ripa's time the terms were used more or less interchangeably. The human figure in Ripa's allegories forms the common foundation which has to be further delimited by the enumeration of specific differences and with symbolic attributes. It is interesting and, in gender perspective, important that in choosing a female or male personification of the abstractions he takes ordinary speech into account; the feminine or masculine gender of the word in his own language – Italian – determines the gender of the figures.

It may seem strange that the first two editions of the *Iconologia* appeared without illustrations, although Ripa consequently speaks of *imagini,* characterizing his images by title, description and elucidation in terms of a concrete image the reader is supposed to see before his eyes. Becker (1971, XIV) states that we have to do with a form of allegorical moralistic ekphrasis *not* dependent on a strict tie with visual illustrations. The images can be just as effectively projected on the mind's eye by way of a description.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch historians and theoreticians of art consulted the *Iconologia* as a matter of course. They could make use of the original text by Ripa or of Pers's translation. The Dutch version was reprinted several times. As well as this there were several adaptations of the original on which they could rely. In 1722, for example, the pastor P. Zaunslifer had recourse to Ripa and some of his sources in the *Tafereel van overdeftige zinnebeelden (Depiction of very dignified images).* The direct influence of Pers's translation came to an end a century after its appearance with the publication of the *Groot Natuur- en Zedekundig Werelttoneel (Great Physical and Ethical Theatre of the World)* by the then well-known poet Hubert Kornelisz Poot (1689–1733) and Rutgers Ouwens (1692–1780), headmaster of a grammar school. Ouwens expanded the work considerably, adding not only 17th and 18th-century material but also all the sources used by Ripa, selected and refined for his purposes.

It is obvious that Ripa's book was considered to be of great authority for more than a century. The authority of this text in humanistic circles makes it worthwhile to investigate the diverse editions from a gender perspective. The question to be asked is twofold: (a) Is it possible to discover an implicit and explicit gender-biased attitude in the Dutch translations of the Ripa text by D.P. Pers and his followers and (b) Can we find a certain development in this attitude in the various Dutch versions of the *Iconologia* between 1644 and 1750?

A SEMIOTIC APPROACH

In the Dutch-speaking regions (The Netherlands and Flemish Belgium) the current research into the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa culminated in the photomechanical reprint of the 1644 Dutch edition, in 1971, and a special Ripa-conference in 1994. The researchers appear to be particularly interested in the Ripa reception in Europe; therefore they pay considerable attention to the diverse appearances of the *Iconologia* in the original language – Italian – and in the different vernaculars. In terms of the contents, the question of how Ripa's Catholicism was received in Protestant countries has been a particular focus of attention.

From a modern or perhaps postmodern angle there is more that makes Ripa's text worth investigating. In the field of cultural studies in the way it has been developed in recent decades, historical data – texts and images – are also considered to be vehicles of a certain world-view or ideology. This is why Ripa's book and its different adaptations can be approached in a new mode of operation as a source of ideological messages.

It is semiotics that can be of great help in enquiries into the ideological standard of cultural productions. Its basic assumption is that – in the words of Mieke Bal (1992, 2): "Innocent looking statements and words express and convey, propose and present, as natural, a particular world-view." Semioticians wish to be concerned with the discovering of these `surplus-meanings', which is why one can use the methods of semiotics as an instrument for critical analyses.

Semiotics studies culture as processes of communication that are possible thanks to the system of signs that underlie them. In the case of the *Iconologia* (1593), the individual author – Cesare Ripa – wanted to convey the treasures he collected both from the Graeco-Roman tradition and from the so-called Egyptian and biblical sources. His collection made it possible for all those allegories and symbols to become the mental possession of his contemporaries, the humanistic circles all over Europe during his lifetime and in the centuries that followed. It will be worthwhile investigating which gender messages this valuable collection contains. Semiotics implies that phenomena are studied insofar as they are, or can be, taken as signs. The most expanded system of signs is, of course, language. However, not all languages use exactly the same systematics and therefore the signs are not always interpretable in precisely the same way. An important structure in Dutch (and German) is the use of general personal designations. As well as the gender-linked words *man* ('man') and *woman* ('vrouw'), there exists the generic noun 'mens', referred to in my text as *human (being)*. This makes it possible in Dutch to formulate very carefully whether you want to refer to mankind as a whole or to (one of) the sexes. This linguistic rule affords a good sign of gender-biased formulations in a patriarchal society. It works in two ways. When Man is seen as the norm of humanity, the language user can use `man' to indicate the whole human race; on the other side he or she can use 'mens' to indicate males only. It is a linguistic pattern with inherent ambiguity. In the entry Conversation ('Ommegang'), Ouwens, with a reference to the world famous philologist G. J. Vossius (1577–1649) mentions part of this linguistic mechanism in the classical languages Greek, Roman and Hebrew: "[words] which actually mean human in general, are sometimes specifically used for a man." There is, of course,

no perception of the gender consequences. Bal (1992: 16) considers ambiguity not as a mistake, but as a sign itself. I agree with her and make it part of my gender analyses to trace the formulations in which it is unclear whether women are included or excluded. It makes the position of women in society vague, diffuse and never certain.

THE DUTCH 1644 EDITION OF CESARE RIPA BY DIRK PERS

Since Ripa made his choices of male or female personifications on the grounds of the linguistic gender, the first superficial conclusion could be that Ripa, and thus Pers too, takes a neutral position in this perspective. Even so, his choice is worth examining, because his approach appears to mean that for him there is no qualitative difference between women and men. This is an interesting hypothesis in the framework of research concerning the gender conceptions in the Early Modern era. Laqueur's thorough investigations (1990) have led to the conclusion that during this era the human body has been seen as 'one-sex'. Male and female bodies are identical, with the restriction that the male body is of higher quality. To Ripa this was apparently no consideration, otherwise he would have given the highest values in male, the lower in female form, and this is not the case. On this abstract level Ripa does not fit the pattern that present-day historians adopt on Laqueur's authority.

However, now and then the author apparently forgets his principle and we can see both feminine and masculine remarks and images cropping up for certain concepts. For instance the comment to Discretion ('Secretezza' in Italian):

> For one must not reveal the secrets of Princes to Men, much less to Women, who by nature are as garrulous as the Magpies. ... And although Discretion and Secrecy are symbolized by a Woman, nonetheless the same cannot be contained in a Female breast.

It is even more interesting, when Ripa/Pers departs from the rule deliberately, as in Communication, in Italian the feminine 'Conversatione'. The text reads:

> Here a Man and not a Woman is depicted, not only because Communication is more fitting for men than for Women, but because the Greek word *homun* is especially taken so by divers scholars.

Alongside a linguistic argument, here we have an example of Ripa as translated by Pers incorporating in his book the actual vision of their time and the associated gender bias. Here the man as the exemplar of a valuable characteristic is so compelling that the concept has to be represented by a masculine figure.

To get a good insight in the way Ripa/Pers built up the entries it is useful to discuss one of his lemmata in full. I have opted rather arbitrarily for Respectability ('Achtbaarheyt'), in Italian 'Decoro'. It is a young man ('Iongman'), handsome and modest, clothed in a particular way and with several attributes in his hands. His clothing and attributes are discussed and explained one by one. The author has done his utmost to make this a sample of his abilities. He interlards his text with all kinds of classical quotations and references; he also provides a lot of factual historical information, for example about clothing and footwear in Ancient Rome. Respectability manifests itself in the Ripa/Pers vision according to a honourable, free and bourgeois behaviour. Many Graeco-Roman gods and heroes are cited as examples. This masculinity is intensified by such other metaphorical images as the (Lion)-King, Princes, Emperors, and Nobles. Even the people of lower social classes are all males.

Because of the language system it is, as we have seen, always interesting in a Dutch text to examine the use of the general designations for human beings. In regard to Respectability the translator uses Human ('Mens') and Man ('Man') in a completely random way; they are obviously interchangeable and stand for the human race as a whole. Women are essentially only ever brought on to the scene when there is talk of differences between men and women, or when behaviour that is *not* respectable is being criticized. The author and translator are particularly concerned with prostitutes. This negativism about females is enhanced by words like *manliness* versus *effeminacy, effeminately bedizen, effeminate slowness.* At the same time the text also formulates general rules for female and male behaviour which apparently confirm a patriarchal norm: "Diogenes seeing a young man too much willing to employ far too much effeminate plumage, asked him whether he was not ashamed to become uglier by this gaudery than nature had made him."

To determine the gender-biased language of the Ripa/Pers text as published in the Netherlands in 1644, I went through the entries concerning a virtue or a vice and I was able to conclude that the various lemmata in principle revealed the same linguistic pattern. All the same, the differences are worth considering. An example of a feminine virtue appears to be Grace ('Bevalligheyt'), 'Venusta' in Italian. Although in the first sentences the characteristic has been attached to a male and a female, the continuation of the (long) article deals first of all with women. Female beauty, in conjunction with all kinds of bodily and mental attractiveness, provides grace. The great examples are Petrarch's Laura, Helen of Troy, and goddesses like Venus. Female grace seems to lead to male endearment; this is at least an explanation for the diminutives like *little virgins, the little Pumilio, full of little love,* the *Charities or little Loves and the Gratien or little Graces.*

For males the criterion is explicitly not beauty, but behaviour. It is also noticeable that females have to be graceful in the eyes of men, while males have to be convincing and charming in their conduct to other men. The fact that gracefulness can be associated with both females and males apparently poses a problem for the author. He therefore explicitly states that the male quality is not a certain effeminate weakness or feminine chastity.

The entry for 'Grace' is remarkable as far as gender is concerned. When a certain characteristic in the *Iconologia,* like Respectibility, has been presented as mainly masculine, there appears to be no need to comment on this, but when the quality evokes feminine connotations, the author clearly wishes to make clear distinctions. This is the only entry in which we find a warning: "we must assume that gracefulness suits women, but respectability suits men." And the entry contains yet another exceptional statement. After the treatment of the value of male Grace, the author continues with a very personal note, in which he expresses his preference for a woman or girl who is not the ultimate in beauty, but whose behaviour is charming and joyful. So, in a book in which readers are supposed to find symbols and allegories of abstract values, the author frankly formulates his male expectations of females, while there is no opportunity whatsoever for women to do the same. At the very least we have to interpret this as a change of style, at worst as a lack of gender balance.

There is one significant exception. This is Benevolence ('Goedertierenheyt'), the translation of the Italian 'Benignita'. A lot of Princes and Lords ('Heeren' in Dutch) are presented to prove the worth of Benevolence. The author has apparently been influenced by all these males in such a way that, contrary to his usual practice, he forgets that the image is a female. Her characteristic physical features, like bowing her head and outspreading her arms, are directly associated with male behaviour: these "are signs of great benevolence by Princes". But, in the same entry, the concept is also reversed: Magdalena Strozzi, his patroness and/or the wife of his patron Lorenzo Salviati, is presented as an example of a benevolent sovereign, following the descriptions of benevolence as "a quality of great Men", "an expression of a Man, excelling in virtue", "habits of a magnanimous Man" and "a generous Prince". The very fact that Ripa/Pers now and then pays

attention to women as occurs in the case of Strozzi and suggests that women are Men, makes the text ambigiuous and illogical in respect to gender.

There is another strong gender-biased element in the Benevolence entries. While the first picture is of a beautiful young laughing woman, reflecting the high value of the virtue, the second is a Woman "pressing the breasts with both hands, from which much milk flows, which several animals drink". The author sees it as a work of generosity and love "when one freely gives away what Nature has given". Here 'one' indicates a human being independent of the sex, – the generic use. However, lactating is an exclusively female ability, so the example is addressed to women only. In addition to this, woman's lactation is presented detached from its natural function of feeding a baby. This has the cruel implication that the woman who wastes her milk (by giving it to animals) in the meantime deprives her baby of life-giving food. Within the allegorical context the woman is here degraded to a dairy producer. To present this act as natural, makes it a picture of seemly self-evident female behaviour.

Of course the *Iconologia* is not the only work to use this allegory. It has been a frequently used representation since Classical times. The climax of this is the patriarchal dream imagined in the figures of Cimon and Pero also reproduced by Ripa, curiously enough under the entry Piety. In this story female love for and obedience to the father saves him from starving to death thanks to her lactation. This conveys a world vision in which more or less incestuous male behaviour has not only been excused, but has been exalted to the highest moral female conduct. Not a word about her starving baby.

Chastity is perhaps the most gender-loaded concept in a patriarchal society; Ripa/Pers confirm this by the sheer number of entries on this subject: seven personifications are presented to portray this virtue. In these lemmata the author appears to forget that the abstractions in the *Iconologia* are meant to describe general human characteristics. Departing from a female image he heads straight for specifically desired or required female behaviour. The chastity becomes 'virginal chastity' as a female duty; conjugal fidelity, symbolized by two turtle doves, is reduced to the behaviour of females; it is the womanly obligation to wear a veil, "for a chaste woman has to hide the beauty of her figure". The reason for this is, that "she has to take away the opportunity for the eyes"; the fact that these are the eyes of males is not even mentioned. The idea that men are not themselves responsible for their sexuality is not plainly formulated, but shrouded, not only *in,* but really *with the help of* a vague formulation. The conclusion is clear: "It is enough for now that we have said that Chastity must be covered."

The tortoise is also an attribute of Chastity, because the tortoise "by nature" always stays at home, just as "a pious woman has to lock up herself between the walls of the house, due to her female beauty". That her beauty does not affect herself, but men, again remains unformulated here, but the consequence is the imprisonment of women.

A survey of the Ripa/Pers text as it was published in the Netherlands in 1644 leads to the conclusion that although Ripa's choices of the sex of his images have been dictated by linguistics, this nevertheless has implications with regard to gender. His male/female personifications lead to a formulation of supposed or desired male or female behaviour. His entries are formulated from an unreflected male point of view, in which women are sometimes included, sometimes excluded from mankind. This is done through imprecise denotations, through gender-biased symbols and metaphors, and through mainly male examples for identification. Together these formulationss realize a world-view in which, without any discussion, the man is point of departure and norm, the woman the exception. She can be inside or outside the representations, with complete arbitrariness.

OTHER *ICONOLOGIA*-EDITIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS

It is interesting to read what the most famous of all Dutch poets, Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), has to say about the Dutch translation by Pers in a theoretical essay on language and literature:

The *Iconologia* by the bright Knight, Cesare Ripa, now translated into Dutch, provide artistic details to put a work in a lively way and to express it liberally. (WB V: 487)

This expresses the great appreciation of Ripa's collected cultural treasures by the intellectual, humanistic circles in the Netherlands. We might ask whether the Ripa/Pers successors conveyed the same gender messages as their example. After all, the position of women and men seems to have undergone major changes in the Early Modern era.

A rather different presentation is to be seen in Zaunslifer's book of 1722. It brings only a selection of Ripa's images, and uses them within the framework of an ethical handbook. Each entry has an illustration by an anonymous artist; it opens with a literal quotation from the Pers edition, followed by Zaunlifer's own commentary. It is noticeable that besides all the material from Ripa, the author repeatedly also refers to sources not mentioned by Ripa/Pers, such as Arabic and even (very up-to-date!) Indian/American sources. The arrangement is not alphabetic but thematic. The book has been written 'to tempt readers to virtue and to keep them away from vices'. In flowery language Zaunslifer expresses his appreciation for his most important model, the Ripa/Pers edition.

It is remarkable that the protestant minister, who appears in his Dedication to see the Reformed Church as the ultimate true religious community, sees the clearly Catholic Ripa as such a worthy source of Christian behaviour. Zaunslifer does not even discuss this, surely a proof of the great influence Ripa also exercised in the Protestant European regions. Neither does the author explain the choice of female or male personifications; obviously the images were generally known and accepted. He forsakes this principle only once, when he states on his own initiative in the entry for Love, (in which he also draws on Ripa/Pers's entry about Friendship): "The ancient people painted Love as a woman because the inclination to love is strongest in this sex."

In Chastity Zaunslifer mixes up Ripa/Pers's 'Pudicitia', 'Castita' and 'Castita Matrimonale'. Where he uses the *Iconologia* as his source, we read the same examples. However, his explanations convey a different atmosphere. This is caused by the significance and extension he attaches to the concept. Both females and males have to strive for chastity. The veil is an attribute not only for women, but also for men, as we see in the example of David, who covered his head in shame; the list of humans who endeavoured to keep their chastity includes women and men; to blush with shame is as honourable an attitude for girls as it is for young men. An important indicator in respect to gender formulations is the use and meaning of personal and possessive pronouns. Zaunslifer writes: "chastity means that thoughts of *our* souls, and the endeavours of *our* bodies must be pure", "Shame starts when we behave incorrectly", "because of shamefulness *our* voice is kept quiet"; here writer and reader, male and female, are equally involved in the action.

As a whole Zaunslifer's text in the chapters on 'virtues' and 'vices' presents a more gender-balanced elaboration of required or desirable human conduct than did the preceding editions of the *Iconologia*. Albeit addressing himself to males, the author includes males as well as females in his explanations. Possibly, Zaunslifer, as a pastor and a Calvinist, was deeply convinced of the equality of all human beings in the eyes of God. The fact that Zaunslifer made such a formidable use of the *Iconologia,* although he apparently did not altogether agree with his source, makes it plausible to state that Ripa/Pers's images were still very well known; a writer could easily use them as a stepping-stone for his own ideas.

Ripa's work evidently continued to exert a fascination. It was reissued in three substantial folio volumes between 1726 and 1750. Ripa's text is still the basis, modernized by Poot, but the expert anonymous editor, who was later identified as the classicist Ouwens, has added his own commentary throughout. This comment clearly reveals that Pers's edition was indeed seen as a work of consequence and authority, which was widely used in cultural circles. In this edition, too, the choice of masculine or feminine for the personifications is adopted from Ripa/Pers. However, in the notes we see the entanglement between feminine words and female persons. This happens, for example, under Discretion, a feminine personification. The note here provides a lengthy defence of this choice: "But why is Discretion shown here in the guise of a Woman? Since women are usually in no way capable of keeping silent, thus in mysteries ... as otherwise in speaking". In his commentary on Honour ('Eer'), Ouwens states: "Honour is best depicted in female form because it most befits women to love honour." So it is in some cases the sex, not the linguistic gender, which is the motivation.

In terms of the male-female perspective, the concept of Honour is particularly interesting. Earlier research (Sneller 1994) revealed that in Dutch the word 'honour' is given a totally different interpretation depending on the sex to which it applies. Although in the text of an earlier entry, honour is said to be a female speciality, in the specific entry for Honour this quality is exclusively male, given the comment: "Everyone respects a man who is honoured for his virtue". Since virtue in men leads to honour, as we see in the further elaboration of the entry in Virtue in Battle, we are clearly looking here at different female/male concepts. This causes confusion, unnoticed by the editor, and produces an ambiguity, which in this case even leads to homonymy; one word *honour* with two totally different meanings depending on the gender with which it is associated.

Woman was not mentioned in the entries for 'Honour', but this does not apply to 'Vainglory'. The definition reads: "[It] is an uncontrolled movement of the emotions, where one desires one's own high state, and wishes to be honoured and considered above others." The seemingly generic 'one' is given a female content, – an unexplained exception to a linguistic rule. The eighteenth-century author hastens to soften his words about vainglorious female conduct as taken from Ripa/Pers: "I leave the said writer to justify this statement and should not willingly give women, who have never treated me ill, any reason for wrath towards me." A curious remark. It is not the supposed conceitedness of women that is denied, but the possible ill-treatment of the editor himself by women. In a note the editor pursues this:

> One may say of the female sex what one will, and eagerly read all that is laid at her door ..., I nonetheless assert ... that with such accusations we men do the greatest injustice in the world to these dear, sweet creatures, the principal object of our joy and all our pleasure

Semiotics alerts us to the fact that an innocent statement can express and convey a particular view as general and natural. Here the seemingly pro-feminist addition actually excludes women. The circle of writers and readers is made up solely of men ('we men'); furthermore the woman is the 'object of *our* (that is to say, male) joy'; she is, in other words, an object for masculine pleasure and not a person in her own right. She is also saddled with the tautological and hence emphatic 'dear, sweet', which forces her into a pattern of behaviour desired by men, perhaps even with the possibility that it is not worth the author's while to defend the woman who does not conform to this image.

Between 1726 and 1750 the fortunate few in the Netherlands were still so interested in Ripa/Pers's work, that they were willing to pay a considerable sum to be able to consult it in a modern version. The digressive notes by Ouwens transformed this eighteenth century publication of the *Iconologia* into a very different edition, but the implicit and explicit patriarchal point of view scarcely changed.

GENDER-BIASED AND GENDER-BIASING FORMULATIONS

There will be no historian who has doubts about patriarchy in Early Modern times, so nobody will be surprised to find a patriarchal attitude in all texts and images throughout these centuries. However, although a gender bias is generally confirmed, the way in which language functions as the vehicle of gender messages is mostly vague and unreflected. A thorough analysis of Early Modern texts and images is needed to discover the hidden gender-biased formulations on the one hand and the mechanisms language supplies us with to formulate and to maintain gender biasing on the other. An analysis of the influential *Iconologia* by Ripa and his editors and translators leads to the conclusion that it is not the images themselves that are gendered, but chiefly the attached commentary. So in this case it is language that is first and foremost the bearer of the messages; – rather remarkable in a work that is based on images.

In recent decades, historians have undertaken thorough investigations into the supposed emancipation of women in the Renaissance and/or Early Modern times. Ian Maclean's *The Renaissance Notion of Woman* is an authoritative book. His study of the most important scientific domains affords insights into the intellectual infrastructure and modes of thought of the period, addressing the questions of what the notion of woman is and how it evolves. He concludes that "[h]umanism, which did much to enhance the dignity of man, was long in liberating the 'man foeminine' from her subordinate status." This attitude appears to apply equally in a work of art and literature like the *Iconologia.*

As soon as gender is introduced as a category in the analysis of Early Modern texts, we find that the cultural products have a great deal to teach us about the way in which certain conceptions of 'women' and 'men', of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' are expressed implicitly and explicitly in language as a vehicle for ideas. Semiotics as a method of suspicious reading is of great help in this respect. It reveals how great the power of language is in confirming the male authority and female dependence that flourished in a patriarchal, bourgeois Dutch culture.

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Emblematic Iconography in Early Modern Culture

Alison Saunders

MALE OR FEMALE: VISUAL AND VERBAL GENDERING IN ALLEGORICAL REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *HYMNES DU TEMPS* AND *HYMNES DES VERTUS*

The subject of this paper is two closely related books, both written in French, and both constructed very much in the manner of an emblem book, although neither is given that title. One was published in Lyon in 1560 by Jean de Tournes (who specialised in illustrated books, including several editions of emblem books), and the other in Geneva 45 years later, in 1605, by his son Jean II de Tournes. The first work, the *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties,* is fairly rare,[1] but the second, the *Hymnes des vertus, representees au vif par belles et delicates figures,* is very rare indeed, existing in only three known copies, two in Paris and one in London.[2] In construction both follow a common emblematic pattern of title, woodcut illustration and verse. The earlier *Hymnes du temps* includes with each 'emblem' a prose '*enarration*' giving a gloss of factual information about the subject of that particular 'emblem', but the later *Hymnes des vertus* does not include an equivalent prose gloss.[3] In both works the woodcuts are encased in decorative frames, some of which recur in both works.[4]

A certain amount is known about the *Hymnes du temps,* but very little is known about the later *Hymnes des vertus.* We know the identity of the author of the text of the *Hymnes du temps,* Guillaume Guéroult, and also of the artist responsible for the woodcut illustrations, Bernard Salomon. But we also know that the dominant force behind its production was neither of these two, but rather Jean de Tournes himself. In his preface to the work De Tournes identifies Salomon as the creator of the illustrations and Guéroult as the author of the text, but he explains that it is he, the publisher, who has put together this anthology for the benefit and enjoyment of his readers, to whom he makes the promise that if it proves successful, he will go on to produce further similar works.[5] He himself did not live to do so (he died four years later in 1564) but giv-

[1] *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties,* Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1560, 8°.

[2] *Hymnes des vertus, representees au vif par belles et delicates figures,* Geneva, J II de Tournes, 1605, 8° (Bnf; Arsenal and British Library).

[3] In the course of the *Hymnes du temps* the *ennarations* get shorter and shorter, by the end comprising only a few lines, suggesting that Guéroult was becoming progressively less enchanted with them.

[4] In the *Hymnes des vertus,* the figures of *Magnanimité, Societé, Concorde, Victoire, Renommée, Vanité, Detraction* and *Astuce* are encased respectively in the frames used in the earlier *Hymnes du Temps* for the illustrations of *Heures, Septembre, Avril, Fevrier, Octobre, Janvier, Nuit* and *Mai.*

[5] Nous avons icy recueilly d'un si grand amas le Temps, l'Aurore, le Jour, la Nuit, les Heures, & les douze Mois, que nous avons mis en lumiere en ta faveur, & pour l'amour de toy, te prians de les recevoir d'aussi bon keur comme je m'asseure de la bonne affection de celuy qui te les presente: avec ce que je espere que tu y prendras quelque delectation, pour estre le tout sorty de bonne main: car l'invention est de M. Bernard Salomon Peintre autant excellent qu'il y en ayt point en nostre Hemisphere, la lettre de M. Guillaume Gueroult, duquel tu pourras juger apres avoir vù la grande douceur & le peu de contreinte qui sont dans ses vers, t'asseurant que si je vois que tu les reçoives en bonne part, je te feray voir en brief quelques autres semblables livrets, lesquels j'espere que tu verras de bon oeil. (*Hymnes du temps,* 3).

en the strong similarities between the two works it would seem possible that the *Hymnes des vertus,* published by his son nearly half a century later, in 1605, might well be that further work which De Tournes senior had intended to produce.

Although in this latter work neither the identity of the author of the text nor that of the artist responsible for the illustrations is revealed, so similar is the style of both text and illustration of the *Hymnes des vertus* to those of the earlier work that it is tempting to assume that it also was the creation of Guéroult and Salomon, and that it was probably put together soon after the *Hymnes du temps,* but for one reason or another (possibly due to civic unrest in Lyon at this time) never published by De Tournes senior in the few remaining years of his life, between 1560 and 1564, and lay around in the workshop in manuscript form for the next few decades until De Tournes junior, finding it among his father's old stock, decided to publish it. Unfortunately, while the attribution of the illustrations to Salomon seems very probable, the attribution of the text to Guéroult and the suggestion that it was produced within a few years of that of the *Hymnes du temps* does not stand up to closer investigation. The illustrations bear all the hallmarks of Salomon, and it very probably was Salomon (who died in 1561) who was responsible for the initial drawings, at least, if not for the woodblocks themselves. Attribution of the text to Guéroult, however, is more problematic, since despite the very strong stylistic similarities between its very inflated neo-*Pléiade* phraseology and that of the *Hymnes du temps,* close examination shows that the verses of the *Hymnes des vertus,* although almost certainly modelled on those of Guéroult's *Hymnes du temps,* cannot date from as early as the 1560s, and cannot therefore be by Guéroult himself, since he died in 1569. In the *hymne* to *Assiduité* several poets are identified as having achieved honour and glory thanks to this virtue, including Ronsard and Du Bartas ('Ronsard & Bartas ont quis/Et acquis/Los de gloire inestimable', 46). While this would apply to Ronsard as early as 1569 (the latest date by which Guéroult could have composed the work), it would not apply to the much younger Du Bartas, who was not born until 1544, did not start publishing before the 1570s, and could not really be described as having achieved honour and glory before the 1580s. From this we must conclude that the text cannot date from earlier than the mid 1580s, and is thus not the work of Guéroult himself, but rather a work imitated from that of Guéroult.

Despite their different dates of composition the two works are closely associated. Both were produced by the De Tournes workshop, and both rely heavily on the use of male and female allegorical figures to represent their chosen theme, visually on the one hand and verbally on the other. Since the French language has a gender system and all the nouns relating to virtues are feminine it is not surprising that all the woodcut figures in the *Hymnes des vertus* should depict females. (Only in one – *Fidelité* – does a male also appear, but he is in a clearly subordinate position to the main figure who is female). Since all the months in French are masculine in gender it might be expected that, in the same way, the figures depicted in the woodcuts of the *Hymnes du temps* would all be correspondingly male, but in fact that is not the case. There are five preliminary 'emblems' – *Temps, Lucifer, Jour, Nuit* and *Heures* – and for these the conventional gender allocation applies, with *Nuit* and *Heures* represented by female figures, and *Temps, Lucifer* and *Jour* by male figures. But for the actual months themselves, only five are represented by male figures, while six are represented by female figures. (The twelfth, February, is represented by a sacrificial altar around which are gathered three figures, two female and one male.) The reason why woodcut figures of females are used in *Avril, May, Juin, Juillet, Septembre* and *Novembre,* to represent masculine months is that in many cases they depict the particular god or goddess associated with that month, as, for example, Maia for *May,* Juno for *Juin* or Diana for *Novembre.*

Given that both works exploit the combination of visual and verbal messaging, it is interesting to examine the extent to which in each of them the visual message of gender conveyed by the woodcut figures is matched by the verbal message of the text. Let us begin with the earlier

work, the *Hymnes du temps.* As might be expected the pattern is not a simple black and white one. In some cases there is good correlation between the two elements, while in others it is much less good, and in some it is wholly absent. Among the cases of good correlation, March is represented visually by the bellicose male figure of Mars, god of War, while July is represented by a woodcut figure of the female goddess Ceres, with all her associated attributes of fruitfulness and plenty. In both cases Guéroult's text draws attention, in verbal terms, to the same characteristics which are visually represented by Salomon. He spells out the traditional association between the month of March and Mars the god of war. In the *enarration* he alludes to the god's 'face truculente', and expands this further in the opening lines of the verse, itemising all the various physical manifestations of male bellicosity depicted in the woodcut:

> Voicy le Dieu guerrier, Tremblez donques humains,
> Redoutans la fureur de sa tetrique face:
> Fuyez fuyez l'horreur de ses meurtrieres mains,
> Qu'il ne vous amoncele espandus sur la place.
> Ja desja pouvons voir (ô chetifs) flamboyer
> Aux rayons du Soleil sa foudroyante hache,
> Et dessus son armet diapré ondoyer
> Moult orgueilleusement son menaçant pennache,
> De lames herissé il espard un escler
> Esblouïssant les yeux de splendeur admirable,
> De la senestre tient l'invincible bouclier:
> De la dextre brandit le glaive espouvantable. (*Hymnes du temps,* 42–3)

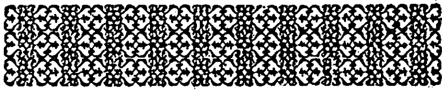
In the *Hymne de Juillet* likewise, his verse echoes closely Salomon's visual representation of the goddess Ceres with her attributes of ears of corn and sickle:

> Lors la sage Ceres
> Gentement se façonne
> De maints espics dorez
> Une riche coronne....
> Adonq pour moissonner
> La campagne fertile
> Thenot vient empongner
> Sa tortue faucille. (*Hymnes du temps,* 62)

However in the opening emblem, the *Hymne du temps,* the correlation between figure and text is less good. Although many of the allegorical elements of the woodcut figure are also present in the text, not all the detail is the same. The woodcut depicts Old Father Time as a bearded, winged figure with cloven hooves and crutches, sitting on a tree branch, accompanied by a crow. *(see Fig. 1)* All these attributes are described and explained by Guéroult in the *Enarration du Temps,*[6] but Salomon's woodcut also depicts lying beside him other familiar attributes of time – a sickle and hour-glass – neither of which is mentioned by Guéroult. In a manner more reminiscent of Fortune, Salomon's woodcut also represents Time as bald, but with a long

[6] Et aussi pour ce mesme effect est il peint comme un homme fort plein de jours, accroupi sus un vieux tronc, pour signifier que le Temps est pere & progeniteur de toutes choses terrestres, & ceste barbe chenue donne à entendre l'ancienneté d'iceluy...les esles qui volettent à son dos, nous tesmoingnent sa course reguliere & infatigable...ces potences desquelles il est soutenu nous enhortent sa longanimité...En luy on apperçoit piedz de cerf, qui est signe de sa fuyte isnelle...Encor ce vieux siecle honorant ce vieillard venerable l'ha illustré d'un animant propre, faisant le Corbeau serf à sa hautesse & grandeur... (*Hymnes du temps,* 5–6).

forelock, and this feature also is not picked up by Guéroult's text. These are all differences of detail, however, and the essential gender message is common to both visual image and verbal image, since both evoke a clearly male figure.



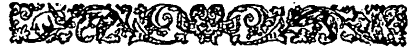
HYMNE DV TEMPS.

O CHOEVR *Aonien si onq de voz faveurs*
I'ay pù gouster à gré les succrees saveurs,
A ce coup eslancez en ma froide poitrine
Voz brandons flamboyans vostre fureur divine:
Si que pour ceste fois de vostre ardeur espris
Ie donne heureuse fin à mon euvre entrepris.
Et vous qui le lirez, que j'ay voué de metre
Commencement & fin à mon humble & bas metre,

Recevez

Fig. 1. Temps in *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties,*
Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1560, p.[7]

70



HYMNE DE SEPTEMBRE.

Tu es venu finablement,
Septembre souef & amœne
Avec un doux contentement
Que ta bonté au monde ameines
Car ta richesse à la corne fatale
D'Achelous heureusement segale.
L'œil convoiteux son regard tend

Et

Fig. 2. Septembre in *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties,*
Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1560, p. 70

But this is not always the case. In the *Hymne de Septembre* Salomon's woodcut shows a female figure bearing on her head and in her hands and arms the cornucopian attributes of harvest, *(see Fig. 2)* but Guéroult's *enarration* focuses on a different aspect of the month, associating it with the male god Vulcan. Although he *does* include reference in his verse to the harvesting activities denoted by the female figure of the woodcut, the masculine emphasis of his text is further strengthened by his apostrophe of *Septembre* as a masculine month, further underlined by the use of the clearly masculine adjectives *fecond* and *doux:*

> O fecond Septembre combien
> Grande doit estre ta louange?
> Vù que le rond de ce terrestre monde
> De divers dons par ta largesse abonde...
> O doux Mois, en felicité
> Ta venue aymable assaisonne.
> Voicy comment ceste large affluence
> D'un juste poix Pomonne nous balance.

De l'arbre qui, chargé, se plaint
On pille la pomme amoureuse,
De l'autre diversement peint
On prend la poire savoureuse.
Et ces presens d'une naïve grace
Le mesnager en ses greniers entasse. (*Hymnes du temps,* 71–2)

May offers a different problem of gender representation for artist and writer alike. In his *enarration* Guéroult first points to the masculine association of the month, tracing the etymology of the name to the Latin *Maius,*[7] but then complicates the issue by citing a further association of the month of May with a female figure, *Maia:*

> Aucuns recherchans l'origine du nom de May de plus loing, nous la font venir de Maia l'une des Pleiades, mere de Mercure, à laquelle ilz le font sacré & dedié: par ce que ceste estoile Maia apparoit en ce mois. (*Hymnes du temps,* 49)

In his verse also Guéroult picks up the double gender, including passages of apostrophe both to the feminine *Maye* (derived from *Maia*) and to the masculine *May* (derived from *Maius*):

Maye ô Maye Nymphe heureuse,
La largesse plantureuse
Dont, large, nous fais jouyr...
May donq des Cieux favori,
May rempli d'esjouyssance,
Tant que vivra mon essence
De moy tu seras cheri. (*Hymnes du temps,* 54)

For his woodcut illustration Salomon opts firmly for the feminine version, depicting in the foreground a female figure whose identity as Maia is confirmed by the inclusion in the background of her son, Mercury. *(see Fig. 3)* The *Hymne de May* demonstrates well the greater scope enjoyed by the writer compared with that of the artist. Where Guéroult's text is flexible in length, allowing him space to include reference to both masculine and feminine allegorical representations of the month, the physically more restricted visual medium in which he is working obliges Salomon to select only one or other of them.

In the *Hymne de Lucifer* there is again a gender conflict between the artist's representation and that of the writer. Salomon's woodcut depicts an allegorical male figure of Lucifer, the morning star, soaring across the sky and dispelling the darkness of night, accompanied by a cockerel, herald of the dawn, and this image is indeed replicated in

HYMNE DE MAY.

Or venue est la saison
Que la belle Pleiade erre,
Qui nous fait rire la terre,
Iettant ses fruits à foison.
Sus sus qu'on delaisse
De sombre tristesse
Les ennuyeux laqs:

Fig. 3. May in *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties,* Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1560, p. 50

[7] Ce Mois tant debonnaire & gentil fut anciennement consacré par Romulus premier Roy Rommain aux Majeurs, & pource appellé en langage Latin MAIUS (*Hymnes du temps,* 49).

Guéroult's verse apostrophising Lucifer, the morning star:[8]

> O Astre donq benignement luisant,
> Astre argentin, Astre doux & plaisant,
> Je doy par droit celebrer ta venue,
> Par qui nous est tant de joye advenue.
> Car par toy est chassé de toutes parts
> D'obscure nuict le noir manteau espars...
> Ton taint mignon le haut Ciel embellit.
> Et ces bas lieux de liesse remplit.
> Brief tout s'esgaye appercevant la gloire
> De la splendeur de ton Nacre ou yvoire.
> Dessus ton char l'Olympe traversant
> Sur le pourprix terrestre vas versant
> Oeillets & lys, marguerites & roses,
> Que de ton oeil larmoyant tu arroses.
> Quoy plus? Le Coq est fidele annonceur
> De ta venue, & ta grande douceur
> Le Rossignol mignardement caresse,
> De son sommeil en rompant la paresse. (*Hymnes du temps,* 13)

But in his prose *enarration,* Guéroult introduces a completely new element in the shape of the female Aurora. Although the overall title of this emblem is *Hymne de Lucifer,* the *enarration* is given an expanded title *Enarration de Lucifer, ou Aurore, selon les Poetes,* and its opening lines describe this very different figure of a woman led by passion to abduct her lover, Cephalus:

> Ceste estoile benigne, messagere du jour espoingnant, & appellee de noz Poëtes Aurore, laquelle ils nous ont quelquefois prostituee proye à l'amour violente, & tant passionnee, que quelquefois forcee d'ardeur desmesuree, enleva de terre à son sejour le plourant Cephale, duquel ils la feingnent espouse. (*Hymnes du temps,* 10–11)

Only after this description of the female Aurora does he proceed to discuss Lucifer, but even here the focus is different since it is Lucifer the fallen angel who is described rather than Lucifer herald of the dawn as described in his verse and represented in Salomon's woodcut figure.[9] Here again, therefore, as with the *Hymne de May* we see the greater freedom enjoyed by the writer to weave together a rich range of allusion – including figures of both male and female gender – compared with the much closer constraints within which the artist must work, compelling him to identify one single figure, male or female, as the focus of his representation.

The *Hymnes du temps et de ses parties* is thus a sophisticated work, exploiting a rich corpus of material which offers an immense diversity of iconographic approach Although at first glance the later *Hymnes des vertus* appear to follow a very similar pattern to that of the earlier work, closer inspection shows that the picture is actually very different. In one respect there is greater correlation between visual and verbal representation in the later work, but in another respect there

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[8] (Albeit it includes a number of details not included in Salomon's woodcut figure, including a reference to Lucifer's chariot).

[9] l'Ange orgueilleux, doué pour sa beauté emerveillable de semblable nom. Car luy enflé de vaine presumption cuidant la rarité de son elegante beauté proceder de son seul pouvoir, au lieu d'en rendre graces à la beneficence du Dieu treshaut & eternel, s'esleva contre luy par un oser execrable, presumant s'egaler à sa magesté. Mais qu'en advint il? Vrayement le proverbe est veritable, Qui meschef cherche, & meschef rencontre, il ne perd pas son temps, mais son sens. Ainsi en print il au miserable esbloui en la grandeur de son excellence, si que le Haut-tonnant irrité de si furieuse insolence, en son juste courroux precipita ce brave Ange en Enfer, ou il est resserré en tenebres eternelles. (*Hymnes du temps,* 11).

is less. All the virtues are feminine in gender (as are likewise the three non-virtues included at the end – *Vanité, Detraction* and *Astuce*), and the woodcut illustrations faithfully reflect this, so there are no divergences of gender such as were found in the earlier work, as for example in the *Hymne de Septembre* where the text referred to the male god Vulcan but the woodcut depicted a female figure.

DES VÉRTVS. 15

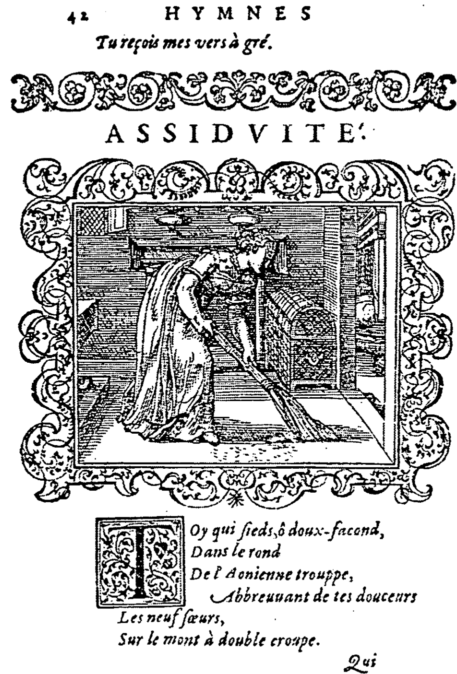
Et toy, dont le los ſ'accorde
Deſſus ma louarde corde,
Reçoy l'oblation mienne.

PATIENCE.

Es vertus, pour certain, eſt la condition
Telle, que la ſplendeur de leur perfection
Engourdit vn eſprit en admiration
De ſi haute efficace;

Que

Fig. 4. *Patience* in *Hymnes des vertus,* Geneva, Jean II de Tournes, 1605, p. 15


42 HYMNES

Tu reçois mes vers à gré.

ASSIDVITE'.

Oy qui ſieds, ô doux-facond,
Dans le rond
De l'Aonienne trouppe,
Abbreuuant de tes douceurs
Les neuf ſœurs,
Sur le mont à double croupe.

Qui

Fig. 5. *Assiduité* in *Hymnes des vertus,* Geneva, Jean II de Tournes, 1605, p. 42

But in another respect there is a greater lack of correlation. Certainly all the central figures of the woodcuts are female, reflecting the gender of the virtue, but some at least of the activities in which they are engaged are not normally associated with a female, leading thereby to a certain tension. *Sollicitude,* for example, is represented by a woman energetically sawing wood on a saw-bench (53) while *Patience* wields a fishing rod (15). *(see Fig.4)* Almost all the activities depicted in the woodcut figures are everyday domestic activities. *Promptitude* and *Vigilance,* for example, busy themselves with cooking pots over an open fire in the kitchen (32, 37), while *Assiduité* sweeps the floor with a broom (42), *(see Fig.5)* and *Perseverance* does her spinning (59). The domestic character of the scenes depicted is very striking,[10] but interestingly this aspect is not reflected in the corresponding verbal message. Although the *Hymnes des vertus* does not include prose *enarrations* providing information about the literary and iconographic associations of each virtue in the manner of the *Hymnes du temps,* the verses are just as inflated, if not more so than those of the

[10] In this respect there are distinct similarities between the illustrations of the *Hymnes des vertus* and Gilles Corrozet's *Blasons domestiques,* which exploited for moralising purposes the combination of visual representation of the rooms of a middle-class house and verbal description and praise of them and of the virtuous activities carried out in them. (*Les blasons domestiques contenantz la decoration d'une maison honneste, et du mesnage estant en icelle: invention joyeuse et moderne,* Paris, G. Corrozet, 1539, 16°).

earlier work. Classical allusions abound, often periphrastically expressed in best *Pléiade* manner, and the contrast, and consequent tension between the elevated and decorative language and imagery used to describe the virtues, and the modest, domestic context in which they are represented visually is very marked.

In the case of *Assiduité,* for example, the visual depiction of a housewife sweeping the floor sits very uneasily with the much more grandiloquent text which points, among many other things, to the great benefits brought by *Assiduité* to men of letters, both ancient and modern:

Demosthene te doit l'heur
Et valeur
De son attique eloquence:
Et sa boule te doit bien
Tout le bien
De sa feconde science.
Platon et Tulles aussi
Ton souci
A rendus perles du monde:
Et Virgile & le harpeur
Ont eu l'heur
D'avoir leur Muse faconde.
Par toy Petrarque a chanté
La beauté
De sa Laure tant louable:
Ronsard & Bartas ont quis
Et acquis
Los de gloire inestimable. (*Hymnes des vertus,* 46)

Only in a brief reference to 'netteté' in the opening eulogy of the virtue does the text match in any way the visual woodcut image of the housewife with her broom:

O belle Assiduïté,
Exalté
Sera ton los en mon hymne:
A ce coup te chanteray,
Et diray
L'honneur duquel tu es digne.
Tu aymes l'honnesteté,
Netteté,
Saincte vertu, t'accompagne:
Le labeur plaist à tes yeux
Gracieux. (*Hymnes des vertus,* 43–4)

In *Vigilance* likewise there is little connection between the grandiose achievements for which the virtue is praised in the text and the domestic visual representation of the housewife with her cooking pot, armed with her distaff and spindle for further good measure, other than a passing reference to a wise virgin as *Vigilance:*

Qui est celle vierge sage,
Qui va soigneusement
Remirant tout son mesnage
Agencé honnestement
Si j'ay bonne souvenance,
Ce doit estre Vigilance. (*Hymnes des vertus,* 39)

Here again the bulk of the text focuses on the much more elevated role of the virtue – in this case helping rulers to achieve good governance, inspiring poets, protecting the well being of citizens, to cite only a few of her achievements:

> Tu conserves l'excellence
> Et les hauts estats des Rois:
> Tu estains la violence,
> Faisant prosperer les droits.
> Tu es prompte, tu es gente,
> Accorte, & moult diligente
> Pour un bon Senat garder...
> Tu as faict en nos campagnes,
> Au son d'un pouce divin,
> Tremousser les soeurs compagnes
> Sous le harpeur Angevin.
> Tu as en France amenee
> L'eloquence fortunee
> Que Grece sienne vanta...
> Sous ton soing les republiques
> Vivent politiquement,
> Et les coustumes antiques
> S'observent heureusement...
> Vierge tu gardes la ville,
> Et la superbe cité,
> De toute trahison vile,
> Et son Fort d'adversité.
> Te sçachant, nulle eschauguette
> Ne l'environne, n'aguette. (*Hymnes des vertus,* 39–41)

In *Patience,* again, the text makes no reference to the mundane activity of the woman fishing in a river, shown in the woodcut, but instead focuses on the more elevated theme of *Patience*'s resistance to adversity in a range of dramatic and violent forms, including fire, flood and battle – contexts which, like those evoked in *Assiduité,* relate more to the activities of a male population than of a female population:

> Car le triste malheur de tout evenement,
> Que le destin sur nous darde sinistrement,
> Constante elle supporte, & courageusement,
> Sur ses espaules fortes.
> Soit que le ciel voilé de mille tourbillons
> Face pleuvoir son ire aux humides sillons,
> Esclatte son tonnerre, ou eslance à traicts longs
> L'esclair en maintes sortes...
> Soit que Mars esbranlant l'horreur de ses fleaux
> Comble de l'Univers la rondeur de tous maux,
> Semant ses escadrons par les herbes preaux
> Plus drus que l'herbe tendre:
> Ou defendant le fort fierement envahi,
> Ou forçant, furieux, le bastillon trahi,
> Mattant le vain effort du soldat esbahi,
> Recreu, prest à se rendre.
> Soit que l'exploit vainqueur aux massacres acquis
> Par fer, par feu, par flamme ayt divers lieux conquis,
> Ruïné villes, bourgs, & leur manoirs exquis...
> Seulette elle resiste, & seulette soustient
> De ces grieves douleurs le desastre qui vient. (*Hymnes des vertus,* 17–18)

The verse description of the physical appearance of *Patience* similarly evokes a masculine and military figure. As described verbally she is a soldier of the Lord, armed with the shield of faith and sword of constancy – an image far removed from the visual image of a stooped old woman peacefully fishing:

> Si le ciel despité vomit sur nostre chef
> L'esclat vindicatif de quelque grand meschef,
> Constante ell' le repousse : & soit que derechef
> En courroux persevere,
> Pourtant ell' ne s'esmeut, opposant (quant à soy)
> Le glaive de constance & l'escusson de foy,
> Esperant sa victoire, ô Eternel, de toy,
> Qu'elle craint & revere. (*Hymnes des vertus,* 19)

DES VERTVS. 9

Ell' heurte, pour l'abiſmer,
Les flancs de la nef domtee:
Ou, d'une iree ſecouſſe,
Contre le roc ell' la pouſſe,
La tronçonnant eſclattee.
Ou, auec ſons allechans,
Les Sirenes marinieres,
Ou auec abbois tranchans
Les Syrtes dures & fieres
D'œil conuoiteux & leger
Guignent le maſt paſſager,
Victime à leur gueule gloute:
R r Mais

Fig. 6. Magnanimité in *Hymnes des vertus,* Geneva, Jean II de Tournes, 1605, 9.

This striking lack of correlation between the verbal message of the text and the visual message of the woodcut figure applies to all but seven of the *Hymnes des vertus.* However, in *Magnanimité* (9), *Concorde* (83), *Victoire* (89) and *Renommée* (94), as also in the three non-virtues, *Vanité* (99), *Detraction* (105) and *Astuce* (112), there is much closer correlation between the iconography of the woodcut figure and that of the text than in the other *hymnes.* The text is no different in style from that of the other *hymnes,* but the difference lies in the woodcut figures. All seven depict stylised allegorical figures, quite unlike the domestic scenes depicted elsewhere in the work, and much more akin to those of the *Hymnes du temps.* In all seven cases visual message and verbal message are in much greater harmony, with the allegorical attributes of the figure being echoed in the text. *Magnanimité,* for example, is depicted in the woodcut figure as a martial woman, seated, wearing a breastplate, and bearing a setsquare in her right hand and a heart in her left hand, with a lion's skin draped over her left arm, *(see Fig.6)* all of which features appear also in the text which praises her for her warrior-like character, citing her 'fort bras belliqueur', her 'exploit vainqueur' and 'ame valeureuse' (12). Her strength and fighting prowess are associated with the labours of Hercules:

> Or' que l'hidre regorgeant
> Une mortelle fumiere,
> Or' que le porc saccageant
> D'Erimanthe la frontiere,
> Et le lion genereux,
> Et le tygre furieux,
> Tous, tous à coup t'envahissent,
> Au seul regard de ta face,

Perdans le coeur & l'audace,
Tous espouvantés fremissent.
Car brandissant ton fort branc,
O guerriere incomparable,
Tu l'enfonces dans le flanc
Du serpent espouvantable.
Voicy d'un sifflant revers
Le porc gisant à l'envers,
Le tygre sanglottant touille:
Et le lion surmarché,
Hideusement escorché
T'honore de sa despouille. (*Hymnes des vertus*, 12–13)

after which a verbal explanation is given of the significance of the lionskin, setsquare and heart depicted in the woodcut:

Ceste peau nous fait sçavoir,
Que l'orgueil fier tu debelles,
Brises son mutin pouvoir,
Et ses puissances rebelles.
Tu tiens en ta gauche main
Un coeur traictable & humain,
Nous donnant signifiance,
Que ta grandeur non felonne
A l'humilié pardonne...
Sur l'esquierre droiturier
Ton vaillant bras se repose,
Qui descouvre au preux guerrier
Le secret d'une grand'chose:
C'est qu'au conflict martial
Conviennent en poids egal
Et le coeur & la prudence:
Et la force corporelle... (*Hymnes des vertus*, 13–14)

So what can we conclude about these two clearly associated works, both published by the De Tournes workshop, and apparently similar in construction but in reality quite different in approach? In the earlier *Hymnes du temps*, both male and female figures are used in both figure and text, sometimes correlating closely, sometimes partially, and sometimes hardly at all. Guéroult's lengthy open-ended text, comprising prose *ennaration* as well as verse, allows him to include in each case a great range of imagery, both male and female, whereas Salomon's more constrained woodcut figures allow him to focus on one element only. Since we know from Jean de Tournes's preface that it was he who took the initiative in commissioning illustrations from Salomon on the one hand and text from Guéroult on the other, it may well be the case that writer and illustrator worked independently of each other. This would explain the disparities which occur between their representations. The fact that nevertheless in many cases there *is* quite close correlation between verbal and visual image, even though they may have been working independently of each other, is still understandable since many of the mythological, zodiacal and seasonal associations with Time and the months of the year are fairly commonplace topoi which would be obvious choices for artist and writer alike.

But the case of the *Hymnes des vertus* is more complex and more problematic, since here we lack any of the sort of information given by Jean de Tournes senior in the preface to the earlier work. On stylistic grounds we can feel fairly confident that the illustrations were designed by Bernard Salomon in the last years of his life, even if he himself did not produce the actual wood-

blocks. On stylistic grounds also it would be tempting to conclude that the verses are also by Guéroult, as in the earlier work. But as we have seen, this cannot be case, and the text therefore remains anonymous. Since internal evidence shows that the text cannot date from earlier than the mid 1580s, whereas Salomon must have produced the designs for the woodcuts, if not the actual woodcuts themselves, before his death in 1561, there must have been a considerable interval of time between production of the illustrations and production of the text, and – unless the text dates from much later than the mid 1580s -a further interval between that and ultimate publication of the work in 1605. Since, unlike his father, Jean de Tournes junior does not include a preface telling us how the book came to be put together, we can only speculate, taking into account in so doing evidence of earlier practice of putting together emblem books by the addition of verses to already existing illustrations.[11]

It would appear that in the case of the *Hymnes des vertus* we are looking at not just one but two sets of woodblocks depicting women – the larger set being those depicting scenes from domestic life, and the (very different) smaller set depicting stylised allegorical female figures.[12] A possible scenario for the production of the *Hymnes des vertus* could be as follows. Finding among his father's old stock a set of picturesque woodblocks depicting women engaged in various domestic activities, which had not apparently been used previously, De Tournes junior could have conceived the idea that – like the earlier Ovid woodblocks used by Aneau for the *Picta poesis/ Imagination poetique*- these could be put to useful service as the basis for a collection of *Hymnes des vertus* in the style of the much earlier *Hymnes du temps.* But since the thirteen woodblocks in the set were not enough to accommodate all the virtues, additional ones had to be found. A further seven woodblocks would thus have been selected from another set, also depicting women, but doing so rather differently. This would account for the otherwise inexplicable difference of style between the very domestic main set and the more decorative allegorical set illustrating *Magnanimité, Concorde, Victoire, Renommée* and the non-virtues, *Vanité, Detraction* and *Astuce.*

The necessary number of woodblocks having been identified, a writer would then have been set the task of producing a set of allegorical verses on the subject of the virtues depicted in those woodblocks. Thus, in contrast to the earlier *Hymnes du temps,* we would be seeing here a work in which the writer *did* know what the artist had depicted, but that – highly influenced by the richly discursive and decorative style of Guéroult's earlier verses in the *Hymnes du temps* – he chose to imitate this same style, and thus wove a far more complex, allusive text around the individual virtues, very appropriate to the seven allegorical woodcut figures, but far less appropriate for the main set of domestic woodcut figures to which the much richer verbal iconographic message has little connection. While the unknown author of the text does on occasion acknowledge the specific theme of the domestic woodcut figure, he does so only very cursorily, being apparently far more interested in his own literary agenda than in playing his part as a team member in the production of a unified 'emblem book' in which ideally figure and text should mutually complement each other in conveying a harmonious message.

In both the *Hymnes du temps* and the *Hymnes des vertus* we thus see how differences of agenda between writer and artist can lead to interesting tensions when verbal contribution and visual contribution are brought together. In this case those tensions are particularly evident in the domain of the representation of the iconography of gender.

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[11] Aneau's *Picta poesis/Imagination poetique* (Lyon, M. Bonhomme, 1552, 8°) was created in large part by the addition of new verses to a set of old woodblocks designed to illustrate Ovid's *Metamophoses.* Similarly Corrozet's *Emblemes* accompanying his *Tableau de Cebes de Thebes* (Paris, D. Janot, 1543, 8°) was created by re-using old woodblocks from Janot's stock.

[12] The suggestion that two distinct sets of woodblocks are used in this work is further borne out by the evidence of the decorative borders in which they are encased, which are also different. The borders for the allegorical figures are oval, whereas those for the domestic figures are rectangular.

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Gilles Corrozet. 1539. *Les blazons domestiques contenantz la decoration d'une maison honneste, et du mesnage estant en icelle: invention joyeuse et moderne.*, Paris: G. Corrozet.

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Hymnes des vertus, representees au vif par belles et delicates figures. 1605. Geneva: J. II de Tournes.

Claude Paradin. 1557. *Devises heroïques, par M. Claude Paradin Chanoine de Beaujeu.*, Lyon: J. de Tournes and G. Gazeau.

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Silke R. Falkner

IMAGES OF THE OTHER: THE GENDER OF WAR IN *TURCICA* ICONOGRAPHY[1]

In 1530, Justus Jonas wrote that the Christians were so frightened of the cruel Turks, "das sie engstlich, und mit grossem ernst nach dem selbigen gen Himel ruffen und schreien musse, wie ein weib das ynn kindes nöten ligt" (H iii verso).[2] The anxiety, pain, and terror of a parturient woman render her so helpless and in need of God's protection that she cries out to heaven for His help. Such is also the Christian's obligation in the face of Islam. Just as the pain of childbirth is God's punishment for woman's original sin (Gen 3,15), the Turk is His punishment for contemporary Christian wrongdoing. In this allegory of war, the Christian (female and male) becomes gendered as feminine *and* sexed a 'woman' – in his desperate predicament, there is no option for the Christian but to cry out to God as a woman in labour would.

This intriguing intersection of gender, race, and religion will be the focus of the following discourse analysis, that examines images associated with Otherness, in particular with Islam, or, as early-modern times would have it, with Turks and 'things Turkish.' By way of synecdoche, in fact, in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the terms 'Turk' and 'Muslim' were generally used interchangeably.[3] Thus, "Turkerey referred," as maintained by Brandon Beck, "to Islam" (29), and the English idiom 'to turn Turk,' meaning 'to convert to Islam,' was used from the end of the sixteenth century onward.

As the quote by Justus Jonas reveals, the fear of the Other was inflamed by many texts within the "flood of literature on Turks"[4] inundating the early-modern age. *Turcica*, a term referring to this body of printed material on Turks,[5] appeared in an impressive variety of genres and languages (besides German, they included English, Italian, French, Spanish, and of course Latin). The sheer vastness of the material is expressed by Carl Göllner's 1978 count of about 1,000 German prints merely from the sixteenth century.[6] The appearance of this immense *turcica* was precipitated by both political and technological developments – the conquest of Constantinople, capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, by Ottoman forces in 1453, coincided with the advent of the printing age.

Turcica includes both fiction and non-fiction; poetry, drama, novels, religious treatises and sermons, travel narratives, and broadsheets and pamphlets, some of which are illustrated. This article provides a brief overview of this corpus, a summary of commonly employed topoi, followed by a discussion of how sexuality and violence combined to gender the Muslim Other – and fashioned

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[2] The German quotes reflect the original spelling with the following exceptions: I replaced '=,' '/,' and 'ec' with '-,' a comma, and 'etc.' respectively, and adjusted the letters 'v,' 'u,' 'j,' and 'i' to today's useage.

[3] Cf. Göllner, 1978, 5–6, fn. 3; Schwoebel 226; Wallich, for instance, calls a convert to Islam a "neuen Türken" (19).

[4] Wallmann, 35. All translations from the original German are from me, SRF.

[5] Although in other contexts the term *turcica* may denote artistic collector's items of Turkish origin that fell into Christian hands during military conflicts, re: Kopplin 156.

[6] Göllner, 1978, 18; cf. also Bohnstedt 9.

an authoritative, flourishing genre that inspired fear in its audience, primed it to desire Christian moral reform, intensify bellicosity and raise funds to confront the OttomanTurks.

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The poetry begins, significantly, with one of the oldest German prints and the oldest completely preserved Gutenberg book, the so-called 'Türkenkalender,' issued in December 1454, as a reaction to the fall of Constantinople. This nine-page booklet, *Eyn manung der cristenheit widder die durken,* that is *An Exhortation to Christianity against the Turks,* is an officially commissioned propaganda appeal to combat the Ottoman forces.[7] The anonymous poem is subdivided into twelve sections – one for each of the months of 1455, hence the label 'calendar.' Right up to the time of the French Revolution, similar but increasingly complex 'Türkenkalender' appeared yearly, filled with the descriptions of alleged past and anticipated future acts of Turkish brutalities. Further poetry includes such diverse materials as hundreds of songs from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries narrating specific military events and/or criticising the 'Turkish Religion' (Buchmann 9–15), and Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg's 250-page alexandrine piece *Pillar of Victory,* published in 1675.

The first drama was Hans Rosenplüt's carnevalesque 1454 Shrovetide play *Des Türken vasnachtspil,* and we still see *turcica* plays in the seventeenth century, for instance Daniel Casper von Lohenstein's *Ibrahim Bassa* (1653) and *Ibrahim Sultan* (1673), in which the Muslim ruler is the incarnation of all conceivable political and sexual potency, aberration and wickedness.[8] As to novels, the best known are probably by Hamburg writer Eberhard Werner Happel, whose books sold extraordinarily well, although no one could claim that the free city of Hamburg was in immediate danger of an Ottoman attack (a demonstration that the production of *turcica* was not at all restricted to those in close contact with actual Turks).[9]

Sermons and other religious texts were written by both Catholics and Protestants, the best-known author being none other than Martin Luther of course,[10] but the earlier cited Lutheran Jonas also belongs to this group, as well as the seventeenth-century Viennese Catholic Abraham à Sancta Clara. His potent polemics and most amusing rhetorical agility may outshine all other *turcica* authors: one example of this in his 1683 publication *Auff, auff Ihr Christen!,* refers to the topos of the Turk as God's scourge with the logical: "[just as] the S in the alphabet is followed by the T; Sin is followed by the Turk" (that is: "nach dem S. im ABC. folgt das T. nach der Sünd folgt der Türck," 38).

Travel narratives were sometimes written by former slaves of Ottoman masters, such as Johannes Schiltberger, Georgius de Hungaria[11], and Bartholomej Georgjević[12], sometimes by en-

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[7] For information on the history and purpose of this pamphlet, see Geldner, 1975 and 1983, as well as Göllner, 1978, 37, Mori, and Schönherr.

[8] On issues of gender in Lohenstein's *Ibrahim Sultan,* see Jane O. Newman.

[9] See, in particular, Lynne Tatlock.

[10] For an analysis of Luther's view on Turks, see Martin Brecht.

[11] *Tractatus de Moribus, Condictionibus et Nequicia Turcorum.* The (anonymous) 1481 *editio princeps* was republished by Reinhard Klockow. For substantial information the history of this text, see Klockow, as well as Herkenhoff 214–227. It might be helpful to note that the edition Martin Luther published is entitled *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum* [Büchlein über den Gottesdienst und die Sitten der Türken] (Wittenberg: Lufft, 1530). For an analysis on the interpretative aspects of Franck's translation, and his use of the material elsewhere, see Williams; for an analysis of Georgius' *Tractatus* re "degrees of alterity," see Neuber.

[12] See: Göllner, 1978, 12. *De afflictione tam captivorum quametiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* (Antwerp 1544) and *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* (Anvers, 1544); other editions: Nürnberg 1545, Basel 1545, Wittemberg 1560, Frankfurt 1563, and Nürnberg 1664.

voys to the Turkish court or those who accompanied them (Nicolas de Nicolay[13]), and were frequently republished, edited and translated.[14] Encyclopaedias of the day often included entries on Turks,[15] and illustrated and non-illustrated pamphlets were published en masse, often with such tell-tale titles as the anonymous *Spiegel Göttliches zorns,* that is, *Mirror of the Wrath of God,* from 1620. Vis-à-vis the *imago Turci* in illustrated pamphlets, Wolfgang Harms summarises as follows: "in this area of publishing, powerful infidels [...] like the Turks provide for a constant, never changing concept of an enemy; the ideal image of the noble savage, common during the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment, does not enter [this discourse] at all."[16] Although the occasional exemplary Turk is employed to shame Christians into adhering to specific standards of conduct, Harms' claim can be applied – more or less – to all *turcica* from 1453 to about the end of the seventeenth century I have investigated.[17] Furthermore, when using the term 'iconography' in its extended sense – not only as the content and analysis of pictorial material but also of rhetorical and literary images – I have found that an examination of representative passages demonstrates the central role of a gendered iconography in this psychologically and politically motivated discourse of alterity.

The texts advocated armed combat against the Ottoman Empire (often while calling for all Christian factions to unite in it), and at the same time moral amelioration in the Christian Occident. Thus, they aimed to intensify anxiety and aversion, frequently in polemical fashion, of the Muslim Other, the "hereditary foe" of Christendom, as some of their titles already reveal.[18] These texts were written before the Western reception of the *Arabian Nights,* and we must bear in mind that the *imago Turci* from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries was not yet affected by Scheherazade's tales, whose momentous influence on the representation of the Orient and the Oriental cannot be overestimated. Especially with regard to the themes of sensuality and sexuality, they did eventually have a bearing on the images of Turks in literature; however, the first French translation – by Antoine Galland – was only published at the beginning of the eighteenth century (*Les mille et une nuits: Contes arabes,* 1704–6), followed in the next few years by a translation (from the French) into German, *Die Tausend und Eine Nacht* by August Bohse. While sexuality was, as we shall see, definitely a rhetorical *locus* prior to the *Arabian Nights,* it tended to generate a far more violent and less erotic vision before these tales impinged on the European imagination.

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[13] Nicolas de Nicolay, *Von der Schiffart und Rayß in die Türckey unndgegen Oriennt.* Nürnberg: Gerlatz, 1572. This is a four volume translation from the French *Les navigations, pérégrinations, [et] voyages* ... from 1568. (German translations in 1572, 1575, 1576, 1577; further translations later – see Göllner, 1968, 191 and 743).

[14] One of the best-known travel writers in the seventeenth century was perhaps Adam Olearius with his books *Offt begehrte Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Reise* (1647); *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reise* (1656), and *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibunge Jürgen Andersens* (1669).

[15] For example Hans Lewenklaw's two encyclopedic volumes *Neuwe Chronica* and *Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori, Türckischer Nation.* Eberhard Werner Happel's 'historical' tomes also contain a massive amount of information on Turks: His five-volume *Relationes Curiosae* (1683–1691) – collections of weeklies – and both his *Chronica* from 1688.

[16] "Mächtige Ungläubige in fernen Ländern, wie die Türken, ergeben ein konstantes Feindbild in dieser Publizistik; das Idealbild des edlen Heiden, das im Mittelalter und während der Aufklärung geläufig ist, dringt hier nicht ein" (Harms 148).

[17] The Turk as a comical figure significantly emerges only after 1683, see Csendes 405.

[18] Such as Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg's *Sieges-Seule der Buße und des Glaubens, wider den Erbfeind Christliches Namen* (1675), Abraham à Sancta Clara's *Auff, auff Ihr Christen! Das ist: Ein bewegliche Anfrischung, Der Christlichen Waffen Wider Den Türckischen Bluet-Egel; Sambt Beygefügten Zusatz vieler herrlichen Victorien und Sieg wider solchen Ottomannischen Erb-Feind* (1683), and also Francisci.

The often pompous phraseology in German fifteenth- to seventeenth-century *turcica* fairly regularly expresses the following *topoi:* the Turk as archenemy and hereditary foe; an inner-Christian peace as an essential prerequisite to the expulsion of Turks from Europe; the Crusade/Holy War against Islam; the Turk as the scourge of God and/or tool of the devil; the Turk as Antichrist; Islam as a deception or lie and the Turk as an impostor, that is, the entire Muslim religion as fraudulent. This latter topos is expressed, for example, in the line "Mahomet, der groß- und Ertz-Betrieger" ("Muhammad, the Great- and Arch- Swindler"), from an anonymous 1683 song (Buchmann 84). The word 'Turk' and its derivatives even came to be used when the act was not carried out by Turks *per se:* "As a verb form there was the [...] German word *türcken,* to twist or writhe about, or to wrap about. It meant to change or alter, usually for the worse" (Beck 29). The colloquial *türken,* incidentally, is still used in German to express 'to fake' (such as a scene, letter, or document) and 'to make up' (a story or report), undeniably most often employed in connection to statistics, as in 'die Statistik türken,' 'to massage the figures.'

Furthermore, a whole region of *loci communes,* or rhetorical commonplaces, in *turcica* encompasses sexuality. Luther, for example, employed the phrases "verbotten ehe" ("forbidden marriage") and "hunde hochzeit" ("dog-marriage") in his attack of sexual relationships between Muslims.[19] In doing that, he draws attention to vices and illicit carnal acts, as dogs were proverbially salacious, and "forbidden marriage" refers to sodomy in its broad early modern sense (Grimm 10, 1914). Luther also called the Ottoman Empire an "öffentliche herrliche sodoma" ("open and glorious Sodom") in which "stumme Sünden" ("dumb sins") are carried out (WA30/II, 142,11–26; AE 46: 198). This expression, "dumb sins," with which the Lutheran Erasmus Alberus scorns both the pope and the Turk in one sentence (Cii verso), encompasses all forbidden, sinful, sexual behaviours, be they heterosexual anal intercourse, same-sex activities, masturbation, and bestiality (Grimm 20, 395–397). *Turcica* regularly depicts Turkish marriage as anti-Christian, because it allegedly includes polygamy, salacity, vice, fornication, and sodomy, and refers to the Turk as Dog. Moreover, here, as well as with respect to the fraudulence discussed above, the term 'Turk' and its derivatives gained a metaphorical use, denoting sexual deviance in general, as evidenced by Luther's term "Türckische breute" ("Turkish brides") which signified persons who cultivated what were considered aberrant sexual practices ("Vermahnung" 337; "Exhortation" 48).

One more recurring topos deserving attention is Turkish atrocities. An image often repeated is that of a Turk strangling, spearing and chopping infants into bits. While the animal imagery regarding the Turk committing violent acts includes such varied species as the tiger (Happel HK2, 62)[20] and the "Bluet-Egel," the leech (Abraham à Sancta Clara), most frequent is, yet again, the dog metaphor, often in connection to superlative adjective attributes. The "allergrösseste und grausamste Bluthund" (Happel, 1684, A2) is known for his utmost violence and cruelty, for instance, skinning people alive (Anon. *Außführliche,* Aiv) or 'expressing' his violent inclinations by 'expressing' Christians by "crushing" them in "wine presses like grapes:"

> [Der Türckische Kayser hat] die Christen alda braten, sieden, schinden, viertheilen, ja gar in grosse Wein-Pressen wie die Trauben lassen zerquetschen (Abraham à Sancta Clara 59).

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[19] The word "marriage" here veils coition or sexual intercourse (Grimm 10:1642).

[20] Although Happel wrote well-known novels, his contemporaries presumably knew his journals better. This quote stems from one of those. Current research questions whether Happel even edited the *Cronica.* For a commentary on Happel's weeklies see Böning 75–87.

Unless, of course, he desires a more solid kind of food: supposedly a half-eaten two-year-old was discovered in a captured Turk's pouch.[21]

Rhetorical hypotyposis (the ability of verbal language to evoke images or other non-linguistic semiotics) demands an iconographic discourse analysis, as do illustrations. Thus, the topos 'Turkish atrocities' is visually represented in a sixteenth-century woodcut by Erhard Schoen, showing a Turkish warrior triumphantly holding up a skewered infant, while leading Christian – in this case, Austrian – peasants into slavery *(Fig. 1)*.

Fig. 1. "Turk with Two Captives", Erhard Schoen, approx. 1530 (G 1242; GS pg. 1193). Image reproduced by courtesy of the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha, Germany.

Violence may very well be the most important topos in *turcica,* and it includes even severe cruelty directed against the unborn.[22] This preference was likely based on a combination of economic rationale (brutal stories, particularly if illustrated, must have simply sold better – the portrayal of atrocities commenced from the very beginning with the 1454 'Türkenkalender') and political motivation (to arouse desire and raise the funds to fight the advancing Ottoman army) in conjunction with the aforementioned disciplinary intentions.[23] As a case in point, in 1500, the bishop of Gallipoli, Alexius Celadonius, encouraged the unscrupulous exaggeration of Turkish atrocities in order to create an overall positive attitude regarding a Holy War against the Ottoman Empire (Göllner 1978, 66). This rhetorical technique becomes particularly obvious when in 'historical' accounts, information on Turks is juxtaposed with other fanciful phenomena, as occurs for instance in Happel's *Historischer Kern* from 1688: just outside Rome, a hunter killed a "ghastly dragon," but later he died and turned green after his death (84); in Naples a fish with Turkish letters written on its body was caught, and in Danzig a fish had a cock's crown and was shaped like a Turkish scimitar (87). Amidst these curious news items, we find that the Turks "led away 7000 Christian slaves" (85).[24]

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[21] "ein zweyjähriges halb zerbissen und gefressenes Kind in seiner Taschen getragen, daraußleichtlich zu muhtmassen, wie heftig diese unmenschliche Völcker wider der Christen Fleisch und Blut toben und wüten" (Olearius, 29). Olearius uses the term "Tartar" for "Turk" in this context.

[22] A good example is Francisci's account. Here, Turks violate and dishonour women at the same time as committing other atrocities: "Ihr wisset, [...] daß der Türck euch mit Feuer, Raub, Blutstürtzung, Weiberschänden, Kett und Banden, und anderen Grausamkeiten, viel Leides zugefügt. [...] Ihr wisst, daß die Weiber aufgeschnitten, ihnen die Frucht aus dem Leibe gerissen; andere Säuglinge an die Felsen geschmissen, anderen spitzige Pfäle durch den Hals gestossen." (N verso)

[23] Certainly it also reflects homegrown political and social upheavals, as Cheeseman suggests at least with respect to street ballads, "the imagined other country is a mirror of what <we> imagine to be <our own>" (154).

[24] Happel, HK1, first section (1618–1670): "Ein Jäger außerhalb Rom erschoß einen greülichen Drachen, wurde aber deßwegen Kranck und starb, sein gantzer Leib war nach seinem Tode grün." (84); "Zu Neapolis und Dantzig wurden 2 wunderliche Fische gefangen, der zu Neapolis hatte Turckische Buchstaben auff dem Leibe, der zu Dantzig aber hatte eine Hahnen Krohne, und war krumb wie ein Türckischer Säbel"(87); "doch führeten die Türcken bey 7000 Christen Sclaven mit sich davon." (85)

Balthasar Mandelreiß' so-called "Türkenschrei," one of the oldest songs with the Turkish theme (1453), contains the phrase: "murdered the children of many mothers" ("manig mueter kind ermort" 276). Eighty years later, Jonas claims that no other people in the history of war had ever attacked the innocent and helpless, the women, children, old and sick, but that the Turks always do so (F ii), and in a most gruesome fashion – by chopping them into bits with sabres, as butchers do with slaughtered animals:

> Der Türck aber tödtet nicht allein weiber, kinder, arme alte krancke leuth, sondern zurhacketz sie mit sebeln, wie die metzler das viech zurhawen. Wann er stedte einnimpt, erwürget er on unterscheid alles was er findet. (F ii)

Again, as with the topoi of fraudulence and of deviant sexual appetites, 'Turkish' came to denote excessive violence, as in the anonymous 1619 *Unterschiedliche Gedenckwürdige Geschichten* (Aii). This trend is reflected in the very title of the 1619 anonymously published pamphlet *Spannischer Türck, Oder Wahrer Bericht, der grausamen unerhörten Spannischen und mehr als Türckischen Mordthaten,* a text about events leading up to the Thirty Years' War, in particular focusing on Spanish atrocities "even more Turkish than the Turks would carry out."[25]

To sum up, then: Although their metonymical legitimacy may be questionable, the fraudulence of Islam, as well as the sexual deviance and the violent aggression of Turks, came to be used as metaphors.

Fig. 2. "Turkish Atrocities", Erhard Schoen/Hans Weigel the Elder, 1530 (G 1243, GS pg. 1194). Geisberg attributes this woodcut to Erhard Schoen, and Strauss to Hans Weigel the Elder (1111). Image reproduced with the kind permission of the Albertina, Vienna, Austria.

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The anonymous author of *Treu-Aufrichtiges Bedencken* (1664) contends that Turks experience a "nearly devilish" thrill ("fast verteuffeltes Frohlocken") when torturing Christians, in particular when "splitting innocent little children" and "raping virgins" – both male and female (no pagination), establishing a firm connection between violence and sexuality. This link can be observed, too, in *Fig. 2* and *3,* where the murder of children and raped women are depicted in the very same woodcuts. In fact, the accounts of violence frequently highlight sexual aggression resulting from Turkish lasciviousness and licentiousness. As Turkish "fornication knows no boundaries" ("ist yhrer unzucht kein ziel gesteckt," Luther "Vorrhede" Aiii), it is hardly surprising that besides those authors who allude to sex with the dead (Jonas F ii verso), and to bestiality (Breüning 183; Schuster 374), copious texts recount the rapes and abductions of Christian women – frequently focusing on virgins – and some report the sexual violation of Christian men. The latter is a topic most common in connection with the themati-

[25] Schwoebel provides Florentine and Venetian examples for such metaphorical use of the word 'Turk' to denounce one's non-Turkish enemy, confirming that that this was my no means a solely German phenomenon (213).

sation of slave trade, as in *Fig. 4*,[26] portraying a nude Christian being whipped across the bazaar to meet his master.

What may follow this scene is described in Wilhelm Burchard's 1691 captivity narrative. In the chapter "How the Turk treats the captive Christians" ("Wie der Türck mit den gefangenen Christen ümgehet"), we find an account of what the handsome male Christian faces captivity:

> So etwan unter den Gefangenen Männliches Geschlechts hübsche Personen sind, werden solche ihres Männlichen Zeichens dergestalt entgliedert, daß das geringste Merckmahl der Männlichkeit an ihnen nicht erscheinet, und so sie geheilet sind, braucht der Ertz-Feind diese arme Sclaven zur Schande und Sodomitischen Unzucht; So sie denn unscheinbar worden, thut man sie in das Frauen-Zimmer, oder müssen in der Küche sudeln [=schmutzige Arbeit verrichten]. (G verso)

Fig. 3. "Turkish Massacre", Unidentified artist, 1529 (G 1593, Geisberg pg. 1550).

Wie die Türcken mit den gefangenen Christen handlen so sie die kauffen oder verkauffen.

Fig. 4. "Turkish Slave Market", Erhard Schoen, approx. 1532 (G 1274, GS pg. 1224). Image reproduced by courtesy of the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha, Germany.

Burchard depicts emasculation not only on an anatomic and sexual level, but ultimately in a spatial/domestic sphere, which constructs the eventual and critical femininity of the unmanned, de-sexed Christian. Penetration by the Turkish master follows the opening physical castration, but the final gender re-assignment for the slave is communicated via the domestic spaces which s/he inhabits in due course: The Christian is sent to the women's quarters or forced to do dirty work in the kitchen – and the occupants of both locales are, needless to say,

[26] This image accompanies Max Eissenkern, "Wie die Turken mit den Gefangen Christen handlen, So sye Kauffen oder verkauffen" [Nürnberg: Meldemann, nach 1532], see Tüskés 129.

of female gender. While Burchard feminises the Christian, he exposes the "arch-enemy" to no gender trouble whatsoever, but rather exhibits his male potency.[27]

Book-length studies by Cornelia Kleinlogel and Sarah Colvin both focus on the gendered images detailed in *turcica* by numerous authors; however, while Kleinlogel emphasises the frequently used motif of Turkish masculine sexual aggression and relates it to the erotic (23), Colvin's results show that (in drama and opera) the Turk is habitually presented "on the side of chaos, which is also the side of the feminine." She convincingly argues that linking the Turk with woman allows for "control[...] by the Christian male. The threat he might constitute to that society is thus contained" (285). While I agree with Colvin about the psychological need for the constitution of a stable occidental – male – identity, understand that a defeatable Islam is a basic precondition of any military effort, and concur that the Turk is frequently associated with chaos and disorder, I have observed (in works created before the reception of the *Arabian Nights*) the military might or 'potency' of the Ottoman Turk is generally depicted as overpowering and, although often diametrically opposed to reason, indeed connoted 'masculine.' Allegories of gender abound both for the 'hereditary foe' and for the Christian nations, and culminate in an iconography of gender in the representation of military conflicts. Authors express military potency in terms of male sexual potency, and in the case of Turkish military prowess, the terms are those of sexual violence: directed against 'female' cities by the 'male' conqueror.

This form of gendering is presupposed in Erasmus Francisci's *Türcken-Gefahr* (1663), an edifying dialogue between the brothers "Wolrath" [='good-advice'] and "Frischmuth" ['fresh-courage'] with the aim of stimulating fear, anger, pugnacity and combat-readiness to defeat the Turkish army. Like much other *turcica,* Franscisci's antonomasia-characters describe the brutalities of Turks, who "spill innocent German blood." Wolrath's good advice is a gender-specific response: Men, he says, are to take an angered revenge ("ergrimmte Rache"), while women are to cry (N verso).

Twenty years later, an anonymous songwriter penned the lines:

> Türcken-Blut
> frischt den Muth,
> Mannheit bringet Ehr und Gut. (Buchmann 70)

"Turkish blood refreshes the courage, manliness earns honour and wealth" – to return honour to cities and a land perceived as 'raped,' requires courageous men. The idea of a city as 'female' and its conquering army as 'male' was also utilised by William Habington 1641 in his portrayal of the "losse of Constantinople to the Turke" (79):

> The Citie three dayes lay prostitute to the licence of the conquerours: who were wittie to invent new mischiefes to please their barbarous wantonnesse [...] never did so much treasure become a prey to so much rapine: and never did such ancient greatnesse fall to so low a slavery." (109–110)

In 1683, Abraham à Sancta Clara still makes use of this allegory:

> O elender Fall! Constantinopel vorhero ein Herrscherin der Welt, jetzt ein Sclavin deß Türcken. Constantinopel vorhero ein Braut Christi, jetzt ein elende Buelerin deß Mahomets. Constantionopel, welches vorhero den Nahmen Byzantium hatte, war zum wahren Liecht deß Glaubens bekehrt durch den H. Apostel Andream, jetzt ligt es wider in der Finsternuß deß Irrthumbs" (18) [...] "O GOtt! dieses schönste Klaynod der Christenheit in den Händen der Türcken. (19)

27 There are also descriptions of same-sex acts between Turks in *turcica,* but this essay concentrates on images of Christian-Muslim encounters, in war or otherwise. For more on the construction of Turkish "sexual deviance," see my contribution in JHS 13.4.

"Oh, miserable fall of Constantinople. First a monarchess of the world and now a female slave to the Turk. First a bride of Christ and now a miserable strumpet of Muhammad. [...] This most beautiful jewel of Christendom in the hands of the Turks!" (18–19). The multiplex allegory of Christendom as a body/edifice and a building/town as a woman is not 'original,' as it were; rather, it can be explicated with a short biblical excursus: The image of a body frequently explains Christianity the New Testament, as in the Letter to the Ephesians:

> But speaking the truth in love, we must grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every ligament with which it is equipped, as each part is working properly, promotes the body's growth in building itself up in love. (Eph 4, 15–16)

Christ is the head of this body and those in the Christian community are all the members, they are joints and limbs supporting each other and operating together according to their own measure of ability, as one might say of cells, and constituting, in concert, a functioning life form. The author, furthermore, portrays this Christian community-body as an edifice:

> So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone. In him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built together spiritually into a dwelling place for God. (Eph 2,19–22)

This building (the Christian community) is not only an abode for God, but can also be a bride to be married to God, as articulated in the celebration of this wedding in the Revelation of John: "Let us rejoice and exult / and give him the glory, / for the marriage of the lamb / has come, / and his bride has made / herself ready" (Rev 19,7). The bride is allegorised as a city: "And I saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride for her husband" (Rev 21, 2). The Revelation of John refers back to the Old Testament, in particular to the prophet Ezekiel, where the City of Jerusalem, of course, already shows up as a woman – God's faithless bride (Ezek 16) – in the parable of the licentious sisters Ohola and Oholibah (where the first signifies Samaria and the latter, Jerusalem). Both sisters became whores and God informs Ezekiel that (and how) He will punish them (Ezek 23). In Revelation, the very negation of the New Jerusalem is, evidently, not Ezekiel's Jerusalem (or Samaria) but Rome in disguise as "Babylon the great, mother of whores and of earth's abominations" (Rev 17,5), whose downfall and destruction are celebrated (Rev 18).

These biblical sources for *turcica* iconography written in the allegorical key are not only evident in the imagery *per se* but are also supported by other data: As early as 1453, Pope Nicholas V. in his crusade bull linked the Turkish Sultan with the seven-headed, ten-horned monster of the Revelation of John (Schwoebel 31). In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther translated into German Ezekiel 38 and 39 and again associated those prophecies (from Ezekiel and Revelation) with Ottoman expansionist manoeuvres,[28] connecting the Old and New Testament multiplex allegory of community/edifice/town/woman to the alterity discourse of *turcica*. Abraham à Sancta Clara's "bride of Christ" / "strumpet of Muhammad"-Constantinople thus refers to Revelation's New Jerusalem and Babylonian whore imagery.

Violence may be directed against the 'female' Christian city by the 'male' Muslim conqueror, who might be defeated by an allegorically female Christian force, as is the case in the 1685

[28] This association is revealed in various instances, for example in Olearius' *Türckenfall*, where already the frontispiece includes the Ezekiel quote: "Solches wird zur letzten Zeit geschehen. Ezech.38.16".

school drama *Comoedia, Genannt Die Heroische Judith.* The anonymous author allegorises the battle between the Ottoman ruler "Türckschen Holofern" (48) and the Hapsburgs, "Hauß Oesterreich," who "will [...] cut off [...] Turkish heads" ("wird [...] abhauen [...] Türckische Köpff" 43), following the narrative model of the apocryphal book of Judith. The Christian forces are 'feminised' although not at all portrayed as weak, but rather following the *femme forte*-model, given that the pious widow Judith triumphed over the city Bethulia's enemy by beheading Holofernes in bed (Judith 13,9).

Different examples show the 'liberating' Christian army to be male, as the following anonymous 1685 song about the liberation of Ofen (= the city of Buda) demonstrates:

> Nun mein Ofen rüste dich,
> must ein Braut nur abgeben,
> gar ein Junger Ritter sich,
> wird dir sehr nach thun streben (Buchmann 77).

"Now, my dear Ofen ready yourself; you shall act a bride, as a young knight will labour to ask for your hand" (Buchmann 77). Allegories of courtship referring to sieges and conquests of cities appeared first "during," as Bertrand Buchmann asserts "the Thirty Years' War, and continued to be in use until the nineteenth century" (113). However, a city did not always 'desire' to be 'liberated' from the Turks, as expressed in a 1717 song about Belgrade. Here, the town coyly teases the approaching Christian 'liberator', given that she is 'married' to the Turkish sultan already (indicating that she is sexually satisfied with his caresses) – but, in the end, she gives up her obstinate stance, and the original "No" in the forth stanza comes to mean "Yes" in the last:

> Belgrad: Liebster Hirt, fort packet Euch!
> Ziehet in das deutsche Reich;
> Denn ich hab hier zum Galano
> Ein Gemahl und Caressano,
> Soldan, so dem Kaiser gleich. (Stanza 4)
> [...]
> Belgrad: Nun wohlan, so laß nur seyn,
> Carolus ist der Liebste mein;
> Dann der Soldan wird eralten,
> Seine Lieb wird ganz erkalten:
> Carolus ist der Liebste mein! (Stanza 18) (Özyurt 361–63)[29]

Vienna, too, dons bridal robes. The anonymous school drama *Die befreyete Vindobone* (1685), allegorises the city as a distressed virgin: "Vindobonen, die vortrefflichste unter den Töchtern der Austrinen" (55), the most excellent of the daughters of Austria, must be defended against the evil emperor "Stamboll" who has expelled the virtues and seeks to take her against her will (55–56). In *Das entsetzte Wien* from 1683, Muhammad, "burning with desire for this bride [=Vienna]," will do anything to "win" her:

> Und Muhammed [...],
> [...]
> Indem nach dieser Braut er hefftig brennt,
> Läßt keine Janitzscharen,
> Sie zu erobern, sparen. (33)

29 'Caressano' = lover,i.e. derivative of *caressieren* = to caresse; Carolus = German Emperor Karl VI.

Vienna's relief is then celebrated with the words "Weil sie kein Sebel mehr verletzet!" "Because no scimitar now violates her any longer" (34). Given the metaphorical bride and Turkish lust, the sabre will undoubtedly solicit a phallic image. Furthermore, referring as the previous examples do to the second Turkish siege, Happel describes Vienna as "die Vormauer der gantzen Christenheit," "the wall in front of all of Christendom" (1684, 6). To carry on with the gender analogy, then, renders Vienna the hymen of Christianity: should Vienna be penetrated by Muslim force/s, the entire Christian 'body' – or community – will be besmirched with the semen of falsehood and deceit, i.e., Islam.[30] That penetration is related to the dispensation of sperm is already alluded to in the very first excerpt quoted above: Justus Jonas' allegory presupposes impregnation. That potentially penetrated body or community includes, needless to say, both female and male Christians who constitute the body/edifice endangered by the licentious Other.

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"In order to create a stronger impression, such cruelty shall be presented not in my own words but those of others;"[31] this statement authorises the anonymous writer of the 1664 pamphlet *Treu-Aufrichtiges Bedencken* to present his violent descriptions, and refers to narratives from as far back as 1530 (no pag.). The *imago Turci* did not change, as John W. Bohnstedt, too, assures us:

> well before the end of [... 1543,] the themes, arguments and slogans in [*turcica* ...] had become standardised and stereotyped. The numerous later pamphlets contain little more than repetition of the old arsenal of ideas and expressions, hauled out of the closet in a kind of habitual response to the most recent Turkish attack on the territories of the Habsburgs." (10)

The ubiquitous *loci communes* in fact discredit *turcica* a good deal, and alert us to the fact that, as Robert Schwoebel testifies, with respect to the Renaissance, one "gets the impression that the composition of an oration against the Turks was 'the thing to do' and that every self-respecting man of letters kept several in his repertory for the appropriate occasion [...] whether or not he [...] delivered them" (150). Göllner, too, maintains that for students, the "Turkish threat seemed an appropriate topic for rhetoric-exercises" (1978, 26), which undoubtedly contributed to the hypotyposis-potential of the topoi-complex of atrocities and sex discussed here.

The explanations, as suggested, ought to be sought in political motivations, disciplinary hopes, and economic rationales. Why, though, did lasciviousness resulting in the 'rape' of cities and of Christians, including men, sell? Michael Schilling suggests in *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit* that beyond the goals of providing political propaganda, the detailed imaging of Turkish brutalities may have served to satisfy a certain enjoyment of terror and violence.[32] Given that we can read *turcica* as inadvertent cultural self-representation, I would like to add that the ever-present

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30 Another Happel quote strongly supports this reading: "Es war kaum die Bottschafft von der belagerten Stadt Wien durch Expressen denen mit Se. Käyserl. Mayst. Alliirten hohen Potentaten hinterbracht, alß ein jeder [...] bedacht war, dieser Vormauer auffs aller sondersambste und kräfftigste beyzuspringen, damit ein so beträchtlicher Orth, auß welchem halb Teutschland kan infestiret, wo nicht gar bezwungen worden, in des unglaubigen Feindes Macht verfiele" (HK2, 58). Further evidence provides the anonymous pamphlet *Außführliche Relation:* "das edle, uhralte, Christliche Königreich Ungarn, als welches bißanhero der Christen Vor-Mauer gegen dem Erb-Feind gewesen, stehet uns billich als ein erbärmliches Spectacul vor Augen [...] mit theurem Christen-Blut befeuchtet" (Biv, verso).

31 "Solche Grausamkeit soll üm mehrern Nachdrucks willen nicht mit eignen, sondern mit andern Worten fürgestellet werden" (Anon. *Treu-Aufrichtiges Bedencken,* unpag.)

32 "Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, daß etwa die Grausamkeiten der Türken nicht nur zum Zweck der Abschreckung und politischen Propaganda häufig so detailliert in Wort und Bild ausgemalt wurden, sondern auch, um eine gewisse Lust am Schrecken und an der Gewalt zu befriedigen" (241).

sexual references in this gendered iconography indicate furthermore a possible pleasure in accounts of sexuality of precisely the kind considered sinful, or, to use Luther's word, "verbotten" – *verboten.*

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Anon. 1619. *Unterschiedliche Gedenckwürdige Geschichten, Schlachten unnd Scharmützel, So sich in kurtzer zeit, im Königreich Böheimb, und Marggraffthumb Mährern, glaubwürdig begeben und zugetragen.* Prag: [no publ.].

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Sz. Kristóf Ildikó

BEING ONE, AS IF MANY. DE-GENDERING AND RE-GENDERING MIRACLES IN LATE 17TH-CENTURY HUNGARY

"Being one, as if many": this phrase, referring to one of the most important symbolic, allegorical characteristics of the Virgin Mary is included in a collection of miracle stories published as a book in the Hungarian language in 1698 in Wien, Austria. The collection is entitled *Titkos értelmű róza a'vagy a Förtő mellett lévő Boldog Aszszony csudálatos érdeminek Drága illattyáról, és Jó-téteményinek, s' lelki, testi üdvösséges orvoslásinak egynéhány Példáiról együgyüen emlekező könyvecske* [Rose of secret meaning, or booklet recalling in a humble way the precious odour of the wonderful merit as well as some examples of the gratitude and the graceful spiritual and bodily healings of the Virgin of Fertő] and its authors -Franciscan friars of a shrine of the Virgin near the lake Fertő in Moson county, Northwest Hungary[1] – used the phrase while discussing Mary's well-known, traditional flower symbols.[2] In my own understanding however, this metaphor has much to say about a particular textual-iconographical strategy, too that the Franciscans resorted to in compiling the narratives of *miraculum* and so, about their remarkable ways of manipulating gender issues as well.

I will try to grasp this strategy in four steps. After having given a general assessment of how actually these miracle stories represent gender I will point to the kind of textual processing that seems to work behind this representation; I will then discuss the possible reasons for this strategy, and, fourth, the necessary implications of it, i.e. the religious interpretation of femininity and masculinity.

As to the first point, not less than 170 individual *miracula* are included in *Titkos értelmű róza* and, any modern reader would be surprised to see how *un-/de-*gendered these narratives are. Although the miracles are said to have happened to a more or less equal number of men (81) and women (77)[3] – town and village dwellers in late 17th-century Northwest Hungary –, there, where

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[1] The shrine is in Boldogasszonyfa, which today belongs to Austria and called Frauenkirchen. The miracles happened there in the second half of the 17th century were published in Latin (1679), German (1697) and Slovakian (1698) editions as well, see Tüskés 1993, 388; For the present study which represents my very first efforts to investigate in the late 17th-century religious construction of gender I studied the Hungarian edition only. The specific genre of *miraculum* in early modern Hungary has been studied thoroughly by Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés in their numerous statistical and textual analyses, see Knapp 1983, 1989 and 1995–1997; Knapp and Tüskés 1991, 1996; Knapp-Tüskés-Galavics 1994; Tüskés 1992, 1993, 1997; Tüskés and Knapp 1989–1990. Let me express my gratitude here to Gábor Tüskés for his valuable comments and critics on an earlier version of this paper.

[2] The phrase in Hungarian is „egy lévén magában, mintha sok vólna," see *Titkos értelmű Róza,* 210.

[3] Among those men and women there are 17 "boys" and 13 "girls," i.e. younger people whose age is not always given exactly. Another 12 miracles are said to have happened either to whole communities (3) or to whole families (9) in which cases it is not possible to provide any distribution of sex. All of my statistical estimations presented here are based solely on the Hungarian edition of *Titkos értelmű róza* and do not always correspond exactly to the more detailed quantification of Gábor Tüskés. For his results of the gender distribution of the pilgrims to Boldogasszony see Tüskés 1993, 283 and 287.

we could expect significant differences in their respective narratives,[4] more similarity than alterity is to be found. In our collection women's stories and men's stories are told according to an amazingly similar structure as well as in an amazingly similar language, showing almost no peculiarities of gender. This "almost" is, however, of great importance and I will return to it further on.

Thus, one of the first impressions that one can obtain of the characters of these narratives – be they women or men – is that they are more "textual" than sexual (more neutral than gendered) or sociological figures; something like floating in the air of late Baroque Franciscan – and also universal, Christian – piety. Although identified by name (surnames as well as first names are always given)[5] and identified also by residence (said to have been living in a particular village or town),[6] these women and men are framed regularly into the role of an "ideal" or "exemplary Christian," seeking tirelessly the grace of the Virgin Mary. And this role -as the rather didactic message of the book mediates it- is neither female nor male, or it is of both in the same time. In searching for the ways of recovering from their misfortunes and finding the right way – with no exception – in the end, they act in the stories like puppets on the string of Providence, having almost no individual, social, let alone, gender characteristics.

The second impression one can get reading *Titkos értelmű róza* is probably more striking than the first. Instead of the human protagonists, it is the figure of the Virgin Mary herself that *is* gendered in quite many respects; it is to *her* that various explicitly female and, moreover, male metaphors and symbols are attributed, as will be shown in the second part of my paper.

Let us turn to the second point now and see how these miracle stories came into being and how they function as particular *texts*. It is reasonable to suppose – as it is indicated in the Preface of the book[7] — that they have a double – or rather triple – origin as far as late 17th-century local communication is concerned. On the one hand, they can be considered quite ordinary *oral* products of Northwest Hungarian popular religiosity, developed around a local shrine of the Virgin. In this sense, the miraculous events – mostly healings – that were put in writing and, further on, in print, could have been experienced indeed by women and men of flesh and blood, namely in a time span of 1655 to 1695.[8] Shorter or longer stories relating miracles could circulate in the surrounding region; stories, which by now unfortunately lost their original oral form. On the other hand, the Franciscan friars – guardians of the shrine – seem to have contributed themselves to enhance the reputation of the shrine as an important pilgrimage place by confirming

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[4] From among the now desperately numerous historical studies on the differences between women's and men's narrative strategies in religious and criminal discourse I still owe the most to those classics of Bynum 1984 and 1987 as well as to Davis 1987 and 1995. Ethnological analyses of women's discourse also abound and show themselves a peculiar gender specificity of textual construction, see for ex. Crain 1991 or Lawless 1994; a more general, cultural anthropological perspective is provided in Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974 as well as in Ortner and Whitehead 1989. I am especially grateful, as always, to Gábor Klaniczay for his critical remarks on my present *mélange* of historical-anthropological-textual approach to a (n essentially male) body of religious texts.

[5] Although it is uncertain to estimate nationality on the basis of names, it seems that the majority of those involved in the miraculous events were either of Hungarian or Austrian.

[6] Most of the villages, market towns and cities, mentioned in the stories, are to be found either in the broader Northwestern region of Hungary (like Abda, Bezenye, Csorna, Gönyű, Győr, Kismarton, Komárom, Kóny, Magyaróvár, Öttevény, Pápa, Rajka, Sopron etc), or in today's Austria (primarily the Danube-Leitha region like Altenburg, Breitenbrunn, Bruck, Czondorf, Minihof, Neusiedel, Pandorf, Prodersdorf, Pruck, Vienna etc) and Slovakia (like Malacka/Malacky, Pozsony/Bratislava etc). More distant places mentioned are Visegrád and Buda in Hungary, and the castle of Zerin in Croatia. For a map and a chronology of the gradual broadening of this area between 1655 and 1696, see Tüskés 1993, 346 and 367–368.

[7] Elöl-Járó Levél a Keresztény Olvasóhoz, *Titkos értelmű róza* (pages not numbered).

[8] At least, this is the beginning and the end of the period from which the miracle stories of *Titkos értelmű róza* come; almost every story is dated.

miracles attributed to the picture of the Virgin of Fertő and by collecting and *writing down* miracle stories[9] as well as selecting (and, most probably, reworking) them for *print*. There are reasons to suppose, however, that the printed stories – those in *Titkos értelmű róza* — differ considerably from those having told among town and village people of that time[10] and that this difference has to do with gender issues, too.

Let us see first in what respect and then, why.

Each and every of the *miracula* published by the Franciscans in 1698 are pretty short stories and are reduced to a common, extremely simplistic narrative scheme. Vladimir Propp would have been happy to see texts showing their basic structure or "functions" so easily and directly, at least at first sight (Propp 1968). Similarly to oral folk tales, studied by Propp, our miracle stories consist morphologically of only a couple – in this case, four or five – recurrent narrative units. I could establish the following ones: 1/ the occurrence of some misfortune (mostly, an illness); 2/ the search for remedies (loosing faith in human remedies, that is in doctors and medicine); 3/ identifying the shrine and the picture of the Virgin of Fertő as the right remedy and making a vow to visit it; 4/ the occurrence of the miraculous recovery (immediately after the vow at home or later on at the shrine); and, sometimes 5/ visiting the shrine after the miracle has happened in order to show gratitude to the Virgin.

A similar technique of telling misfortune or recovery stories is known from medieval hagiographical literature and canonization trials as well as from the documents of early modern witchcraft trials; the testimonies of the witnesses being – hypothetically – as close to (or, considering the fact of being written down, as far from) orality as our miracle stories are (Klaniczay 1990/91 and 1997; Kristóf 1990; 1997 and 1998, esp. 107–109). What is interesting indeed in the case of our Franciscan friars is that this narrative technique is imposed upon men's as well as women's stories of recovery to such an extent, and so rigidly, that it does not leave much place for details concerning the specific social or gender characteristics of the human beings involved. Nor does the language of the stories – a rather dry and iconographically poor language – evoke any significant symbols of the female or the male part of the human race, motifs are simplified, details skipped: as if the aim would be indeed to homogenize, de-socialize, de-gender the human world. I suppose that the Franciscans did conserve the original – oral- narrative structure of the miracle stories that they heard from local people and pilgrims while reducing, and, most probably, changing many of their individual features.

Let me point to some significant characteristics of the printed *miracula* to support my hypothesis.

Although professions are often mentioned (blacksmiths, potters, schoolmasters, surgeons, peasants, shepherds, soldiers etc figure in the stories)[11] they have actually nothing to do with the very "plot" of the narrative, namely seeking grace and recovery. Each and everyone does it in the same way, as each and everyone gains it in the same way in the end.

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[9] The story N° 164, dating from 1694 and recounting the miraculous recovery of a blind child, describes itself this procedure saying that the mother "told and, with all her conscience, proved that miraculous event in the sacristy, both lay people and friars having been present, and she wanted to have it put down diligently, at the greater glory of God as well as at the Honour of the Virgin Mary." *Titkos értelmű róza,* 311.

[10] There would be an exciting possibility to compare the printed stories included in *Titkos értelmű róza* to their surviving manuscript (I thank Gábor Tüskés for calling my attention to the existence of this written version, see Tüskés 1993, 66 and 388); still it would not mean, as a matter of fact, to be able to reach the original oral narratives behind.

[11] Most of the known professions are of typical urban and rural ones; beyond the above mentioned ones there is a mason, an adobe-bricklayer, a stone-cutter, a postman, a customs officer, a servant of a parish priest and there are butchers, millers as well as nuns and members of religious societies. See also Tüskés 1993, 271 and 273.

Individual women and men appearing in the stories are cast into narrative clichés such as "the honorable girl," "the honorable lady," "the good mother," "the honorable man," "the caring father," "the beloved child." Each and every character is good, honorable, and most importantly, pious.

Among the kinds of illnesses which are referred to most frequently, there is not one which could be qualified as specifically female or specifically male. Quite as many women as men turn to the Virgin of Fertő because of being crippled, being lame or paralysed in their hands, being dumb or mute, having bad eyes or being blind, or showing the signs of epilepsy.[12]

Similarly, among the *ex votos* – symbolic objects said to have been left at the shrine after the miracle had happened – there is not one which would refer more to the world of one of the two sexes. Hands, legs, heads and hearts (made of wood, wax or silver) are the most typical signs left behind, as well as the crutches of the crippled (for a long list of these *ex votos* see *Titkos értelmű róza,* 153–154).

All in all, the particular technique and the language of the narration all contribute to make our miracle stories rather empty of any concrete social or gender aspects, let alone, iconography. The Franciscans' collection as a whole does remind us of this attribute of the Virgin Mary: "being One" – that is, homogenized, Christian –, "as if Many."

The reasons for this peculiar social and sexual deprivation (or unification) – and I am turning to the third point now – are not so miraculous. I have already hinted at the fact that the shrine had been built only some decades earlier (it was consecrated in 1669) than the Franciscans published *Titkos értelmű róza.* It was Prince Pál Esterházy, the Palatine of Hungary who donated a picture of the Virgin Mary – which was previously in his own possession – to the Franciscans and financed the installation of a chapel on his estate to place it in.[13] So, the main purpose of the friars to publish the collection was evidently propagandistic: they wanted to advertise the shrine of the Virgin of Fertő as a new pilgrimage place, to promote her cult among as many people as possible, and that with no respect at all of age, social status, profession or gender.[14] It is right here, in my view, that a possible explanation for the clichés of the stories is to be found: the Franciscans' intention was that *anyone* reading or, for that matter, hearing these stories[15] would find her or his place in the series of the proposed stereotypes and that she or he would identify with one of them. ("Being One, as if Many": it did not obviously matter much, which cliché one chose...)

We should, however, count with another – and in this case, iconographical – reason for this narrative rigidity and stereotypization. It is mentioned in quite many of the printed miracle stories that the recovered women and men offered a *picture* as an *ex voto* to the Virgin of Fertő,

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[12] Another sign of generalization and stereotipization – or that of the patients' poor knowledge in this respect – is the fact that the miracle stories tend to define illnesses rather vaguely; a good number of the described symptoms -such as suffering "great pains," being sick for a long time- do not seem to refer to any concrete, recognizable kind of illness (46 stories altogether). It is remarkable, however, that other groups of narratives *do* identify specific types of health problems, like a headache (4 stories), or a veritable disease like a plague epidemic (3 or 4 stories). For a statistical estimation of the most typical illnesses see Note 17.

[13] The story is said in details and the picture is shown in one of Esterházy's own collection of miracle stories, see Esterházy 1994, 65–69. For an exact chronology of the foundation of the church and the Franciscan cloister by 1670, see Tüskés 1993, 308. On Esterházy see Knapp-Tüskés-Galavics 1994 and Szörényi 1995.

[14] As the Franciscans put it: "These examples would open up the gate and show the way for each and every poor miserable, and they would lead them by the hand to the Virgin Mary" (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 114–115).

[15] The explanatory text of the story N° 98 addresses its potential audience in a way which reveals the most important channel of communication at that time for those unable to read: "Oh you sinful sons and daughters of Adam, who would read these short examples, or would *hear them read...*" *Titkos értelmű róza,* 160 [my emphasis].

i.e. they made the story of their miraculous healing painted and donated the tableau to the shrine.[16] It would be extremely important to know whether some – how many? – of the printed *miracula* go back to a pictorial origin like this, their written version having been lost or having, for that matter, never existed...

There might be nevertheless a third, and more complex reason for such patterning of human beings, and especially their illnesses; a reason which seems to have rooted more deeply in the particular features of Franciscan piety. This reason, however, would lead us away from the world of the humans, since it has more to do with the Franciscans' *spiritual* construction of gender and so with the process of *re*-gendering miracle stories in a remarkable way.

It is known that since the installation of the order the Franciscans have been among the promotors of the cult of the Virgin Mary, a female saint *par excellence*. The shrine of Fertő in Northwest Hungary as well as the collection of the miracles happened there are themselves put into the service of this particular goal. In this respect, it is impossible not to recognize that the most typical illnesses whose curing is attributed to the Virgin in the stories – lameness, paralysis, blindness, muteness and epilepsy[17] – are the very same whose miraculous healing was attributed originally to a male saint/god – Jesus Christ – in the New Testament. As they admit in the Preface of the book, our Franciscans made a *selection* of the miracle stories told to them by village and town people – "from among the many miracles [...] it is convenient to put *some* in writing and to report them before Christians"[18] — and many other of their statements as well as the content of the stories themselves suggest that they wrote down – and, later, published – mostly those narratives which seem to have justified their claim of a Virgin Mary possessing a healing power equal to that of Jesus Christ.[19]

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[16] So did a certain Menyhárt Schweincser from a certain Gerhaus, whose cart fell off a high mountain in 1690 but the Virgin of Fertő came to his help according to the story and neither he nor his three horses were injured; he offered a painted picture of the miracle to the shrine in order to "incite all who would come here and would look at the picture like at a bright mirror and would contemplate this miraculous event in it to praise and glorify the Graceful and miraculous Mother of God" *Titkos értelmű róza*, 203: N°113. According to the statistics of Gábor Tüskés, roughly 21 % of the ex-votos offered to the shrine of the Virgin of Fertő was a painted picture, see Tüskés 1993, 188. On the picturial representation of miracles as offers to shrines in 17–18th-century Hungary in general see op. cit., 256–270.

[17] Beyond the cases of the already mentioned generalized sickness the greatest number of the stories identifies what could be defined as locomotor diseases (29 stories referring to patients being lame, paralysed in one or both of their legs or hands or having "insufferable pain" in their limbs). Another group speaks of cases of visual disorder (11 stories describing people being either blind or having been injured in their eyes). Deafness and/or muteness is mentioned in a smaller, but still significant number (6 stories), and there is the other big group of narratives describing "epileptic" symptoms (at least 16 stories). Other – not evangelical – types of illness seem to occur in a smaller number (problems of digestion: 4 stories; heart disease: 3 stories; the shivers: 1 story; injury and wound: 1 story, etc). Locomotor diseases, sickness concerning the head (like blindness) and epileptic diseases are the most frequently mentioned types of illness in the case of three other 17–18th century pilgrimage places (Celldömölk, Bodajk and Homokkomárom) in Hungary, too, according to the statistics made by Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp on the basis of the respective collections of miracle stories there, see Tüskés and Knapp 1989–1990, 74. While the latter study argues for a rather direct relation between historical reality and narratives of miraculum, I myself would suspect that some editorial principles might work in these cases, too.

[18] Elöl-Járó Levél a Keresztény Olvasóhoz, *Titkos értelmű róza* (pages not numbered).

[19] The miracles of the Virgin of Fertő and the particular evangelical miracles of Jesus Christ are discussed consistently by the friars as parallel, as if identical ones. *Titkos értelmű róza*, 52; 59; 134; 151–154. An example of this parallelism from among the many: "What the Holy Scripture says of the healed lame in the Book of the Apostles, *the copy of that* we can observe in this particular miraculous story: since what the graceful God did for the name of Jesus before the crowd, the same he did at the supplication of the Mother of his Holy Son..." *Titkos értelmű róza*, 59 [my emphasis]. The four cases of "diabolic spell" or "demonic posses-

A significant verbal-iconographical program can be traced indeed throughout the book: the effort of the friars to cast Mary's figure into a powerful female counterpart of Christ. As I have already hinted at, as opposed to the human beings, the Virgin Mary's image *is* gendered in our stories and the process of gendering seems to consist of attaching certain epithets, comparisons, metaphors, allegories and symbols to Mary as well as interpreting them as implying either female or male meanings. Our Franciscan authors have compiled an allegorical-mystical explanation – a spiritual lesson – to each of the 170 miracle stories and it is in these texts – resorting much to the *Song of Solomon* and referring to medieval ecclesiastical authorities and mystics like St. Augustin, St. Anselme, St. Ambrose, St. Bonaventure, Hugo of St. Victor and St. Bernard of Clairveaux etc – that Mary obtains her "spiritual sex." My point in surveying these explanatory texts is not philological; it is only their gender aspect that I am going to discuss in the following passages.

It is remarkable indeed, how few those metaphors of the Virgin are in these texts to which no explicitly gendered meanings are attributed. "Bridge to heavenly grace" (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 253–254), "glittering star" (op. cit., 246–249), "lighthouse" or "Pharos" showing the right way for Christians (op. cit., 145–148), "perfect and swift Moon" giving her grace to human beings as quickly as the moon changes (op. cit., 214–216); this is practically all as far as her sexually neutral symbols are concerned.

In contrast, there is a whole series of gendered images attached to her, of which the overwhelming ones are female. These images seem to cluster around the following – rather overlapping – six tropes: *womanhood* (here we have the flowers – the Sunflower, signifying obedience (op. cit., 210); the Hyacinth, signifying humiliation (ibidem) – and other metaphors, such as that Mary's will is soft like wax that can be bent easily (op. cit., 288) etc); *virginity* (signified by another flower, the Lily, since Mary had no bodily communication with men (op. cit., 210)); *fertility* (Mary is said the Gate through which Jesus was born and through which the way goes to heaven (op. cit., 274–275); Mary is the only woman having no pain in giving birth etc (op. cit., 65; 89)); *motherhood* (Mary is the Mother of Grace (op. cit., 223); the Mother of Protection (op. cit., 194–195); the Mother of Consolation (op. cit., 137–140) and the Mother of Love (op. cit., 191–193); *food and nourishing* (Mary is said the Nursing mother of humankind / a Mother breast-feeding human beings (op. cit., 187–188, 192–193): the latter two images are those of Saint Bernard of Clairveaux (on their medieval versions see Bynum 1987, Ch. 9); the inexhaustible See of Grace (op. cit., 256–257); the Oil Tree that feeds human beings by her fruit (op. cit., 300–307); the New Sky or New Heaven nourishing everyone by her abundant rainfall (op. cit., 309–310) etc); *medicine and curing* (she is the Heavenly Doctor Woman (op. cit., 28–31; 51; 57–58; 132–133; 225); the Heavenly Garden of Herbs (op. cit., 105–106); a Precious stone, a Jewel, or Pearl, the real Jaspis curing bleeding (op. cit., 296- 299) etc).

It is remarkable how much this late Baroque Franciscan imagery of the Virgin conserved from its medieval, hagiographical antecedents. What Carolyne W. Bynum could establish for the 12–15th-century Western European mystical (and female) iconography of food, feeding, fasting and procreation (Bynum 1987) seems to stand for its late 17th-century Hungarian counterpart; the majority of Mary's symbols and metaphors is built explicitly upon the biological/bodily functions of women – bleeding, pregnancy, birth giving, suckling – as well as upon the fluids relating to the latter (blood and milk). It is also significant – and also in line with Bynum's medieval hagiographical findings – that the social aspects of these images – motherhood, caring, nourishing and curing – seem themselves to relate rather directly to these bodily functions; even the images of see water, oil and rain, connected to the trope of *food / nourishing,* might find their counterparts

sion" which also figure in the list of Mary's miraculous healings at Fertő themselves seem to confirm the Franciscans' intention to construct – even in the field of exorcisms – a female "copy" of Jesus.

in women's bodily fluids (on medieval concepts relating to the openness of women's bodies see Caciola 1994).

If we turn to the less numerous but still important male images, attached to the figure of the Virgin Mary in the explanatory texts of the Franciscans, we see that men's biological/bodily features figure only implicitly in them; male images seem to suggest primarily social meanings, having no relation at all to bodily functions (for similar medieval findings see again Bynum 1984 and 1987). There are only three tropes in this case: *fighting and the battlefield* (Mary is said the Shield protecting one in battle (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 117–118); the Town surrounded with ramparts or heavy stone walls (op. cit., 195–197); David's Tower furnished with a variety of arms needed in fight (op. cit., 118); Mary is said terrible like a well-equipped army on the battlefield (op. cit., 190); she can defeat even the army of Hell, the Devil and the witches (op. cit., 200)); *captivity* (Mary is the one who liberates captives (op. cit., 111–112)); *curing and support* (beyond the already mentioned evangelical parallels she is said the Helping Crutches (op. cit., 267–268); the Supporting Stick (op. cit., 41; 72–73; 112–114); a Heavy Stone or Rock signifying steadfastness (op. cit., 318–320); Mary is described as having been steadier than Saint Peter himself (op. cit., 320)).

In sum, in this Franciscan iconography the Virgin Mary appears indeed as "being One" i.e. a woman, "as if Many" i.e. having a mix of various feminine *and* masculine, biological *and* social, *as if* amazon-like characteristics.[20] The Epilogue of *Titkos értelmű róza* describes her at one point as the heroic Judith of the Old Testament, defeating King Holofernes (op. cit., 335, 336).

The peculiar process of gendering the Virgin, a supernatural figure, in *both* ways, while *de-*gendering the actual women and men of the human world might belong closely together in the Franciscans' strategy of representation. Although Mary's sex seems to have been overwhelmingly more important for the friars than that of the human beings, there are significant exceptions, too, to this "rule." Let me turn to my fourth and last point now and see how some of the Virgin's above-mentioned allegoric, emblematic aspects correspond to some interesting details of the humans' stories themselves. It is these details and it is this *symmetry* between the supernatural world and the world of the humans that could reveal more about the late Baroque religious interpretation of femininity as well as masculinity.

Despite all the de-gendering tendency, female biological functions *do* appear in a handful of the narratives, in women's stories (although only in 6 from the altogether 170 miracula): women visit Mary's shrine because they are pregnant and feel pain in their breasts (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 104: N° 67), because they have excessive pain while giving birth (op. cit., 64–65: N° 29; 88–89: N° 53), because they are suckling babies and, again, have pain in their breasts (op. cit., 43–44: N° 11; 79: N° 44), because they are bleeding (op. cit., 300: N° 160). Corresponding to Mary's aspect of softness (obedience and humiliation), they are often said to be "too weak" to overcome difficulties (op. cit., 36–37: N° 6). A significant aspect of this weakness is to be seen in those stories in which either demonic possession is attributed to women, or they are described as victims of witchcraft, against which -both kinds of diabolic attack- they are represented as helpless (op. cit., 47–48: N° 15; 56–57: N° 23; 66–67: N° 32; 68–69: N° 34; 274–278: N° 142). And, finally, women's social role is reduced in the miracle stories to the household, mostly to the roles of – the otherwise much patterned – motherhood. There are only two stories in which women appear outside the household, and in both of these cases they figure as nothing else but nuns (op. cit., 267–274: N° 141 and 279–282: N° 143).

In contrast to all this domestic/household world of women, and in line with the Virgin Mary's male/social aspect, men's stories contain a relatively large number (15) of various mis-

[20] A further way of research would be to establish how specific indeed this iconography is, either in late Baroque Hungary or abroad; I would like to thank William Christian Jr. for his suggestions in this respect.

fortunes *other* than illness. These occur regularly outside the house – in the street, on the road, in other villages and towns, or in the battlefield – showing men belonging to the social world to a considerably larger extent than women. Some are driven away by their wild horses while travelling (op. cit., 44–45: N° 12; 53–54: N° 20), others' carts fall off a bridge (op. cit., 252–256: N° 135) or a mountain (op. cit., 201–204: N° 113), one is attacked by robbers on the road (op. cit., 117–123: N° 78), the other's ship is wrecked in the river (op. cit., 142–148: N° 87), one's leg is broken by a wine-cask carried to the market (op. cit., 89–90: N° 54), the other falls in the river while washing his horses (op. cit., 243–245: 131), and many soldiers find themselves in danger of life in a battle (op. cit., 195–200: N° 112) or in captivity (op. cit., 111: N° 74; 112: N° 75 and 136–140: N° 85).

Either unconsciously or on purpose, this handful of – more or less – gendered miracle stories conveys basically the same message as the Virgin Mary's gendered symbols do; both indicate a binary structuration of the functions and values connected to the one and the other sex. The religious interpretation of gender, imposed by the Franciscan friars upon the miracle stories identifies *femininity* with *biology* and *weakness* on one side, and puts *masculinity, sociality* and *power* together on the other. It is important, however, that this "binary opposition" – demonstrated as a universally present "outil conceptuel" by classical structuralist anthropology (Lévi-Strauss 1962, esp. 164–193) and criticized as a historically and sexually positioned (essentially male) construction by feminist anthropology (Ortner 1974; Rosaldo 1974; Ortner and Whitehead 1989) as well as by numerous historians (Bynum 1984 and 1987; King 1991; Wiesner 1993) does not seem to be applied in entirely the same way by the friars when constructing human versus spiritual gender. While the female and the male human characters of the above mentioned gendered miracle stories can be and are put indeed on the one or the other pole of the opposition respectively, as if emphasizing the *difference* between the sexes, the figure of the Virgin Mary seems rather to *unite* the two poles, as if emphasizing – not at all the similarity of the latter, but – *a new quality* born of the merging of the two.

I would argue in conclusion that *Titkos értelmű róza* as a whole suggests exactly this new quality of spiritual gender, put forward as one of the models for late Baroque piety. One should not forget the fact that the majority of the humans' stories included in our collection is not gendered at all, as I demonstrated in the first part of my paper. And the reason for this remarkable *asymmetry* between a mostly de-gendered human world and a doubly gendered spiritual one is indicated, I think, by another epithet of the Virgin, emphasized by the Franciscan friars in their book: Mary is the one "who domesticates our wild nature" (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 44–45 and 253–254).[21] The final intention of the Franciscans was, in my view, to convert more and more people to a particular *feminine* model of Christianity that they attempted to popularize by the figure of a *powerful* Virgin Mary. In the process of reworking the original miracle stories for the edition, our friars de-sexualized the flesh and blood human characters of the stories to "re-sexualize" them in another – "domesticated" i.e. spiritual *and female* – domain. Mostly confirming the traditional image of women as being weak and biological (and sometimes also diabolic) creatures, they built their construction of a Mary of strength on exactly this same image. So, the Virgin Mary would *not* lose her femininity in the process of constructing her spiritual aura – as a veritable female counterpart to Jesus Christ-, she would not but gain more force – and *male* force, too – to it (up to the point, as we saw, that she could defeat even Satan and his army, the witches (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 47–48; 233–234)).

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[21] One of the versions of this in Hungarian: "folyamodék a vad természetünk megszelédétőjéhez, a Förtő melléki Boldog Aszszonhoz..." (*Titkos értelmű róza,* 44–45).

Commenting upon the sacred title "consolator of the miserables" – a parallel title of Jesus as well as Mary in the *Litany on the Name of Jesus* and the *Litany of Loreto* –, the Franciscans constructed a spiritual kinship between the human and the heavenly beings and suggested that "Jesus is your Father and the Virgin Mary is your Mother" (op. cit., 136–137); a mother, I would add, who is not mighty enough to raise the dead (this seems to remain the privilege of Jesus[22]), but mighty *-because gendered-* enough to embrace all humanity.

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[22] A significant difference – and an exception to the carefully constructed parallelism – between the miracles of the Virgin of Fertő and the evangelical miracles of Jesus Christ is the fact that the Mary of *Titkos értelmű róza* is not supposed to, strictly speaking, raise the dead. Those women and men she had cured are described as having been close to or on the threshold of death, but never beyond. The explanatory texts, attached to the stories themselves suggest that earthly and spiritual medicine – doctors and prayers – cannot eliminate death, they can only postpone it, and this is what the Virgin Mary can achieve herself (op. cit., 176–178; 241–242).

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1698. *Titkos értelmű róza a'vagy a Förtő mellett lévő Boldog Asszony csudálatos érdeminek Drága illattyáról, és Jó-téteményinek, s' lelki, testi üdvösséges orvoslásinak egynéhány Példáiról együgyüen emlekező könyvecske.* [...] *Meg-iratott 1697. A' Förtő melléki Páter Franciscánusok által.* Wien: Leopold Voigt

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Poetics, Ideas

and

Images

Jon Roberts

SPEAKING OF LADIES: CASTIGLIONE'S (UN)WITTING ANTI-FEMINISTS AND OTHER EARLY MODERN SUBJECTS

To speak of the iconography of Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* is to speak, like Castiglione himself, metaphorically. Though Castiglione presents his work as a portrait ("ritratto") of the court of Urbino, there are strikingly few moments in the work that lend themselves to iconographic analysis. Yet, as Harry Berger, Jr. has remarked, Castiglione clearly "embraces the interpretive principles of a particular early modern ideology, one [Berger] has called mimetic idealism" (152). While he peoples his work with easily recognizable historical actors, he portrays them, Berger continues, as "'representative types' of a particular class" (152). Wayne Rebhorn has described the reconciliation between *mimesis* and idealization in this way:

> Just as Raphael painted his *Castiglione* both to do honor to the individual and to celebrate an ideal type, a representative of nobility and courtliness, so Castiglione depicted characters who are at the same time historical realities differentiated by their personal attributes and ideal types serving to illustrate just how ideal courtiers and ladies behaved. (152)

The discursive and iconographic framing of the early modern subject, it would seem, go hand-in-hand in Castiglione's great dialogue.

We thus witness within the pages of the *Courtier* both the beginnings of the early modern self and the emergence of an idealized type or icon of early modern identity. In this paper, I suggest that that the verbal iconography of selfhood that characterizes the *Courtier* is most fully realized in its feminine version, namely, in the verbal portrait of the ideal lady of court in the third book of the *Courtier,* the work's primary site for the discursive formation of the early modern subject as well. In Book III, Castiglione found his best and most interesting opportunities to explore, in great detail and with great sophistication, the highly ambiguous interplay of conscious and unconscious motives within and between or among individual speakers, an interplay whose spoken and written performance was essential to the formation of the early modern subject.

More than almost any other work of its period, Castiglione's *Courtier* reveals how thoroughly the question of early modern subject formation is bound up with the questions of gender and of the character of social interaction between men and women at court. To be sure, Castiglione assigns prominent roles to women like Elisabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pia in the conversations that make up the work. And thus, it would be rather curious if we did not acknowledge a strong link between the courtiers' efforts toward self-definition and the performances of gender that take place throughout the dialogue. It is therefore surprising that issues of gender construction as they contribute to our understanding of subject formation in this work have only recently begun to command scholarly attention equal to that which issues of socioeconomic rank or class and political power continue to command.

Even so, recent gender-influenced readings tend to be less effective than they might be for illuminating the social and verbal processes out of which courtly selves emerge. This is because these readings generally do not move beyond a binary account of gender attitudes. I propose to reveal a few, though not, I hope, damaging limitations of the current gender-based approaches,

even as I suggest their promise for developing a richer and more flexible account of early modern subject formation. Of course, since Castiglione, when not speaking as the author, uses direct discourse throughout the dialogue to grant his interlocutors ostensibly autonomous positions within the conversations, questions about gender attitudes must involve not only Castiglione's views but those of his speakers as well. Thus, instead of treating of Castiglione alone, I also treat his male courtiers who create and define *themselves* through their utterances even as they frame gender roles for the early modern court.

Throughout the 1990s, the dominant feminist accounts of Castiglione's portrait of the lady of court tended to characterize Castiglione's work as a dialogue that "betrays the traces of misogyny and gynephobia that proclaim [the seemingly anti-misogynist speaker's] continuing subjection to – and even his endorsement of – [partriarchal] discourse" (Berger x). Constance Jordan's observation is representative: "Ostensibly devoted to constructing an image of the ideal court lady, the text actually reveals its author's analysis of his courtiers' strategies for controlling the women of the court, particularly the most powerful of them, Elisabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino" (76). In fact, as Jordan continues, though Castiglione's defense of women "fails as a defense [, it is not clear] whether this failure is to be understood as the pretext for a purposeful exposure of male discourse concerning women or merely as an unexamined result of his own complicity in that discourse" (77). In the end, Jordan is willing to acknowledge a degree of control by the Duchess and her woman, Emilia Pia, over the conversations that make up the *Cortegiano*. Yet such control, she observes, is not only "both indirect and occasional," but also wholly contingent on the particular hierarchical organization of the court at Urbino.

More recently, another influential feminist reading has begun to emerge which holds that Castiglione's dialogue "does not so much 'betray' as 'display' those traces [of misogyny and gynephobia] as part of a performance aimed at revealing that the speaker himself cannot rise above the pervasive anti-feminism of courtly discourse" (Berger x). As Harry Berger Jr. continues, the *Courtier* "knowingly performs the failure to oppose" this antifeminism (x). More importantly, he asks if the *Courtier* "manage[s] some degree of internal distance from the failure it represents and thus [arrives at] a more limited oppositional stance"(x). Thus, the first reading – we can call it the Jordan reading – assumes an unwitting author bound by the gender discourse of his culture to perpetuate antifeminist technologies of control even as several of his more gifted speakers ostensibly oppose them, while the second reading – call it the Berger reading – assumes an author fully cognizant of his would-be anti-misogynist speaker's incapacity to transcend that discourse.

According to the Berger reading, moreover, Castiglione engages his culture's anti-feminism armed with the Lacanian insight that his speakers ultimately give voice to "a discourse network possessed of its own sites of agency, sites any speaker, any language user, may occupy and activate whether or not he or she is aware of doing so" (3). The speakers' intentions have little or no standing within this model. In fact, it seems at times that Berger would prefer to jettison any conception of an early modern subjectivity that argues for a distinction between internal motives and their surface expression. This is not to say, of course, that he rejects the notion of inward agency altogether. He could not, since he wants to argue that Castiglione resists the dominant anti-feminist discourse from within. He does, however, assign somewhat less value to the personal rhetorical choices of a given agent in subject creation than those who generally write under the sign of Greenblatt. In Berger's view, language works independently, or, at least, language must first be considered independently of any acknowledged or unacknowledged motives that have their source within a given speaker rather than in discourse itself.

I do not think that we can or need decide between the two readings, both of which I find compelling, though for different reasons. The Jordan reading seems more reflective of the actual historical attitudes toward women that we find everywhere in the literature of the early modern period. Yet, the Berger reading is immediately appealing to anyone familiar with Castiglione's self- and

class-deprecating use of dramatic irony throughout his work. Would we really be surprised to learn that Castiglione was fully aware that he was entrapped in the very anti-feminist discourse that he was attempting to undermine, or, at least, circumvent? Both readings are nevertheless limited and I would suggest two possible reasons for their limitations, and somewhat less confidently, suggest some possible directions for new thinking about the problems they raise.

My concerns about these two approaches emerged when I sensed, for reasons that follow, that both readings were profoundly troubled by an either/or assumption that serves as the basis of both. Either Castiglione and his male speakers are misogynists themselves or Castiglione and some of his speakers are too painfully aware that they are trapped within misogynist discourse. Neither account will do in a cultural setting whose highest behavioral and aesthetic value is *sprezzatura,* that is, the ability to reveal that one is not revealing all the effort that goes into a successful courtly performance. Performances at court are informed by a creative paranoia. There is always the assumption that behind such performances others are monitoring and evaluating the courtier's efforts to produce a self-description which both observer and observed know is inauthentic insofar as it is meant to disguise actual motives. The dissimulations serve no other purpose than to prevent the detection of the genuine. Moreover, it is the assumption that they are being read according to rarely articulated norms that induces courtiers to present versions of themselves based upon their elusive sense of what those norms might be.

In ways difficult to describe, then, the courtier moves in the interface between inside and outside, between one dissimulative performance and another, and such movement can only undermine conventional polarities. To borrow some language from Leo Bersani, the "replications that characterize paranoid doubling...attack the binary paranoid structure" (195) of watched and watcher, of read and reader. The more false replications of the "hidden double" are generated, the greater the displacement "to serial positions" of that same "hidden double" from what Bersani calls "its privileged position as the original reality behind the deceptive appearances" (196). That's the theory anyway.

In practice, can we ascribe with any confidence pro- or anti-feminist positions, except momentarily or provisionally, to Castiglione or any of his speakers? Once we abandon the inside/outside distinction, the interior/surface dichotomy, it is not clear how we can do anything more than acknowledge a sequence of brilliantly articulated positions, which are just that, positions on the interface, positions that we take as our author's or any of his speakers' "real thoughts" only at our own risk.

My second major concern is that both Jordan and Berger readings are troubled from their inception because they seem not take into account how the dialogical form of the *Courtier* complicates the somewhat reductive correlation between self-representation and misogyny projected by both readings. Although Berger does note that Castiglione draws on Ciceronian dialogue, he does not give enough attention to the element of free play, and thus the element of choice, that characterizes early modern dialogue. And it is precisely this capacity to improvise that might prevent us from narrowing the options for complicity with or escape from patriarchal discourse to just two negative options: one which says all are misogynists, the other which says all are misogynists despite the efforts of some to deflect the label, namely, by attempting to undermine misogynist discourse.

In short, whether or not the *Courtier*'s feminist debate "betrays" or "displays" antifeminism, the *dialogic* verbal portrait of the ideal lady of court that emerges in Book III can serve as an important site for the discursive formation of the early modern subject precisely because it is dialogic. It is during the debate between Urbino's resident misogynists and the court lady's defenders that a discursive model of subject formation emerges most powerfully as the product of the dialogue's performance of the speakers' witting and unwitting anti-feminisms. I would suggest, moreover, that

the discursive model promoted by Berger is not discursive or dialectical enough. "What goes on within speech" determines "what [the speakers] mean to say or do with their words" and "what they mean to do or say with their words" influences "what goes on within speech" (3).

Not to acknowledge this is to assume a break between *parole* and *langue,* which cannot exist, since it is only through utterance that we perceive the structure of discourse, that is, what may be said in what ways. Lacan may maintain the distinction between the two only because he assumes a permanent barrier between conscious and unconscious uses of language. Accordingly, I suggest that we reject Berger's Lacanian model and instead try to move toward a social psychology of the early modern court with reference to which our framing of the problem of subject formation begins to take seriously the dynamic between speaker and speaker.

A fundamental assumption underlying such a reorientation, one encouraged once again by the overwhelmingly social character of Castiglione's work, is that the verbal sign is a product of the "interaction between one individual consciousness and another" (Voloshinov 11). Signs emerge out of the interaction of two or more individuals "organized socially," and sign production occurs through communication. The conversations that make up the *Courtier* provide the background against which "consciousness takes shape and being" since the conversations themselves emerge out of "the material of signs created by an organized group in the process of its social intercourse" (Volosinov 13). This discourse determines the meaning of the images, the gestures, and the words harbored by consciousness. The real work of bringing the early modern subject into being is taking place at the interface between speaker and speaker. Such an approach would likewise satisfy the demands of the environment of creative paranoia at court and its ramifications for self-presentation as I've described them above.

This is not to deny that running through the debate over women in Book III there is an ostensibly pro-feminist current challenged by a strongly anti-feminist current. Moreover, both Jordan's and Berger's assignments of one of the opposing positions to particular speakers at given points in the debate must be acknowledged as accurate at least some of the time. Problems arise, however, as soon as we attempt to construct a coherent position out of a provisional stance conditioned by the immediate environment of enunciation, that is, by the utterances immediately preceding it and even the partially, if not wholly, anticipated utterances immediately following it. The courtier's utterances are local, even to the point of glaring inconsistency with a speech's or an argument's larger contours. Accordingly, it may seem critically useful, and even historically and rhetorically accurate, to characterize the gender debate of Book III as either inauthentic or damagingly constrained by the dominant misogynist discourse of the age. I would suggest, however, that we take greater care to register the local variations in the rhetorical positions and tones of the speaker, for it may well be that in the rejection of positions strongly held just moments before we find the emergence of selves most conspicuously.

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DOES LOVE HAVE GENDER? A FEW CONSIDERATIONS ON PIERRE SALA'S *"EMBLÈMES ET DEVISES D'AMOUR"*

Does Love have Gender? Do women belong to the nature-bound realm of Venus, while at least loving men obey the laws of her impish son, the archer Cupid? And are the rules and interests by which those two patrons of Love, female Venus and male Cupid, go, identical, complementary or outright conflictual? In the following we would like to examine some aspects of this question in relation to a little (*proto-*) emblem manuscript book from the British Library, presently known as *Emblèmes et devises d'amour* (Stowe MS 955; there is no original title, critics having long hesitated between "Énigmes", "Dévises", "Emblèmes" or simply "Love Poems"). It was compiled – rather than composed – by a Lyonese author, the patrician Pierre Sala (born before 1457 – died around 1529)[1]. Around 1515 Sala had returned from active service at the French court to his native town of Lyons, where two years later his only daughter of a first bed, Éléonore, wedded Hector Buatier, the only son of a late king's treasurer, Antoine Buatier (who had died in 1506), and of Marguerite Buatier *née* Builloud, who incidentally was – as it seems – an old flame of Sala himself. Whether this old acquaintance was renewed in the wake of the marriage of their respective children, or resulting from an independently pursued land property transaction, is uncertain, but since by all means Marguerite was – despite her advanced age – well to do, highly connected within the Lyonese patriciate, wise and cultivated, in short a good match, the old seemingly thwarted love Sala professes to have experienced for her in their youth appears to have been readily rekindled (see the opening lines of the prose dedicatory epistle in our text: *"A vous ma tres-chiere et tres honnoree dame. Ma dame* [erasure]*, celle que de mon enfance jey tousiours voullu eymer seruir pryser et honnorer de toute ma puissance plus que nulle vivante...."*) (bold type mine)[2]. So some time after 1515 and before 1519, Pierre Sala and Marguerite Builloud, both well into their respective 60s, were finally joined in a marriage which appears to have fulfilled no other necessity – social, material or other – than to satisfy the elderly participants.

There is – beyond her mere acceptance of Pierre as her second husband – no further corroborated information with respect to the feminine perspective upheld by Sala's bride concerning this marriage. Sala's own attitude on the other hand may be conjectured from the romantic gift of love consisting of the "emblem" manuscript mentioned above, which he employed in his courtship as a means of demonstrating the unbroken continuity of sincere affection and fervent admiration he professed to uphold for his second (and last) bride. Indeed, attempting to match sincerity with literature is always a hazardous endeavor; yet Sala's sentiments as can be extrapolated from this booklet appear to be corroborated by his otherwise verifiable historical personality. It goes without saying however that his point of view therein is perforce masculine, in keeping with the nature of his own late medieval culture and that of the multitude of his hetero-

[1] For the biographies of Pierre Sala and other members of his family, including his second wife Marguerite Buatier née Builloud, see Fabia, 1934, 11–48.

[2] Parry, 1908–9, 215.

geneous sources, both of which struck a bridge between late medieval *chevaleresque* and newer Rinascimental interests[3].

The small size manuscript under discussion, the so-called *Emblèmes et devises d'amour,* is a truly precious gift: originally bound in dark olive velvet with silk ties, it could be worn appended to the owner's girdle in a wooden carrying case covered with cut-leather coloured green, red and gold, where a floral pattern is combined with the initials of the couple – "P" for Pierre and "M" for Marguerite. These initials also appear on most of the 17 sheets of vellum stained purple and written in gold ink in imitation of splendid court manuscripts, similar to the Burgundian song albums of Marguerite of Austria from her library at Malines[4]. The original 21 leaves, measuring 13x10 cm, are composed of a 4 page prose introduction, a concluding envoy with the portrait of the donor, and twelve *emblèmes avant l'heure*[5] or proto-emblems (followed by an 18th century transcript)[6]: these "emblems" are composed of an untitled four-line poem (*quatrain*) generally inscribed in a placard on the verso of each page, with a matching illustration on the recto of the following facing page; this layout recalls *Le Theatre des Bons Engins* (Paris 1539 [=1540]) of another early French emblem writer, Guillaume de La Perrière (1499–1553)[7].

The *quatrains* are not really representative of Sala's poetic qualities, since most of them are, as we shall soon see, not of his own pen but collected from other sources, many of which can still be identified. It might be though that this compilation pays respects to Marguerite's intellectual capacities and enables her to take pleasure in identifying the unnamed sources which she might not only have been familiar with, but which may even have counted among her favourites.

The very first "emblem" of the collection – ff. 5v – 6r – shows a young man bending over and droping a large heart – manifestly his own – into the corolla of an over-dimensional daisy placed among a number of pansies. The *quatrain* runs as follows:

Mon cueur veult estre en ceste margueryte, *Il y sera quoy quanuyeux diront* *Et mes pances tousiours la seruiront* *Pource quellest de toutes fleurs lelyte*	My heart wants to be within this daisy / It will be there whatever troublemakers* say / And my thoughts (pun on: pansies) will always serve her / Since she is of all flowers the chosen.

*"An[u = v]yeux" = "enviers" or "annoyers" (the *"lauzengiers, malvatz, jaloux"* of traditional courtly literature), troublemakers always ready to spy upon the lovers and betray them to their enemies, thus causing them great "annoyance".

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3 Sala composed two romances of chivalry (*Le Roman du chevalier au lion* [=Yvain] and *Tristan*), works of French verse historiography (*Les Prouesses de plusieurs rois* and *Les Hardiesses de plusieurs rois et empereurs),* an antiquarian collection – *Les Antiquitéz de Lyon,* our *Emblèmes et devises d'amour, Fables et emblèmes en vers,* the compilation on friendship *Le Livre d'amitié,* and a defense of women and of marriage, *L'Épistre responsive à Mgr. de Tournon* belonging to the context of the contemporary *querelle de femmes.* On Sala's role in the cultural environment of Lyons, see Grünberg-Dröge, 1993, cahier 16: 3–33, and the same, 1998, 293–303.

4 See catalogue: *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche,* Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles (Brussels, 1940). On the use of gold or silver ink on purple dyed vellum for particularly precious, mostly biblical, manuscripts, see Backhouse, 1983, 173f n. 3.

5 Sala's manuscript was completed previous to the *editio princeps* of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* in 1531 in Augsburg, so it must count as pre-emblematic anyway. Although formal arguments concerning medium, layout or bi-partite structure do not hold, since occasionally used by later recognized emblem writers as well, Sala's choice of a single reader whom he prefers to "delight" – and thereby woo – rather than to "teach" invalidates the claim to "proper emblematic" recognition.

6 For a detailed description see the *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts of the British Library,* 638, and Backhouse, 1983, item 22, 169.

7 See Grünberg-Dröge, 1994: 7, 216–227.

There is no telling whether the mention of the otherwise topical *"an[u=v]yeux"* aims to reveal any real friction between the elderly lovers and their families or friends. By all means Sala marries courtly thought to the techniques of that loose group of mostly court poets called *grands rhétoriqueurs* who, since following the rules of the highly sophisticated formal aesthetic upheld by the *"traités de seconde rhétorique"* of the late 15th and 16th centuries, promoted virtuosity in the use of the French vernacular over contents or emotional expression. Sala thus rhymes "Marguerite" with *"élite"* (i.e., "elect, chosen")[8], and puns, on the one hand, on "love thoughts" *(pensées)* and "pansies" – a commonplace ever since René d'Anjou's (1409–1480) allegorical romance *"Le Livre du Cuer d'Amours Espris et de son Écuyer Désir"* (1457) made Cuer's armour comprise *"ung heaume timbré tout de fleurs d'amoureuses pensees..."*[9] (bold type mine) – and on the other hand on the name of the beloved and its botanical counterpart, the daisy (all the more common in poetry as a number of contemporary princesses and high-born ladies bore this name, which was even more frequently connected with the more precious "pearl")[10]. The common place "to set one's heart upon" – in this case "into" – the object of one's desire[11], carries – for all its elevated tone – some very physical undertones, like a prefiguration of sexual intercourse. Under the veil of deference, Sala equally manifests his desire to actually consumate the physical aspects of the coming marriage. So much for the lovers' flesh, fresh or no longer all that fresh.

This intention once stated, remains to be considered the spinier aspect of performance. This appears to be the subject of the Italian riddle in the third "emblem" – ff. 7v–8r – where a burning taper (attracting no moths!) standing on a table is accompanied by the following text:

Segua piano filliolo myo *quene scampe fillio di dio* *Fradel non ti desesperare* *My non ti posso asseгurare.*	"Follow gently, my son / So it stays on*, Son of God!" [i.e., Light?] "Brother, do not despair / [Yet] I can't assure you of myself".

*"Scampare" = "escape", "survive", "remain", "avoid peril, vice or error".

The solution to this riddle, which comes from an unidentified collection[12], is – given by the illustration – the flame of a candle in need of protection against draught lest it blow off. Since in keeping with the often bawdy spirit of riddle collections candles often bear phallic connotations, the "emblem" might include recommendations to a male lover uncertain of his own

8 See Jean Molinet's *Chapelet des dames,* or his *Pour une Marguerite,* and later in Clément Marot's *Étrennes.*

9 See edition by Wharton, 1980, 28. Compare also Céard and Margolin, 1986: 2, 195–6 for the rebus 59-LIX: *"Coeur d'amoureux est en pensée",* and the respective discussion.

10 See Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarra's verse collection *"Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* (Lyon, 1547).

11 Compare the same expression in Ferrand, 1989, piece no. XXXIII, 73f: "**J'ay mis mon cueur** et mon entente / a vous servir de cueur joyeulx..."; also piece no. LXXXI, 138 : "tout mon vivant **tousjours vous serviray**..." (bold type mine).

12 Although in Italy riddles were appreciated no less than elsewhere, Italian riddle collections are hard to grasp before the *Sonetti giocosi da interpretare sopra diverse cose comunamente note,* published in Siena as late as 1538 by Angiolo Cenni, of the *congrega* or *Accademia dei Rozzi,* and mainly known as "Il Resoluto dei Rozzi". The particular contribution of Leonardo da Vinci to enigmistic activities made the object of special investigations; see Céard and Margolin, 1986: 1, 200–19 et passim. French collections of riddles were readily available around the 15th century, see ibid., 95–133, and further Roy, 1977, who also discusses the connection with the courtly context and love topics, ibid., 19–22.

reliability[13]. Of the two speakers, the first functions as an advisor, the second being the candle itself. The intriguing phrase "Son of God!" (*"figlio di Dio"*) either carries some religious undertones (i.e., the "son of God" being "light" itself) or – more likely – simply represents a warning interjection urging caution in handling. Could Sala be warning his bride that, resulting from his advanced age, his ability to satisfy might run short of their assumed common desire? If so, the admission of male shortcoming is elegantly turned into a compliment towards the attractiveness of the equally aged female beloved, which still inspires his unbroken desire, whatever the outcome.

That more than sex is here at stake however is rendered clear by the charming fourth "emblem" – ff. 8v–9r – which reads:

Ensemble nous no marion *Venes y tous a lappareil* *nest ce pas cy ung beau pareil* *robin a trouue marion*	We're getting married to each other / come ye all to the wedding* / Is this no pretty comparison? / "Robin has found Marion"

*appareil = (in especially regional late 15th and 16th century French) "marriage", "wedding ceremony"; later only used for joining, putting together animals and inanimate things.

This *quatrain* quotes an undoubtedly popular folk song – also found in the farce *Le Meunier dont le Diable emporte l'âme en Enfer* (1496) by the *rhétoriqueur* André de la Vigne – and introduces the charming pastoral set couple of Robin and Marion[14] probably originating with the first French comic opera, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (around 1280) by Adam de La Halle (ca. 1237–1286); their bucolic love, uncomplicatedly earthly yet unshakenly faithful and committed, contrasts the bloodless, over-refined courtly wooing of the outgoing civilization of chivalry – as the couple's numerous recurrences in *pastourelles, fabliaux,* 15th and 16th century songs and other non-courtly genres certify[15]. The illustration accompanying the *quatrain* shows rustic clad Robin grabbing hold of the hem of Marion's dress, whereas she leads the way playing the bagpipe *(musette)* in a proverbial prefiguration of sexual intercourse, since in medieval French the term of venery *"muser"* also signified "being in heat", and *"jouer musette"* often bore sexual connotations; the bagpipe *(cornemuse)* is the instrument of folly, of country life and of undiscerning sensuality, and indeed often accompanied not only Robin and Marion in the text and the miniatures of the manuscripts of the above mentioned *Jeu de Robin et Marion,* but also other rustic lovers[16]. Here by all means it is the female who leads the male – but not to promiscuity: the girdles of hearts hanging at both Robin's and Marion's waists – just like our manuscript in its wooden case did at Marguerite's – symbolize true love, and the church spire in the background suggests marriage as the outcome of the relationship. If Cupid prompts man to seek more immediate satisfaction

[13] Roy, 1977, 54, 83, 161, items 17, 143, 518 (to be distinguished from the theme of the flame of the candle in a candlestick attracting and eventually burning moths).

[14] See Tissier, 1984, 356/7: *Le Munyer: "**Robin a trouvé Marion;** / Marion tousjours Robin treuve. / Hellas! Pour quoy se marye-on?"* (bold type mine). Unlike Sala, De La Vigne presents here a highly negative view on married life.

[15] For the couple's occasionally gross sexuality, considered typical among peasants, compare Céard and Margolin, 1986, vol. 2, rebus 32-XXIX, 149ff.). The figures of the legendary Robin Hood and his Maid Marion [=Marian] were also inspired by them.

[16] See Gagné, 1977, 83–107, as well as Céard and Margolin, 1986, vol. 1, p. 193f and 263 n. 107, and vol. 2, rebus 2-II, p. 95ff. Also compare for instance the *chanson* of Delafont: *A ce matin: "....Robin / Dansons nous deux au son de ta musette... il faut dessus l'herbette... [que] le jeu d'amours en levant la jambette / accomplissons..."* in *"Fricassée Parisienne – Chansons de la Renaissance francaise",* Harmonia Mundi 1901174.

(see Robin's gesture), Venus on the other hand inspires woman to establish a more durable, solid foundation for things to come. Of course, this is but another *topos* of male courtship, which attributes to the female – Marguerite – the role of temptress, even with respect to getting married, whereas the male – Pierre – only too readily agrees to (here literally) follow: although Sala himself in one of the two versions of his *Livre d'amitié* wrote: *"Il n'est nulle amour ny amytié en ce monde qui soit a comparer a celle du mariage, quant elle est honneste et que tous deux s'entreayment loyaulement et d'amour reciproque".*[17]

To return to the elaborate ideological theories of courtly love, let us consider the ninth "emblem" – ff. 12v–13r – borrowed from René d'Anjou's previously mentioned allegorical romance *Le Livre du Cuer*.... The subject here and in the next "emblem" is that of the gender related motif of the "chase". Two elegantly clad ladies just outside a grove span a net towards which fly a number of winged hearts, of which some are already caught in it, some still flutter about, some others, their aim lost, are fallen to the ground. The text announces:

Chiere amyable et cortoyse maniere *au coing du boys ont tendu leur pantiere* *en atendant leure plus atreable* *que par la passe © vollant peu estable.*	Friendly Face and Genteel Manners / Have spanned their net-trap at the corner of the grove / awaiting the best suited hour / for an inconstant flying ©* to pass by.

[* the icon, not the spelled-out word for "heart"]

This *quatrain* closely reproduces a five-liner describing one of the six tapestries decorating Dame Venus' sumptuous surroundings in *Le Livre du Cuer ...: Telle estoit la .iiij.e piece de tapisserie et les vers qui soubz estoient escripts disoient ainsi: // Chiere Amiable et Courtoise Maniere / A la senestre de Semblant Atreable / Au coing du boys ont tendu leur pentiere / Et la actendent l'eure plus coustumiere / Que par la passe cuer volant peu estable.* (The bold type indicates where the text differs from Sala's rendition).[18] Yet the last two allegorical tapestries concluding the series there presented the point of view of the anti-courtly figures of Rogier Bon Temps (the pleasure seeking simpleton) and of the Old Man, who both refuted love and the suffering it might entail. Out of their male perspective, it was liberty, not love that was viewed as the utmost prerogative of a man's heart, and the freedom to ever renew the chase, to keep on moving, appeared as the epitome of male nature. "Falling" in love can thus be interpreted as endangering the freedom of unstable men, incapable of serious commitment, as demonstrated by the undoubtedly "emasculated" hearts lying on the ground. But these "victims" deserve no pity since their fickle hearts "fell" for nothing but the superficial outward attractions of their temptresses, and they proved incapable of experiencing anything deeper than physical passion. The allegorical female captors Friendly [or: lovable, pleasant] Face *("chière amyable")* and Genteel Manners *("courtoise manière")* – whose cruelty is all the greater as their victims are more numerous than they can handle – lure and ensnare male admirers into nets, thus practising a little valued type of venery – bird hunting, which counted as more cunning than either skillful or noble. But the main source of unease to males is that, being traditionally viewed – by the rules of Cupid! – as chasers, with females as their prey, to them the reversal of these roles is experienced as an unpardonable shame, and so "falling in love" becomes a debasement, commitment to the beloveds – mere slavery. Of all the "emblems" of the collection, this is the one most in keeping with modern feminist criticism of masculinity.

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17 Guigue, 1884, here quoted by Fabia, 1934, 41.
18 Quoted after Wharton, 1980, 183–4.

But we should not forget that this statement, borrowed out of context from the *"Livre du Cuer..."*, does not represent Sala's own position. The latter had undoubtedly no criticism of either his own or of the opposite sex in mind, but rather meant to pay an elaborate compliment to his beloved, whose external charms had managed to capture his – undoubtedly not very inconstant – heart; and it is unlikely that Sala thought of deploring any loss of independence upon marrying Marguerite. This is further corroborated by a motto placed above and below the concluding envoy portrait – f. 17r – saying: *"Lesses le venir"*; the phrase is also found in extended form (as *"Lesses le venir a la trappe"*) on the pastedown inside the front cover of the volume, and picks up the expression from the dedicatory epistle: *"Vous saues bien quung seul reguart de vos tant beaux yeulx auec les dous moz de la trappe quil ne peult oblier le gueryront et luy feront oblier tous ses maux dont il a tant que plus ne peult..."* (bold type mine)[19]. The motto suggests that at least Sala would only too willingly come to the snare, and fetch from that "trap" (also meaning "mouth") satisfaction in the guise of a word, a kiss or more. His attitude consciously reverses the negativity of his source, and turns fear and caution into an outspoken readiness for love.

In fact Sala's explicit answer to the position presented by the *quatrain* inspired by René d'Anjou had already been provided by his second "emblem" – ff. 6v–7r – the origin of which is uncertain. The illustration shows a well-dressed young man playing "blind man's buff" with three equally elegant ladies: so the motif of the chase is here reversed with respect to the previously mentioned "emblem", which was nevertheless positioned only later in the collection. The *quatrain* informs us that:

Sune foys jen puis tenyr une *e[l]ne meschappera de lan.* *et me deust lon donner myllan* *Londres parys et pampelune.*	If but once I can hold one / She would not escape me the whole year long / And even if one gave me [in exchange for her] Milan,/ London, Paris and Pamplona

Theoretically in the picture there should have been at least four ladies to chose from (instead of only three), to match the four capital cities mentioned – Milan, London, Paris, Pamplona – which seemingly refer to contemporary political issues and current military campaigns (unless of course the young blindfolded man trying to catch the one or the other lady – or city – represent precisely "Paris", the French capital – with a pun on that mythological namesake who passed his fateful judgement between the three traditional aspects of female perfection: matrimonial chastity – Juno; wisdom – Minerva; and physical attractiveness – Venus, the goddess of love, from whose hand Paris received the *"une"*, the "one and only" Helen). We might also be tempted to suspect here an echo of the political novel *Jehan de Paris*, the authorship of which had for a while tentatively – but unconvincingly – been attributed to our Pierre Sala[20]: a copy of it belonging to his half-brother Jean, as shown by the *ex libris ("Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala")* may have come from Pierre's library. Possibly however the *quatrain* simply reflects contemporary popular war songs[21]. The historical background – viewed from the French perspective – prob-

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19 Backhouse, 1983, 174 n.7, and King, 1988, 174.

20 Muir, 1960, 232–4.

21 Such as the one against the Venitians (recalling the battle of Agnadello, 1509) or that on the capture of Brescia, related to the Italian Wars and included in Sala's manuscript of the *Antiquitez...*, see Guigue, 1884, 28. There are similar such songs in Ferrand, 1989, thus pp. 64, 96–7, 100, 108, 117, 130–1, 134, 147–8, 156, 190 items XXV, LI, LIV, LX, LXV, LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXXIX, XCVII, CXVII; compare also Costely, "Hardys Francoys...." in *Fricassée Parisienne: Chansons de la Renaissance francaise,* Harmonia Mundi 1901174. In this context I would like to remind of the "old song" Alceste, in Molière's *Misanthrope,* act I scene 2, so much appreciated: *"Si le roi m'avoit donné / Paris, sa grand'ville / et qu'il me fallut quitter / l'amour de ma mie / je dirais au roi Henri: / "Reprenez votre Paris" / J'aime mieux ma mie, au gué! / J'aime mieux ma mie".*

ably concerns the period between 1512 and 1518/20: "London" recalls the rivalry between the French and the English over the Aquitaine and Picardie (cf. the Battle of the Spurs and occupation of Tournai by the latter in 1513); "Milan" – the French possession of which seemed confirmed after the battle of Marignan in 1515 and the treaty of Noyon of 1516 – represents the Duchy of Lombardy, main object of the "Italian wars" (1494–1529) which pitted France against the Habsburg Empire, by then represented by Charles I of Spain, the future Emperor Charles V; "Pamplona" stands for the Kingdom of Navarra (or what was left of it after Ferdinand II the Catholic, King of Aragon and Castille, grandfather of the said Charles I of Spain, occupied it in 1512 and annexed it in 1515) and reminds of the efforts of Henri II d'Albret, King of the still independent northern (or Lower) Navarra to secure precisely French support (leading to the 1527 marriage with Marguerite de Valois and d'Orléans, daughter of Louise of Savoy and sister of King Francis I, both of whom were Sala's patrons). By 1518 the Treaty of London between some twenty European states, aiming at "perpetual peace, non aggression pacts, and engagements to mutual defence" may have released some of the tension, but these hopes were soon to be deceived: the English and the Spaniards – previously allied against France in the Aquitaine conflict of 1512–13 – still "treacherously courted one another" at the impressive – but to the French basically disappointing – "Field of the Cloth of Gold" (1520) where the rivaling Charles I, Henry VIII and Francis I still competed (since 1519) over the Imperial crown. And indeed Spain hovers like an unnamed but ever-present inimical shadow behind the overt references to the other place names. It was by all means not unusual to compare relations between nations to courtships at a time when state alliances and (political) marriages were but one: Sala's priorities however had by then shifted from the public to the private domain, and so he matches *"une"*, his "Helen", with *"l'élite"* of the first "emblem", thus playfully transforming the "highest good" of the nation into the individual "domestic good fortune" of the lover. Should man however – in keeping with the laws of Cupid – still be the chaser in this tamed hunting metaphor, the pledge of constancy *(e[l]ne meschappera de lan)* placed at the very heart of the hyperbolic compliment comparing the beloved to state affairs renders this "emblem" very different from the one previously discussed. Though the exact nature of the chosen's superior qualities – possibly no more than the "handsome appearance" and "mannerliness" mentioned by René d'Anjou – is not actually specified in the "emblem", when considering Marguerite's age, compliments to her physical charms rendering her a "new Helen" should be viewed in a different light altogether.

The tenth "emblem" – ff. 13v–14r – deserves special attention, as it has given rise to a particular controversy. Here is indeed the only instance where the text is inscribed on a scroll instead of a placard, and the disposition and proportion of the initials "P" and "M" in the background also differ from other "emblems". The illustration shows, seated on a pillow placed upon a table, a naked baby to whom two ladies standing right and left of him each offer a plate containing, the one apparently gold coins, the other red fruit, probably cherries – the baby showing marked preference for the latter. The text on the scroll is the following:

Au choysir ne ferey long plet. *Je ne prans guarde au plus riche* *Car je ne suys ne aver ne chiche* *Je prandrey ce que miaux me plet.*	I will not make long process in choosing / I pay no attention to the richer one / since I am neither greedy nor petty; / I will take what I like best

In an article pressing a gender-related point of French Renaissance economy Catherine King hypothesised on the strenghth of this single "emblem" that the entire booklet carries not proof of what she calls a "rather droll evidence of late romance", but rather certification of a will according to which Symphorien, the common grandson of Pierre and Marguerite by their respective children Éléonore and Hector, was to inherit Sala's property to the detriment of Pierre's

brother Jean and the latter's son François, and this in spite of the fact that Pierre's daughter Éléonore – being a female descendant – ought to have been barred from inheritance.[22] Here is, to my way of thinking, a typical case of "reading with suspicion" from a feminist point of view: yet there is no documented proof or other factual evidence that Marguerite was inferior in wealth – or for that matter in education – to Pierre, or that there might have been disagreement with Sala's brother Jean or the latter's son François with respect to Éléonore's and thereby Symphorien's rights to Pierre's fortune (actually, there seems to exist some circumstatial evidence to the contrary). Moreover, even if this one "emblem" was meant to attest Pierre's will, it is not clear why he should have thus taken the pains to embed it in this very particular context, or bothered to produce all the other unrelated "emblems"; nor is it clear how this "quasi legal" (instead of simply legal) document was to persuade Marguerite to accept Pierre's proposal, nor how such a "jewel-like book gift" could appropriately compensate any loss of economic or personal independence on her part. (In fact an earlier critic, Georges Guigue, had on the contrary maliciously suggested that it was Pierre who had only married Marguerite in order to terminate the payment of a pension for the Berjon vineyard on which he had erected his house, the renowned Anticaille![23]) King's hypothesis further implies Marguerite must have somehow been personally involved in the conditions behind the very conception of the manuscript later offered to her as a present, which makes her look like a not very appealing shrewd and calculating dowager carefully intent (unlike our "emblem") upon her social and economic advantage. This description is not necessarily closer to reality than that of the sympathetic and cultivated gentlewoman who in 1526 was called a *"sapiens mulier et mihi amica"* (a wise woman and a friend to me) by the German humanist and alchemist Cornelius Agrippa, and whom Sala fondly and familiarly depicts to King Francis I in the preface to his *Prouesses de plusieurs rois*[24]. Either image simply depends upon gender conventions stemming from unrelated periods and irreconciliable ideologies. As we can see, not only beauty but also character is in the eye of the beholder, depending on individual later-day preconceptions.

In fact, King simply failed to recognize that this "emblem" is actually yet another riddle coming from an unidentified source.[25] It shows that the innocent eyes of a baby – whose nakedness, in the diffuse neo-platonic philosophy current at the time, is related to unaltered truth – are best equipped for detecting real value, in a manner reminding of Titian's painting *Sacred and Profane [=Worldly] Love* (Borghese Gallery, Rome), which opposed a naked Sacred Love (Venere Celeste according to Ficino, or Felicità Eterna according to Ripa) standing next to an empty bowl and holding a flame in her hand to a richly dressed Profane Love (Venere Volgare, or Felicità Breve) with a vessel containing gold and precious gems. A little naked Cupid between those "twin Venuses" – standing closer to the Profane Love but turning towards the Sacred one – stirred water in a sarcophagus.[26] The visual and ideological similarities between this and related works of art (two women, two differently filled vessels, one naked child in between), should suffice to make us reconsider this "emblem" in a sense independent of the one proposed by King. The child in our "emblem" will "make no long process" (*"plaid"*, legal plea) of choosing what attracts it most, that is, not gold, but cherries. The original riddle well might have carried some religious

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22 King, 1988, 174–184.

23 Guigue, 1884, 14.

24 Ms. B.N. fr. 10420; Sala describes the inception of the work by recalling how Marguerite went off with friends on a day trip while he stayed at home to take care of the dinner (sic!); hers and her female friends' images are included in the dedication miniature showing Sala kneeling before the King and offering him his work.

25 Burin, 1989, 70 n. 35.

26 Panofsky, 1997 (1930), and the same, 1972 (1939).

undertones, since cherries associated with the naked Christ Child in the Virgin's lap (as in paintings by Sandro Botticelli, Titian, Annibale Carracci, the Master of Flemale, Joost Van Cleve, and others) often have a theological signification, either as a prefiguration of the Passion, or as a symbol of resurrection, promising to the righteous that Heavenly Paradise which is to replace the loss of the Earthly Eden. Yet cherries also bear phallic connotations, as seen in a late medieval riddle (which possibly parodied a well known *Oroison tresdevote a Nostre Dame*): *"Blanche fut nee, / Rouge fut paree, / En or fut mise, / Devant le roy assise: C'est une cerise"* (bold type mine).[27] The riddle might simply signify that sex (or love) is preferable to material riches, and a relationship founded on attraction, love and affection can be more satisfying *("ce qui mieux me plaît")* than a more conventional union seeking enrichment for either one of the parties involved. I for one view this "emblem" in unbroken conformity with the others as a barely disguised compliment to Marguerite's ability to please the truth-seeking eye of the loving beholder (i.e., Pierre's). This is to remind us once more that the *Emblèmes et devises d'amour* testify of only one perspective, Pierre Sala's own; we can no more than speculate on whatever Marguerite thought – of herself, of her social condition, of her future prospects, of her suitor, of Love in general and in her own case in particular. Yet even if the laws of Venus (Marguerite's) and those of Cupid (Pierre's) should indeed essentially differ, just as do gender-specific interests, they – at least according to Sala – still may be brought to concord.

The remaining "emblems" – of which four are borrowed, one significantly altered, from the *rhétoriqueur* Henri Baude[28], and two probably stem from an uncertain collection of *proverbes en rimes*[29] – carry recommendations for suitable behaviour when pursuing one's goals; this is similar to the arguments – inspired by the ca. 1245 prologue to the *Bestiaire d'amours* by Richard de Fournival,[30] which presented "peincture" and "parolle" as means of entering the "meson de memoyre" of the beloved – found in the closing lines of the prose dedication epistle to our "emblems", and resembling the verse dedicatory epistle to Louise of Savoy in Sala's *Fables*. As these

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[27] Roy, 1977, riddle 210 97. The word-play on "or" [gold] / "ort" (sale, cf. ordure) [filth, reference to the private parts]; "roy" [king] / "roid" (cf. raide) [stiff] strenghtens the equivoque *cerise – pénis;* the illustration of our "emblem" echoes these notions of red, gold and sitting down. Similar bawdy cherry riddles can be found in the same collection, riddles 241 103 and 32 58. See also *Les Évangiles des Quenouilles* ed. P. Jannet, Paris, 1855, items 23, 110.

[28] Scoumanne, 1959; also Lemaitre, 1988. The four "emblems" more or less literally borrowed from Henri Baude's (1430–1496?) are (a) ff. 10v–11r (*Fauveau,* almost literally corresponding to Baude, *dit* XLIX, Scoumanne, 1959 135, Lemaitre, 1988 58, 76; and originating from the bitterly satirical *Roman de Fauvel* of 1310–16 – see Lĺngfors, 1914–19); (b) ff. 11v–12r (*Faveur qui affole et foule,* corresponding to Baude, *dit* XI, Scoumanne, 1959 95 – not in Lemaitre, 1988; compare Céard and Margolin, 1986, vol. 2 : 90-XCIII *"Fortune, tu m'affoles"* and 143-CXLII, *"Fortune, tu m'as re(n)versé", 55- "Fol et plus que fol");* (c) ff. 14v–15r (*cutting the branch under one's own feet,* significantly altered from Baude, *dit* XXXVII, Scoumanne, 1959 123, Lemaitre, 1988 46, 64, compare Céard and Margolin, 1986, vol. 2 : 124-CXXII, *"Souvent trebuchons de soulas en martyre"*); (d) ff. 15v–16r (*the straight and the crooked combined according to necessity;* much altered from Baude, *dit* XLVI, Scoumanne, 1959 132, Lemaitre, 1988 55, 73; compare Céard and Margolin, 1986, vol. 2: 57-LV *"tort, droit, j'en estoit"* and 129-CXXVIII, *"Forgeons vertu et deboutons folie";* see also Roy, 1977, riddle 19 55: *"J'ay ung ostil bel et droit, / Une foiz crombe [=crooked], l'autre droit, / Dieu! Qu'il est bel quand il tent! / Et ne vault rien se il ne tent. / Je sacque aval, je tire amont, / Je fier en l'estang bien parfont. Response: C'est quand l'en tire d'un arc a main et d'une vire entre deux bersaultz."*

[29] Compare Frank and Miner, 1937, and Massing, 1983, 210 and pl. 31b, as well as Burin, 1989, 67–9, and the same, 1988, 8–9; for (a) ff. 9v–9bis*r (*fools and wise men counterfeiting one another)* and (b) ff. 9bis*v–10r (*on feigning lameness,* hypocrisy).

[30] See – for the dedicatory epistle of the *Emblèmes* – Parry, 1908–9, 217; for Sala's *Fables* – see Forni-Marmocchi, 1974–5, 185f; on Richard de Fournival – who in fact exploits Horace's words "ut pictura poesis" from the *Ars poetica* (l. 361) at the source of the medieval and rinascimental mnemonic arts – see Segre, 1957, 6–7. Compare Burin, 1989, 77–8.

"emblems" however have comparatively little to do with questions of gender, we will leave them out of the present discussion.

What remains to be considered however is the concluding unit. Most early emblem collections follow no particular order, but occasionally the first "emblem" – frequently viewed as a dedication – and the last one – often a signature – occupied privileged positions: thus the first emblem on the arms of the Duchy of Milan in Alciato's *editio princeps* of the *Emblematum liber* of Augsburg 1531, and the closing two emblems of his other *editio princeps* of the *Emblematum libellus* of Venice, 1546, which revealed the author's place of origin (the emblem *Mediolanum*) and his family name (*Nunquam procrastinandum,* the emblem on the *alce* – elk).[31] In France Georgette de Montenay (1540–1607), in her *Emblesmes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyon 1571) also followed this example[32]. Similarly late medieval verse frequently made use of this technique, and indeed in the present case, after the first dedication item introducing the personification of the addressee as a daisy (Marguerite), the thirteenth *(sic!)* and concluding item of our collection is not an "emblem" but an envoy *(envoi),* a kind of signature in which Sala's complex and refined originality is revealed. The item is special in more respects than one. Its frameless *quatrain* – f. 16v – is inscribed in mirror writing. The perfectly symmetrical initial of the beloved, "M" for Marguerite, unaltered by mirror reflection, appears once atop and once below the *quatrain,* not accompanied by the corresponding "P" for Pierre; it instead dialogues with the motto previously discussed, *"Lesses le venir",* equivalently placed above and below the portrait facing the text. The rather plain poem (which, in good old Rhétoriqueur manner, uses set phrases and commonplaces also occuring in contemporary *chansons:* thus *"reguardez en pytye"* reminds of *"[Tres doulce Vierge honnoree] / Vueillez en pitie regarder...."* and *"qui n'a jour ne demi"* of *"je n'ay ne bon jour ne demi"*) (bold type mine)[33] – pleads as follows:

Reguardez en pytye *votre loyal amy* *Qui na jour ne demy* *Rien pour votre amytye.*	Look with pity upon / your loyal friend / who has no time whatsoever / except for your friendship [i.e., love].

The miniature portrait of the sender Pierre Sala – on f. 17r – is duly certified by a barely legible inscription giving the name of the sitter[34] below and also by a note – dating from later than 1596 – at the back, f. 17v: *"Set de vray le portret de Pierre Sala mestre dotel de ches le roy, avec des enimes quil avoit fet a sa mestresse; qui estoit grand honcle a madame de Ressis, laquelle est sortie de la mayson de Guillien en Quercy".* This miniature is believed to reproduce a (now lost) larger portrait painting by Jehan Perréal,[35] a friend of the author's (as shown by the second version of Sala's *Livre d'amitié,* which is dedicated to him).[36] Perréal's personal contacts with both Leonardo da Vinci[37] and with the Burgundian court of Marguerite of Austria may have been at the source of the above mentioned mirror writing. This technique, precious to the *grands rhétoriqueurs,* was highly valued

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[31] Grünberg-Dröge, 2001, 10–11 and nn. 72–75. Later editions of Alciato's emblems altered this original order and placed all three here discussed emblems at the beginning of the collection.

[32] Grünberg-Dröge, 1993, coll. 82–87, and the edition by Smith, 1973.

[33] Ferrand, 1989, items XLI p. 84 and XXXIII 73–4. Not the phrasing but the application renders such phrases original.

[34] Burin, 1989, 63.

[35] Backhouse, 1983, 169–171 and 173–4, n. 7, Burin, 1988, 2–3. and King, 1988, 173f.

[36] Guigue, 1884.

[37] Durrieu, 1919, 166f.

at this court, as the poetry albums of Marguerite of Austria demonstrate.[38] Here however it seems to fulfill a more sophisticated purpose: it literally reflects the state of the lover's soul and his most intimate convictions. It follows from the layout that the complete message – going from right to left, that is, if reflected in a mirror, from the recto to the verso page – should read, almost in rebus fashion: "Let him (the object of the painting, i.e., P[ierre], identified by *'Peinture'*, that is by the portrait, and by *'Parolle'*, that is by name) come [→ = to] M[arguerite] (also M[*eson de memoyre,* the letter resembling a house with two steeple towers comparable to the Anticaille itself, i.e., a place – or person – of the same utmost symmetry and immutable perfection as the initial of the bride's name when contemplated from whatever side])" (bold type, underline and italics mine). Yet this refined dedication of the lover's true self to his beloved still presents one rub: on the strenghth of, among other things, the introduction to our manuscript, we know that by the time the "emblems" were compiled Pierre was already an elderly man (as he himself also admits in his *Chevalier au lion,* vv. 14–15: *"trop viellart", "sans espoir en amour ne Venus"*[39] or in his *Prouesses de plusieurs rois: "...j'ay grant regrect / que je ne suis agile et adroit....... / Mais vieillesse, la tres merencollique, / Me fait present d'une goutte ou colicque..."*).[40] His eyes, weary from old age, were in need of eye-glasses, as shown by the introduction miniature and by several verses from the prologue of his *Tristan* (vv. 2–5: *"j'ay brefvement / Dessus mon nez assises mes lunettes, / Pour deschiffrer lectres que je n'ay leu nettes, / Du vieil Tristan, qu'il voust pleust me bailler..."*)(bold type mine),[41] a fact which stamped him as no longer eligible for the pursuit of love, as the common contemporary saying "bonjour lunettes, adieu fillettes"[42] went. The portrait on the other hand dates from Sala's youth. So how come he offered to his beloved a portrait which she could easily compare to his disadvantage with his present appearance?

This is where Sala is at his most original. That which to others was no more than literary convention, he for one apparently truly practised. While on the whole accepting the traditional ideals of courtly love and its referrential code of manners and emotions, he did not hesitate to adapt those to his individual needs, concocting his personal mixture of sexuality and sublimation, yearning and respectful appreciation for his lady love. Thus the relationship between the concluding envoy and its matching portrait reflect the similar tension between the occasional *quatrain* and its matching illustration, upholding a dialogue as intense as a lovers' conversation. The envoy and the portrait similarly close the circle to the prose introduction which claimed the love relationship between Pierre and Marguerite dated from their early youth, before their respective lives and marriages had separated them. Even if this be a mere *topos,* the portrait looking backward to the past and the envoy pleading for a common future create a link between the dimension of Time and issues of gender.

Since unfortunately neither of the two bridespeople indeed still met the age requirements exacted by the code of love manners, none of the elaborate compliments alluding to youth, freshness and beauty contained in either the poems or the illustrations of Sala's "emblems" could detract from the fact that (objectively speaking) Pierre and Marguerite no longer belonged to the time of life devoted to Love. Past child-raising age the elderly were expected to be of

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38 See Françon, 1934 and Picker, 1965. On mirror writing as a cultural phenomenon at the time see Céard and Margolin, 1986, vol. 1, 213–19 and 453–474, and vol. 2, 32–39 (with respect to the ms. 1600 of the Rébus de Picardie).

39 Suard, 1970, 406–15.

40 *Prouesses de plusieurs rois* (ms. B.N. fr. 10420), partially quoted by Guigue, 1884.

41 Muir, 1958; quotation from 27.

42 Céard and Margolin, 1986: 2, 153–4, rebus 33-XXX, *"Quand je prends lunettes, adieu, mes fillettes".* On the mostly mocking iconology of eye-glasses, see Margolin, 1975, 375–393 and ills. VI, VII, VIII; the same, 1980, in *Les Lunettes,* pp. 13–78 and again1980, in *L'Histoire,* 14–21.

colder disposition, unable to compete with the hot blood and sexual appetites of younger lovers; so old "impotent" or "frigid" paramours were considered ridiculous,[43] and became, from a social point of view, asexual, de-gendered, practically neuters. Venus, patron of fertility, no longer had any use for them, even when Cupid's arrows still assailed them – as Sala's admission in his *Chevalier au lion,* when opposed to the image of Cupid in the opening miniature of the *Complainte au Dieu amour* dedicated to the Cardinal de Tournon, indeed reveals.[44]

But Love, it is said, conquers all: *Omnia vincit amor.*[45] Its freedom, Sala's "emblems" seem to suggest, consists in not being bound even by its own rules, and its greatest miracle in being able to bend the laws of Nature. Where Love is an absolute, physical reality is only relative, the wheel of time can be turned full round once more, and the passage – and ravages! – of time on both of our true lovers become superated. Love, and Love alone, can therefore make Pierre and Marguerite young again, as young as they were when they first met, as young as when Sala's portrait was first painted, as young as to meet the demands of conventional formulas of courtship (exacting precisely feminine attractiveness and masculine strenghth) as if the time passed had left no marks on their physical attributes. Love, like a spiritual Fountain of Youth, not only rejuvenate those partaking in its games, but a touch of its wings also re-genders them, as it does our aged Pierre and Marguerite: so for them too, Sala seems to tell his future bride, sexuality once again becomes an option, consumation of the bond is conceivable, and the couple's love – if only they should agree to carry it out – is henceforth just as credible as it would be in the case of younger partners. It is therefore, well beyond the limitations of Nature or of Time, Love – and only Love – that, according to Sala's "emblem" book, conveys true gender upon its disciples.

But does Love itself have gender? And does it let itself be guided by it? Venus and Cupid indeed do, and so their respective objects need not necessarily be identical, just as men's goals and those of women often enough also differ. But Love is different. Whatever traditional, gender-specific roles and behavioral models Venus' or Cupid's followers were committed to within their original social embedment, however determined these gender conditions were by their time of life, all these restrictions can – with some good will – be superated and transformed, yea even revoked under Love's government. The major paradox is therefore that true Love – not Venus, not Cupid – in setting lovers free from the bondage of Time, can restore Gender (and thereby gender roles) onto them; but true Love – neither Venus nor Cupid – in conveying mutual understanding and respect for the individual persons and the specific qualities of the lover and of the beloved – such as, here, their respective intellects – which render each one of them unique, can also loosen the bonds of gender roles once again, not de-gendering, but humanizing, individualizing, personalizing them. Love, like Death, is a "Great Equalizer", not only concerning age, but also, paradoxically, with respect to gender. If there is any general lesson to be derived from Sala's "emblems", it is – to my way of thinking – that gender need not condition us beyond our free will, that we are at all times in a position to pick and choose from a variety of even contrary gender specific role models and gender bound symbols and themes, and our individuality can thus develop unhindered under Love's influence.

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[43] Céard and Margolin, 1986: 2, 153–4, rebus 33-XXX: cf. the proverbs "Quand la barbe devient blanche, laisse la femme et prends le verre", "À cinquante ans, ouvre ta cave et ferme tes culottes". Sala himself includes a *rondeau* of similar effect entitled *"Vieille mule du temps passé"* in his manuscript of the *Antiquitez.* There are many contemporary satirical texts and illustrations to support this attitude.

[44] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2618, f. 1; published in Pächt and Thoss, 1977, ill. 331, and *Programme de l'exposition...* 1992/3.

[45] Virgil, *Eclogues,* book 10 v. 69: "Omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori".

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Petrőczi Éva

THE PICTORIAL AND VERBAL ICON OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

Let me start with a very un-English – because highly personal – remark. I have spent more than thirty years reading and analyzing, and – during the last ten years – teaching Sir Philip Sidney's works. Therefore the material collected about him is overflowing from my folders and files, his portraits can be found everywhere in our home. Now, when focusing on his pictorial and verbal icon, my task is as difficult as usually: to show an ocean in a drop of water. Before going into any details, I'd like to recall Alan Hager's extremely witty words on our hero as a hardly graspable, Ariel-like creature: "I place him and his various personae, however, in a third and very special Renaissance tradition of self-design: purveyors of a rainbow of identities, from self-designator to self-promoter, for a higher ironic and creative purpose – sometimes propagandistic – following the human praisers of folly. No wonder his subtleties sometimes escape polemicists who look for leads to expropriate Sidney as icon (our key-word!) for old and new historical cults..." (Hager 1991, 9) Naturally, Hager's "self-designator" concept is not the invention of the early 1990s: all these types of expressions are the true-born "sprouts" of Stephen Greenblatt's ideas about Renaissance self-fashioning: Whenever we feel a feminine aura around Sidney, we might remember Greenblatt's remark: "...as he (Sidney) lived under the era of a female ruler/ Though under one rich in male qualities/ there might have been some conscious-unconscious self-effemination in his behaviour..." (Greenblatt 1980, 154)

I have already written about Sir Philip Sidney's self-fashioning concerning his *Psalms* and his great Petrarchan-Anti-Petrarchan effort, *Astrophil and Stella.* (Petrőczi 2002) Now my intention is to illustrate how the same "fashioning" tendency appeared when – mostly after his death – he became a person of special importance in the hands of English and international propaganda. His flexible character, his constant longing to be accepted and loved can remind us – most of all if we take into consideration the almost-angelic features given to him – of a letter written by Erasmus in 1522 to Ulrich Zwingli: "I wish to be a citizen of the world, to belong to everybody, or even to be a no-citizen, in order to be at home anywhere. I wish I had the joy to become part of the citizen's list at the celestial city."[1]

But – just as in the case of any tactful self-manipulation – we must be very cautious with Sidney's different images, from the almost feminine "Phips" to the masculine (or at least masculinized) Christian hero of Axel and Zutphen. Again Alan Hager is the brave scholar to call our attention to Sidney's personal doubts about his own, too-clear-cut-to-be-true roles: "In this article I will argue not only that Sidney's exemplary image is the product of Elizabethan propagandistic design, but that Sidney is aware, and attempts in his own life (and works) to make us aware, of the ironies of being identified with such a role (e.g. the role of the perfect courtier, knight, Protestant etc...)." (Hager 1987, 46)

In 1580 (at that time aged 26), in the *Exordium* of his *Defence of Poetry* he praised John Pietro Pugliano's art of horsemanship with this typical, very tender sort of "Sidneian" irony, with creat-

[1] In German: "Ich wünsche Weltbürger zu sein, allen zu gehören, oder besser noch Nichtbürger bei allen zu sein. Möchte ich doch das Glück haben, in die Bürgerliste der himmlischen Stadt eingetragen zu werden." (Quoted by Dülmen 2002, 27)

ing a certain distance between this very masculine and over-proud figure of Emperor Maximilian's court and himself, while continuously referring to this famous Italian master of horses in third person, as "He said... Then would he add... etc." (Sidney 1975, 17)

Sidney's conscious-unconscious fight against the falsification of his icon could last all through his short life. He could – with his intelligence, natural playfulness and wisdom – defend himself against the attacks of the so-called "masculine mystique", but his afterlife became sometimes the victim of this tendency. Marilyn French gives an excellent summary of this phenomenon which did not arise in the sixteenth century, but which is as old as patriarchy:" This explosion, at once material, intellectual and moral was an expression of what I call "the masculine mystique", a drive to power based in myth. The aim of this drive is domination which, according to the myth allows men to transcend their human vulnerabilities." (French 1992, 18)

"To transcend human vulnerabilities..." – these very words seem to be the most appropriate ones to follow my short survey. In Alexander C. Judson's classical work, entitled *Sidney's Appearance* everything is seen and shown through the eyes of an art historian. Almost the same work was done eleven years earlier, in 1939, by a German scholar, Berta Siebeck. (Judson 1958)

After reading Judson's mostly meticulous book, I tried to risk introducing some new, but probably amateurish ideas. According to my humble hypothesis, the majority of Sidney's portraits are intended to transcend human vulnerability. Let us begin our pictorial voyage with the best known and most realistic, though even so highly idealized "Zuccharo portrait" (which elegantly forgets about the sad caverns of smallpox and pimples). This picture has five listed versions and the names of three different painters are attached to it: Federigo Zuccharo's, Anthonis Mor's and Isaac Oliver's, with no final decision about the authorship. The best description of this picture was given by Edward Berry's recently published book on Sidney: "The portrait was probably presented as a gift to Sidney's sister, Mary [as a wedding gift] ...Sidney seems to have sat for at least six portraits during his relatively short career, a number that Roy Strong finds exceptional and that attests his continuing preoccupation with images of himself... Both the elevated pose and the hint of arrogance in the face seem symptomatic of Sidney's conception of his role as courtier to the Queen. As heir to Leicester and focal point not only for the political hopes of his family, but of continental Protestantism, Sidney seems to have approached Elizabeth with a far greater degree of independence and self-assertiveness that was sanctioned by a courtier's role... Whereas Sidney's portrait suggests the role-playing of a young gentleman aspiring towards the positions of statesman and warrior, Leicester suggests a convergence between role and reality: he has become what Sidney hopes to be!" (Berry 1998, 50, 53, 59)

As for the "evident arrogance" of the Zuccharo portrait: the self-concerned, proud expression on Sidney's face, the ballet-dancer like pose, even the over-sized ring on his finger serve to hide his vulnerability. The only link between this highly popularized portrait and the Painted Freeze of the Upper Reading Room of the Old Bodleian Library, Oxford is the oval shape of his face, the colour (a typical russet glow) of his hair and his warm brown eyes. The fresco was completed at about 1617, 23 years after his death, and it shows a certain masculinizing tendency. It's enough to look at the broader face, sharper nose and strong moustache.

After the widely known Zuccharo portrait it's time to have a closer look at one which is nowadays less popular, though for a generation after his death it was idolized and spread Sidney-icon all through Europe. This drawing appeared in the Dutch Willem Baudart's (Baudartius) *Polemographia Auraico-Belgica* (Amsterdam, 1622). As we can read in the Bodleian memorial booklet: "The plate shows Prince Maurice of Nassau and Sidney surprising the town of Axel by night. This successful attack, remarkable for the silence in which the forces approached, took place on 16th July 1586."(Mukherjee, Trilokesh 1986, 22)

Baudart's great work of emotional propaganda which intended to show the heroic fights of the Dutch against the Catholic forces had some earlier editions as well. In the University Library of Heidelberg I found a 1616 French edition of it, in which one can read a very flattering description about the deeds of Count Maurice of Nassau and Sir Philip Sidney, the two athletes of Christ." (Baudart 1616, 89, 91)

Here, in this richly illustrated book on the heroism of the Dutch and his fellow-fighters we can find two prototypes of the so-called "Majestas Bild" (Picture of majesty), the above shown and briefly described Sidney-Maurice double battlefield-portrait and a very similar one (showing also the cheap, the commercial and unindividual features of this propagandistic genre) about the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Alençon at the siege of Gent, two years earlier than the Axel-episode. (Baudart 1616, 44)

The analogies between these two pictures are obvious: the two heroes look down upon the attacked town from a height, naturally sitting on horseback. Poor and proud Sir Philip on horseback – we can painfully remember his self-humiliating, pleading letter to his cousin, Sir Moyle Finch: "Cousen Fynche, Having nowe occassion for the fournishing of my bande of horsemen to become a begger unto many of my good frendes for horses, I have thought good emongest the rest to make bolde with you praying you to pleasure me with a serviceable horse out of your Quyrrie, which I assure you at this tyme wilbe very wellcome unto me, and you shall fynde that I will deserve this favour at your handes. And so I comitt you to God. From Flushing this XXth of December, 1585.

Your very loving cousen, Philip Sidnei" (Sidney 1923, 156) This letter shows the other, the less known side of the pompous procedure of "the making of a hero."

In Erwin Panofsky's basic work, entitled *Grabplastik* we can find a strange, but rather reasonable theory: namely that any dead great person can be brought back to life (a quasi-resurrection through depicting him on horseback... "den verstorbenen als Reiter wiederzugeben"). He proves his very convincing theory with the example of a hero almost from Sidney's generation: Nicolas du Chatelet 's who died in 1562. Here you can see the drawing made after his statue. According to Panofsky all these equestrian portraits represent the attitude of consolation and compensation as the dead hero becomes alive while re-vitalized by the strength of his noble animal who was a faithful companion in his fights. (Panofsky 1964, 94 No. 379)

A quite different, domesticated afterlife was composed to Sidney's friend, Mauritz, Prince of Oranien (Nassau). We meet him in the year 1615 on a rather profane object: he appears as the central hero of a tile (tegel), a typical Dutch faience wall-decoration. (The even nowadays popular token of an excursion to Delft!) He is depicted here in the majestic and luxurious vestment of a hero, with all of the attributes of a commander-in-chief – but a retired one, still with his stick in hand, but with the plumed helmet being put aside, with the calm expression of a bourgeois rather than a princely person. (Berge 2001, 8)[2]

Sidney himself – due to his early death – could avoid this fading, this loss of his heroic colours, though some of the representatives of his English and Dutch circles wanted to emphasize his nearness to William of Orange, depicting him (Sidney) as their blood relative concerning his moods and manners. Let us watch at the two twin-pictures: the first one was drawn in 1587, one year after Sir Philip Sidney's death, by Thomas Lant, herald and draftsman, once in his service. (Judson 1958, 62)

The other portrait is a very similar engraving by Willem Jakobsz Delff, after the work of Adriaen Pietersz van de Verne, from 1623, which depicts William of Orange (1533–1584) "in his ripe years", most likely in his late forties. The relationship between these two historical fig-

[2] More fully about him and his family see: Vetter 1991.

ures can be found easily, if we recall C. V. Wedgwood's words on William the Silent: "William drew his friends and admirers from all nations and all classes – remember Fulke Greville's words about the simplicity of William's vestment and behaviour! (Greville, Sir Fulke. 1907. 20.) – ...not merely soldiers and burghers, but men of such diverse intellectual attainments and individual qualities as the Huguenot philosopher-statesman Duplessis-Mornay (his great work on Christianity translated by none other than Sidney!) the frivolous chatterbox Brantôme, the chivalrous young Philip Sidney... The ceremony (when William's daughter was baptized!) took place at Middleburg on May 30th 1577, not the magnificent Leicester, but his young nephew stood proxy for the godparent. Philip Sidney was 23 years old and enthusiastic for William's cause – without a shadow of diplomatic reserve. The meeting was an unmitigated success." (Wedgwood 1946, 131)

This quite detailed description of the William-Philip friendship throws light upon the "Dutch" fashioning of Sidney, martyr of William's and the Dutch nation's cause. With the very similar hat, jacket and equally solemn looks the artist showed their nearness, their true "Wahlverwandtschaft". This vice-versa presenting of features, appearance, gestures followed quite long after Sidney's death as well. As, for instance, Janus Dousa, the younger, one of the Leiden humanist poets who lamented Philip's tragic end, appears on a double portrait (together with his father, J. Dousa senior) by Roeloff Willemsz van Culemborg like a somewhat rustic, less aristocratic, but very similar repetition of Sidney's National Gallery portrait by an unknown artist, from 1576. (a later version of the Zuccharo portrait). (Dorsten 1962)

But this "renationalizing" tendency did not stop at Sidney's closest Protestant fellow-fighters, the Dutch. Very different European intellectual circles wanted to show their sympathy towards him with reshaping his face into an icon closest to their own national style and ideals. As, for instance, in the case of the 1624 French edition of his *Arcadia,* translated by J. Baudoin. Its frontispiece shows him as a laurel-decorated Frenchman, in an antique toga, but with a typically sharp French nose, thin beard and moustache. And exactly the same modification can be seen on his features in Germany, six years later, in 1630, when the Frankfurt edition of the same pastoral romance appeared, with the world-famous Matthaeus Merian's frontispiece, drawn in 1629. This portrait-medal shows a clearly "Germanized" Sidney, with a respectively wider face and less effeminate features then the "Gallic" version. Merian, the spoiled and finicky artist of the Palatinate preferred the individual works and not the products of applied art. His readiness for becoming the illustrator of Sidney's work signifies his personal homage paid to the great English artist and personality. (Wütrich 1972, 60–63)

The secret of this heart-warming "Sidney-confiscation" or "Sidney-smuggling" of different nations can be found behind John Buxton's words on him; several European artists longed for being Sidney's kinsmen, because of his never-ending readiness for friendship, partnership, dialogue. Therefore to expropriate Sidney can be considered not as an aggression or intrusion, but as a noble act which did not impoverish, but enrich the English cultural heritage: "Charm, certainly, is one of the most powerful, as it is one of the most elusive and indefinable of human qualities; but there must have been a lively and enquiring intellect, a quickness of understanding, that must have made him an excellent listener; – he was fundamentally a scholarly reflective man rather than a man of action, but at the same time one who believed that reflection was only to be valued as it led to action." (Buxton 1966, 35)

Buxton's above quoted words unveil and clarify why Sidney's brave life and heroic death was so widely praised and mourned. We, Hungarians also pay a special attention to him, as his great Hungarian contemporary, his fellow-poet and fellow-warrior, Valentine (Bálint) Balassi can be considered as his East-European embodiment, in many respects. Some of these: they were both translating-paraphrasing some of David's *Psalms* and – thank to the versatile nature of their

talent – at the same time individual followers of the Petrarchan tradition of composing love sonnet-cycles. And, last but not least, their life ended very similarly. They were both wounded on their thigh and died of blood poisoning. Naturally – though Balassi was also an educated polyglot – our poet was not so widely known as Sidney and the circumstances of 16th-century Hungary could not help him to become an international icon. His only identified image, a painting made after a drawing which shows him in 1587 or 1588 (aged cca. 33 years) can be found in the Christian Museum of Esztergom (Gran), one of our ancient coronation towns. The rebirth of this painting came in 1994, when Professor Dezső Varga restored it and Balassi's image was cleaned from the previous false layers. (Szentmártoni Szabó 1996)

To put it very briefly: Sidney was depicted as the ideal of Anglo-Saxon male beauty, with a more boisterous (or even feminine) sort of mollified attractiveness, while the strongly masculine portrait of our Balassi might remind us of Sidney's very words on sixteenth-century Hungarian warriors in his *Defence of Poetry*. If we take into consideration that Balassi was an excellent dancer and also a great fan of music, with many of his poems composed "ad notam", we can be amazed by the English poet's intuition and by his witty and quick reaction to what he saw during his short visit to Hungary. These words – written about unnamed and unknown Hungarian soldiers, singing and dancing at their camp-fire – are perfectly describing some of Balassi's qualities as well: "In Hungary I have seen in the manner at all feats, and other such meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valour, which that right soldierlike nation think one of the chiefest kindlers of brave courage." (Sidney 1975, 46)

Sir Philip Sidney, the sentimental and sensitive traveller of Renaissance Europe became an eternal figure of our intellectual world through these short, but significant lines. Partly that's why generations of Hungarian scholars try to come closer to him and to his rainbow-like icon.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

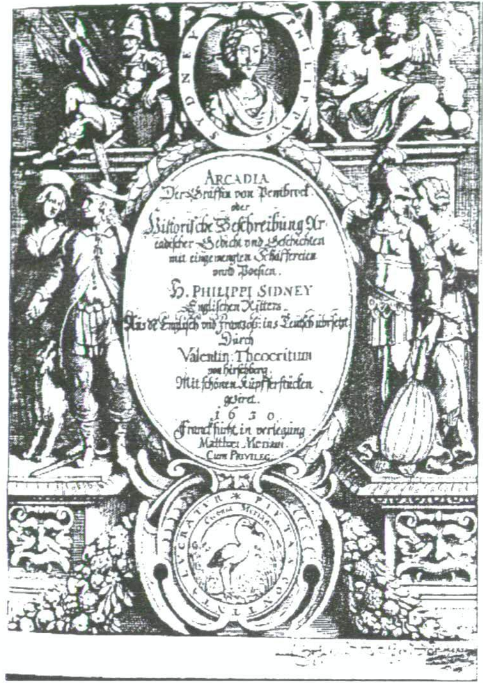

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

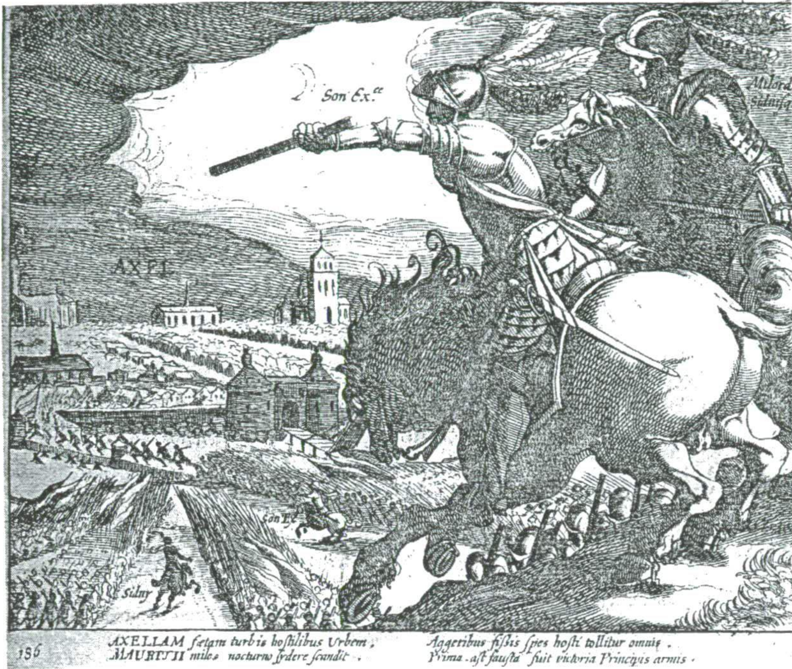

Fig. 7.

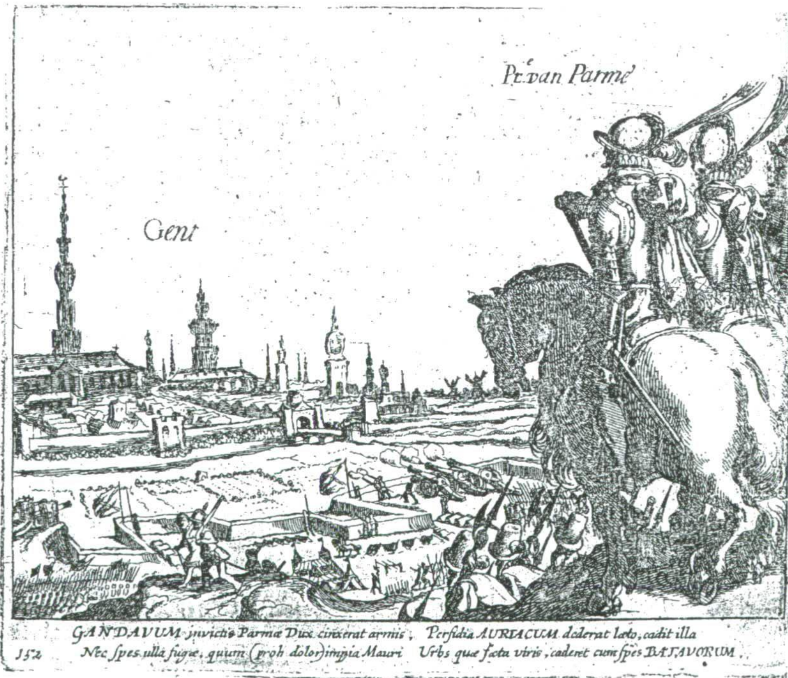

Fig. 8.

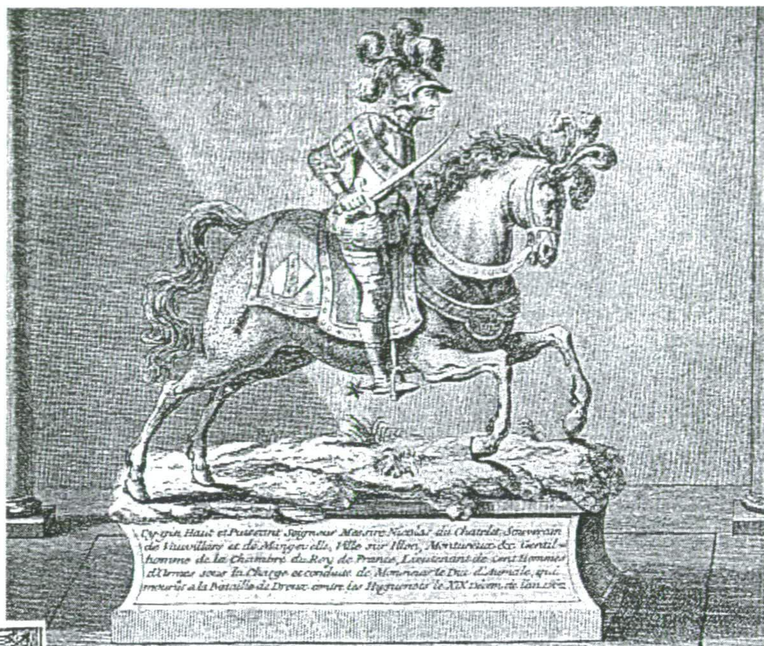

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

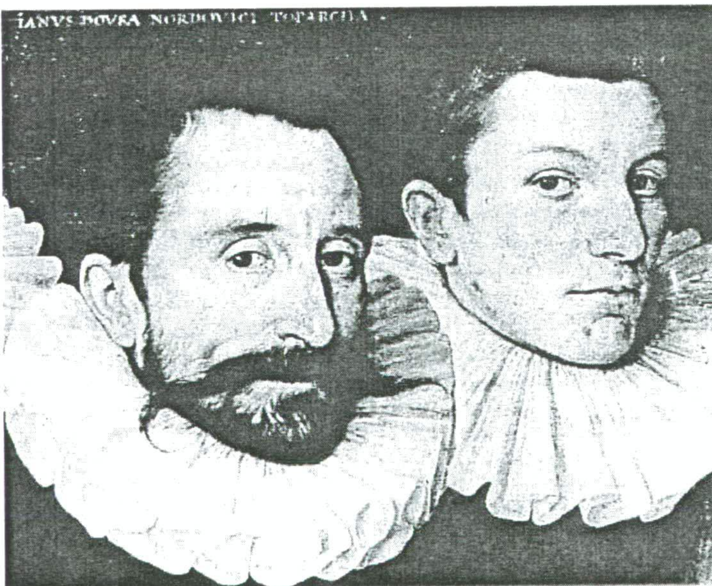

Fig. 13.

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Jorge Casanova

WHEN ICONOGRAPHY DOES NOT EASE THE PAIN: MARY WROTH IN POETIC LABOR

It was twenty years ago that Josephine Roberts published her edition of the poems by Mary Wroth. Even though there was already an edition by Gary Waller (1977), Roberts' edition marks the startpoint for the many studies on Mary Wroth, *neé* Sidney, that have given a new place for this poet not only among scholars but, and always more importantly, also among students. The work on Wroth has proliferated on several areas of interest, but it is needless to say that studies on gender have found on Wroth, a female author, the first woman in England to make it to print, a great source to textually explore a different vision of the English Renaissance. It is precisely this quality of producer of a Renaissance text, though admittedly different, what I would like to stress on, making Wroth's poems face emblems available at the time and exploring the way in which she, as a Renaissance author, deals creatively with the artifacts of her own cultural episteme in order to exhibit her preocccupations as woman author. Beyond the poetic struggle to hold a voice *inter paris,* Mary Wroth aims further to question the *mundus symbolicus* associated to her own body as conditioning to position herself as a writer. The project, dead on arrival, brings to the surface a poetic discourse delineated, within the obsolete frame of the sonnet, by an innovative poetic voice. The convergence of two types of, until then, different "pains" in one single discourse launches an idea of intimacy and privacy new to English poetry.

Let us depart from an unillustrated emblem, one to be read. Andrew Willet's *Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria Una* (1592) contains the following lines as a definition for human condition:

HUMANA CONDITIO

The childe is borne from mothers lappe,
The midwife stout.
Doeth wash and rubbe with salt, and wrappe
In cuddling clout.
Shee bindth the partes, doeth cut the string,
At fire he is helde
Lying in lappe, to doe every thing
She thus doeth yeelde.
In labour thus and travaile great
The mother is worne,
The poore and they of princely seate
Are all thus borne.
As from the darke the childe is sent,
Covered with blood,
Him selfe but weake, as in prison is pent
Can doe small good:
As we are borne, such is our life,
So is our death,
Our birth and age are full of strife,
Thus we let our breath.
Hence then I say with pride so vaine,
Let it decay,
For we are all of earthly traine,
And must away.

Willet's emblem stresses the idea that human condition is fully dependant on the act of delivery, on the effort that the woman must be able to achieve. Human condtion is defined by referring to the mother (12 first lines) and then to the newly-born (12 last lines) and the future of strife to be suffered. But it is the pain of the delivery what signals difference. And this opinion prevails.

A few years later in a well-known 1615 London pseudo-scientific treatise entitled *The Arraignment of Lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant women or the vanity of them, choose you whether, With a Commendation of wise, virtuous, and honest Women, Pleasant for married Men, profitable for younger Men, And hurtful to none,* Joseph Swetnam writes:

> Amongst all the creatures that God hath created, there is none more subject to misery than a woman, especially those that are fruitful to bear children, but they have scarce a month's rest in a whole year, but are continually overcome with pain, sorrow, and fear. As indeed the danger of childbearing must needs be a great terror to a woman, which are counted but weak vessels in respect of men, and yet it is supposed that there is no disease that a man endureth that is one half so grievous or painful as childbearing is to a woman. Let it be the toothache, gout, or colic: nay, if a man had all these at once, yet nothing comparable to a woman's pain in her travail with child (213–4).

"A Woman's pain in her travail with child," or the womb as site of pain and danger, it is a physiological experience. However it is also a literary motif, and thus a site of representational reproduction. Men such as Swetnam or Willet write about the woman's womb as "other," as a locus of difference between the male and female experience but they do not refer to it as locus of representational reproduction. Perhaps this is because they did not need to.

In the Renaissance the womb is appropriated for the wooing of a woman, the sonnet-mistress: a man using childbirth to describe his pain at producing a sonnet for his beloved. In the Platonic model, womb-appropriation was a way to claim the powers of reproduction without recourse to "the animal" or the physical pain of childbirth. For Lady Mary Wroth's uncle, Sir Philip Sidney, the womb serves as much to provide him with a metaphor of acute pain as to describe the act of creation/reproduction.

In the Petrarchan tradition, desire is conflated with pain. Desire and pain mark separation of poet from beloved. Petrarch simultaneously burns and freezes, lives and dies, and all the while writes his pain into his poetry as a means of winning Laura or the laurel. In Sonnet 134 he writes: *"Pascomi di dolor,"* "I feed on pain," providing us with a model of both physical nourishment and depletion. It seems clear that whatever effect this state of separation/pain had on Petrarch's physical condition, it certainly was healthy for his literary condition. Sir Philip Sidney begins his "Astrophel and Stella" sequence with exemplary Petrarchan sadomasochism: "Loving in truth, and fain in verse my love to show,/ That the dear she might take some pleasure of my pain." One could say Sidney's "pains" are his writings, but the very relationship between pain and language complicates this notion, particularly when looking at how iconography and language interact with pain in a sonnet sequence.

Besotted with creative *angst,* the poet/speaker turns to the womb: "Thus, great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes" (1, 12) and, in the midst of labor pains, the Muse finally appears with the bidding to examine his heart and write. Sidney's "womb" primarily serves the purpose of both representing his pain in a condition which Swetnam says is beyond the experience of any man, and also of rendering his creative act, as an act of reproduction, of creating a poetic "child." Sidney as poet/lover constructs his experience of pain as different from, and even in excess of, the pain of other sonneteers; likewise the notion of "birthing" a sonnet gives a different status to both poem and poet. Sidney inscribes his poem with his own name, claiming the

status of parent to child in an act which simultaneously claims *difference* for his work in a genre saturated with the name of Petrarch. The adoption, however, or trying-on of the female physical body in a poem which is, to some extent, about *separation* from a female physical body brings further complications-- notions of cross-dressing and hermaphroditism spring to mind; and a good example of the active status of these notions in English Renaissance culture could be the lines Sir Edward Denny wrote to Mary Wroth:

> Hermaphrodite in show, in deed a monster
> As by thy words and works all men may conster
> Thy Wrathfull spite conceived an Idell book
> Brought forth a foole which like the damme doth looke
> (...)
> Thus hast thou made thy self a lying wonder
> Fooles and their Bables seldome part asunder
> Work o' the Workes idle bookes alone
> For wise and worthyer women have writte none. (Roberts 32)

Sir Edward Denny was no doubt discontent with what he deemed a too rtealistic picture of the English court in Wroth's works. However, beyond the personal level, what comes to the fore is that women without men deliver monsters, while men without women deliver poetry. And this rhetorical capacity of appropriation has representational precedents. Henry Peacham shows in his *Minerva Britanna* Hercules dressed up as a woman under the motto "Vis Amoris" (emblem 95):

> Alcides heere, hath throwne his Clubbe away,
> And weares a Mantle, for his Lions skinne,
> Thus better liking for to passe the day,
> With Omphale, and with her maides to spinne,
> To card, to reele, and doe such daily taske,
> What ere it pleased, Omphale to aske.
> That all his conquests wonne him not such Fame,
> For which as God, the world did him adore,
> As Loues affection, did disgrace and shame
> His virtues partes. How many are there more,
> Who hauing Honor, and a worthy name,
> By actions base, and lewdnes loose the same.

Love is a state that makes femeninity surface as Robert Burton says, and Peacham itemizes as "shame", "disgrace", "actions base", "lewdness".

For Sidney, the womb provides impetus for poetry, and the act of writing poetry is arguably a kind of sexual pleasure in itself. The womb serves to represent, materially, his interior pain; the womb produces his poetic children; the womb grants him the privilege of reproduction--but not with Stella--and thus he is able to establish his identity chiefly as poetic father. When a woman writes about a womb, or from a womb, however, a very different model is at play:

> Faulce hope which feeds butt to destroy, and spill
> What itt first breeds; unaturall to the birth
> Of thine owne wombe; conceaving butt to kill,
> And plenty gives to make the greater dearth,
> Soe Tirants doe who faulsly ruling earth
> Outwardly grace them, and with profitts fill
> Advance those who appointed are to death
> To make theyr greater falle to please theyr will.
> Thus shadow they theyr wicked vile intent
> Coulering evill with a show of good
> While in faire showes theyr malice soe is spent;
> Hope kills the hart, and tirants shed the blood.
> For hope deluding brings us to the pride
> Of our desires the farder downe to slide.

Sonnet 35 (P 40) from Lady Mary Wroth's sonnet sequence "Pamphilia to Amphilanthus" show how a woman author is at pains not to deliver but to deal with the womb itself, with her own poetic womb. Wroth's comparisons between the miscarrying womb, the deceptions of Hope, and social corruption all contain the notion of duplicity, or of "Coulering evill with a show of good" (P40, 10); indeed a very different picture of hope from the one available in the iconographical stock:

Hope feedeth

Hope is the nurs of love, and yieldeth sweet relief,
Hope overcomes delayes and easeth lingring smarte,
Hope in the lovers brest maintaynes a constant harte,
For hopelesly to love is but a cureles grief. (Vaenius 59)

It is known and documented the fact that Wroth's writings, some of which exposed the hypocrisy of court, gained her a degree of social alienation. Miscarriage, then, becomes an image marking Wroth/Pamphilia not only physiologically, as a woman, but also socially. Her illusions of hope, whether for childbirth or a fairer social hierarchy, are dashed-- causing her desires to slide even "farder downe." Wroth was the mother of one legitimate and probably two illegitimate children. She first gave birth only one month before her husband's death, and an account tell us that it was "after long longing" (Roberts 23). However this "long longing" is interpreted, one may assume, from the fact that as Wroth leads us to believe in her sonnets she was well-acquainted with a notion of womb marked not only with the pain of birth, but also of death.

Elaine Scarry, in her study *The Body in Pain,* writes that "physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it" (4). Language and pain exist as almost mutual boundaries of each other: when pain is present, language is absent, and vice versa. However, in Scarry's terms pain can be "transformed into an objectified state" through language and thus "some of its aversiveness" can be eliminated (5). The idea of writing one's pain away becomes a model which seeks to name what is culturally-produced as unnameable: pain, heartbreak, death, separation--and certainly giving birth. Importantly, in the act of childbirth pain becomes subsumed into creation: a woman's pain is depicted as small sacrifice for the socially-consecrated reproduction of the son, the daughter, the heir. Miscarriage, a creation which begins and is destroyed, disrupts this model entirely.

Wroth's sonnet configures the womb, then, in a series of contradictory gestures: it "feeds" only to "destroy," "breeds" only to "spill," "conceives" only to "kill," produces only to deplete and proves in all ways "unnatural to birth." The miscarrying womb of Wroth's poem signifies a language which collapses, folds in upon itself, produces meaning only to undermine and negate it. Creation starts, and in the middle of starting, is finished. For the poet, miscarriage provides a model which describes only the inability of language to convey a certain kind of pain or experience: an experience which, in breaking down the boundaries of life and death, breaks down meaning. The creation, then, of a poem which is self-pronouncedly uncreatable is a kind of confrontation with impossibility, or death, or what Julia Kristeva describes as ***abjection, the*** state of existence "at the border of my condition as a living being" (3). Or as Pamphilia says in *Urania:* "Receive these lines as Images of Death,//That beare the Infants of my latest breath" (*Urania* 418, 1–20).

The word "pain" is used in Mary Wroth's sonnet sequence 32 times. There are other substitutes: often she describes her condition with words such as "torture," "wound," "suffering," "grief," "mourning," and "lyfe-killing smart," but "pain" is used the most. The actual word "pain" first appears in sonnet 4: "Then I alas with bitter sobs, and paine,//Privately groan'd . . ."(5–6). For Petrarch and Sidney, the impression is that pain, to some extent, is resolved by the act of creation. The self-described pain of love prompts Sidney to write, and his writing is a kind of negotiation between pain, his throes, and creation, his child. Wroth's negotiation of pain and poetry, however, again dismantles Sidney's model. Poem 9 reads: "I seeke for some smale ease by lines, which bought //Increase the paine; griefe is nott cur'd by art" (3–4). Pain, in Wroth's terms, is unassuaged by language; rather it is amplified, increasing--one might say--its inexpressibility.

Wroth cannot ease her pain like her uncle did. While Sir Philip completed his journey through pain of love, applying language to it and making love the causer and the remedy simultaneosly, Mary Wroth remains in pain because her literary child is a still-born. Two emblems by Vaenius will illustrate the idea of *farmakón* (cause & remedy) and the acknowledgement of the wound (the writing of the poem), both working together towards the cure and the subsequent literary birth:

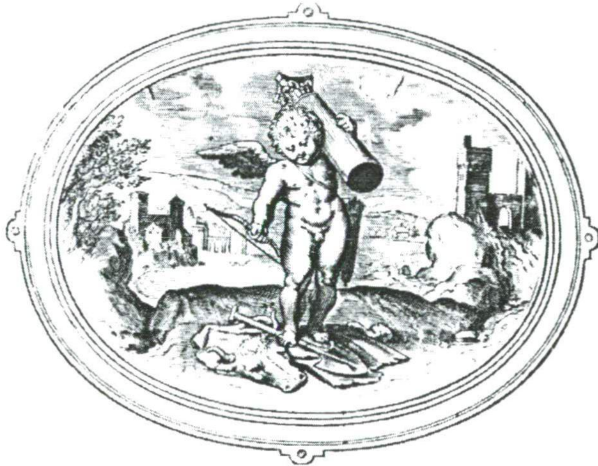
Love is loves phisition
By whome the harme is wroght the remedie is found,
The causer of smart, is causer of the ease,
Hee cures the sicknesse best, that caused the disease,
Love must the plaster lay, where love hath made the wound. (Vaenius 169)

Shewing causeth curing
The paynfull wounded wight may boldly playn his grief,
And open lay his wound before his Surgion eyes,
So to thy lover shew where thy hartes dolor lyes,
The knowing the disease, is first cause of relief. (Vaenius177)

The construction of the writing self identifiable in Wroth's poetic voice is embodied by the lines written by Pamphilia for the duplicitous Amphilanthus, whose name literally means "lover of two." And yet the result is a cyclical collapsing of language witnessed already in Sonnet 35; a movement of creation which defeats itself in terms of both language and of birth. Writing, then, as a means to diminish pain or produce a poetic "child," completely inverts itself – cyclically infusing the poet/speaker and depleting her, and ultimately bringing her to confrontation with death: "Long have I suffer'd, and esteem'd itt deere//Since such thy will; yett grew my paine more neere: //Wish you my end? say soe, you shall itt have (sonnet 6, 9–11).

Pain, again, acts as the unnameable, elusive fulcrum of the poem--a murky center which, growing "moore neere," signifies death. She employs it as a countering to the "deere" estimations of her suffering; "yett grew," as if, despite "thy will" and her own efforts, pain grows of its own accord. For Wroth, the act of poetic creation is a meeting with death. If Sidney's writing produces a poetic child, Wroth's produces poetic vision of miscarriage.

Vaenius' Emblem 201 shows and tells:



No labor is wearisome
Love onlie is asham'd to call his labor payn,
How heavie so it bee, for toyling is his ease,
As hee that hunts or haukes, his travail doth him please,
Because his whole content lyes in the hope of gayn.

Wroth's "gayn" is repeatedly deferred, the repeated attempts at creation are self-negated; or, as Kristeva writes, "a self-giving birth ever miscarried" (54). Sonnet 30 describes Pamphilia's pain in exactly these terms:

How oft in you I have laine heere oprest,
And have my miseries in woefull cries
Deliver'd forth, mounting up to the skies
Yett helples back returnd to wound my brest (5–8).

In Kristeva's terms, Wroth describes the state of abjection or "other-possessedness" which produces, as *symptom,* "a language that gives up, a structure within the body, a non-assimilable

alien, a monster, a tumor, a cancer..." (11). The aborted delivery of Pamphilia's "miseries" certainly articulates Wroth's experience as a writer: aside from the increase of pain she describes, her poetry won her alienation from court and such critical acclaim as "Hermaphrodite in show, in deed a monster", going back to Lord Denny (Roberts 34). Her poetry, returning back to wound her, to increase her heart-ache, conveys the sense that for Wroth, creation is ultimately an act of self-destruction, her writing bringing her closer to death.

For Wroth, writing about a womb signifies writing about pain which as yet is still unnameable, unspoken, a pain which imbues the womb with different symbolic and material matter in terms of creative process. For Sidney, the womb provided means of production – and his progeny have certainly flourished: they've been read, written about, imitated, anthologized, eulogized. For Mary Wroth, however, the poetic womb provided a different story altogether – something which can be attested, I think, by the fact that her "poetic children" have been dug out only in the course of the last twenty years. Fortunately they are experiencing a promising long due maturity.

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The Emblematic Theatre of the English Renaissance

Amanda J. Piesse

THE TAXONOMY OF GENDERED ICONOGRAPHY ON THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN STAGE

I

When, in the N-town *Play of the Salutation and Conception,*[1] the angel Gabriel requests Mary's acquiescence to the will of God in becoming the mother of Christ, his mode of address undergoes a subtle shift between the moment of his request and the moment after the Virgin conception. As Mary agrees, he exclaims, courtly messenger to courtly maiden,

> Gramercy, my lady fre,
> Gramercy of 3oure answere on hyght.
> Gramercy of 3oure grett humylyté,
> Gramercy, 3e lanterne off lyght! [289–292]

When the divine conception is complete, the form of what he says is similar, but the tone of address is markedly altered:

> Fareweyl, turtyl, Goddys dowtere dere.
> Farewel, Goddys modyr. I þe honowre.
> Farewel, Goddys sustyr and his pleynge feyre;
> Farewel, Goddys chawmere and his bowre. [313–316]

Mary has become a member of a holy family. The shift from 'you' to 'thee', from the courtly 'Gramercy, my lady fre' to a more familiar vocabulary – daughter, mother, sister, lover – denotes this clearly. The shifting tenor of the language within the stable structure of the verse mimics what is revealed verbally, but not yet visibly, on stage. A transformation has taken place within, but the outward sign as yet remains the same. When Mary meets her cousin Elizabeth in the next –but-one play of the sequence,[2] they are like gossips *in camera;* static on stage, face to face, their words of shared delight tumble over one another in a macaronic Magnificat of celebration:

> Maria: Magnificat anima mea Dominum,
> Et exultauit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo
> Elizabeth: Be þe Holy Gost with joye Goddys son is in the cum,
> þat þi spyryte so injouyid þe helth of þi God so
> Maria: Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue
> Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnis generaciones
> Elizabeth: For he beheld the lownes of hese handmayde, 3e.
> [L]o, ferforthe for þat, all generacyonys blysse 3ow in pes … [82–89]

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[1] In Stephen Spector ed., *The N-Town Play Cotton MS Vespasian D.8* Vol.1 EETS SS11 (London: OUP, 1991).

[2] *The Visit to Elizabeth* Play 13 in Spector.

Mary recites authoritative ecclesiastical Latin, Elizabeth makes plain the message in the vernacular, as befits the respective natures of their embryonic offspring-to-be. The register and construction of the language they use, though, is representative of the male articulations of divine grace that they carry within themselves. At every level, visual, verbal, exegetical, they are vessels, the medium for the message; they exchange their joyous news 'in stillness and in cloos'[3] and within the strict parameters of ecclesiastical language. This, I think, is why the medium of the language is once again brought to the audience's attention by the convention of the macaronic verse. The figures of Mary and Elizabeth operate at once as specific biblical characters and as standard examples of good medieval women.[4] By dramatic suspension of disbelief, their exchange of women's words within doors, between themselves, and use of precise formulae and text of quotation to do so, is the standard language of good women in every sense. Their stasis, after Joseph's troubled pacing in the previous scene, has a double function, one symbolic, the other practical. It simultaneously shows them to be good women, and helps the audience to focus on their words rather than their stage presence. We are asked, as audience, to recognise this open display of iconographic representation, visual, verbal, social, exegetical.

The Mary who has tried to comfort her outraged husband moments earlier in *Joseph's Doubt*[5] has also conformed obediently to type. She answers her husband's lengthy accusations briefly and meekly, with two-thirds of talking in the play coming from Joseph, and less than a third from Mary:

> Joseph: Goddys childe! þu lyist, in fay!
> God dede nevyr jape so with may!
> And I cam nevyr ther, I dare wel say,
> 3itt so nyh þi boure
> But 3it I sey, Mary, whoos childe is this?
> Maria: Goddys and 3oure, I sey, iwys.
> Joseph: 3a, 3a, all olde men to me take tent,
> And weddyth no wyff in no kynnys wyse
> Þat is a 3onge wench by myn asent,
> For doute and drede and swych servyse. [42–51]

The playwright's ironic manipulation allows the audience unseemly laughter where Mary, in contrast, is all meekness. The problematisation where the play itself is concerned is one brought about by metatext- the audience, after all, knows where this is all going- but within the play, it is one of shifting hierarchies of authority, Mary's divine status at odds with Joseph's earthly authority, and her physical and verbal behaviour at odds with what Joseph is seeing, a heavily pregnant fiancée declaring her innocence explicitly with her words and implicitly with her verbal and physical behaviour. The playwright manipulates the language of the body and stage convention as much as he manipulates the verse.

The Mary who scolds her longsuffering husband for misplacing their child just outside Jerusalem in the York play of *Christ and the Doctors*,[6] however, has grown in stature in terms of familial relationship.

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[3] MS. Harl. 45, fol. 121, cit. G.R.Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England,* (Oxford: Blackwell, (1933) 2nd edn 1966) 119.

[4] For a comprehensive collection of sources on what constitutes a good medieval woman, see Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended* (Oxford: Clarendon 1991).

[5] In Spector, Play 12.

[6] Richard Beadle, ed. *The York Plays,* (London: Arnold, 1982) Play XX.

> Joseph: Marie, mende thy chere
> For certis whan all is done
> He comes with folke in feere,
> And will oueretake vs sone.
> Maria: Overetake us sone, sir? Certis nay,
> Such gabbyngis may me nou3t begyle ... [21–26]

In the text, there is a natural parental exchange. In Simone Martini's 1342 painting, while the general mood is absolutely captured, the relationships demonstrated are much more complicated. It is Mary, here, not the doctors, who is seated with the book, to a certain degree growing in to the status usually attached to her mother, Anna, recalling the notion of the mother- teacher and certainly playing fast and loose with the biblical account of textual authority. Since the topic here is quite specifically Christ and the Doctors, representing Mary with the book at this moment blurs the boundaries around the issue of masculine authority. Where in the text Christ's status is signalled as changing, because of his ability to talk with senior men of scripture, in the picture maternal authority is underlined by the fact that it is Mary who has the text on her knee, and that the two men are standing before her like naughty children before an angry school teacher, even though Mary and Joseph are connected by the direction of the displeased gaze towards the equally unimpressed Christ figure.[7] The expressions are strikingly realistic as pressured father supports angry mother, and rebellious adolescent, growing from one stage of life into the next, refuses to make eye contact. In some of the mystery play texts, too, the all-too human Joseph is left far behind, outside of the parameters of mother and son, left behind as the Christ-child begins to assert his divine status; 'ffor I can nawthere crowke ne knele' says the Towneley Joseph[8], as Mary urges him to seek out their missing son among the doctors, 'with men of myght can I not mell', this latter sentiment repeated by his Chester counterpart.[9] The shifts in representation of the holy family take place at a whole series of levels- visual, verbal, contextual.

II

The director Peter Hall has warned that 'The English suspect the visual delights of the theatre. For centuries the drama has been studied as literature ... the play not only begins with the word, but it had better end with it as well; otherwise it is inferior, appealing more to the eye than the ear. The puritan distrust of emblems, of representation by symbol and artifice, is a recurrent national neurosis'.[10] Dennis Kennedy, on the other hand, has wittily observed that 'the narrative of a play in performance inescapably takes place in the realm of the seen'.[11] The icon in terms of theatrical representation seems fairly straightforward. Theatre is the place where, most obviously, words and image meet, and occasionally collide. In the English mystery plays this has not been unusual. Towneley Noah's 'see how she can grone and I lig under', as his wife screams at

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7 'Christ discovered in the temple' Simone Martini 1342.

8 George England ed. *The Towneley Plays* EETS Extra Series LXXI (London: OUP, 1897 (repr. 1978)) Play XVIII ll. 228. 217 respectively.

9 R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills eds. *The Chester Mystery Cycle.* EETS SS 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974) Play XI, l. 46.

10 Peter Hall cit. Dennis Kennedy, *Looking at Shakespeare: a visual history of twentieth-century performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (2nd edn. 2001)), 6.

11 Kennedy, 6.

him to unhand her from her position on top of him,[12] and the soldiers' horribly comic complaints about the difficulty of getting the nails through Christ's hands and feet, and of the physical effort of getting the laden cross hefted upright at the York crucifixion, are immediate and obvious examples.[13] In the English and Scottish morality plays and interludes, verbal constructs have been deeply complicated in their intercourse with visual representation, not least because of the penchant for allegorical representation- Mercy and Mankind as both figures and verbal constructs in *Mankind,* (1465–70),[14] the deconstruction of historical Haman into 'a man' in *Godly Queen Hester,*[15] (1528–30), the insistent stage directions at the end of *Ane Satire of the Thrie Estaitis,* (1540)[16], Sedition's explicit disguise as Stephen Langton in Bale's *King Johan* (1538–9) will serve here.[17] The point I'm trying to make is that from its earliest stages, English theatre has been openly and self-consciously metatheatrical and intertextual; as the English tradition assimilates and aligns with the classical tradition from the 1530s onwards, it is equally readily and openly intertextual, in the broad Kristevan sense. What I am going to suggest here is that in some cases those intertextualities are clearly visual, a taxonomy, and a problematisation, of iconographic reference.

III

The transference of medieval religious iconography to the stage has been thoroughly examined in the last twenty years or so, most explicitly by Gail McMurray Gibson in her exemplary account of the drama of East Anglia, *The Theater of Devotion.*[18] But more recently, a new willingness to allow late medieval accounts of subjectivity, and to allow them to inform new readings of early modern plays, has enabled readings of particular moments as iconographic both in terms of

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[12] In England, ed. Play III, Noah and the Ark, l. 409.

[13] In Beadle, Play XXXV.

[14] 'I aske mercy of New Gyse, Nowadays and Nought' says Mankind at line 650; 'Man onkynde, whereuer þou be! ' exclaims Mercy at 742. See Mark Eccles, ed. *The Macro Plays,* EETS OS 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969). For an examination of the paradigmatic shift between physical and lexical icon as a mechanism of allegorical drama, see Amanda Piesse, 'Representing Spiritual Truth in *Mankind* and *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*' in Peter Happé ed. *Allegory in the Theatre/ L'allégorie au théâtre* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000) 135–144.

[15] The deconstruction rests on the aural pun: 'I am Aman', he says as he enters; 'Since Aman rayned, no man hym retayned' says Pryde at l. 384. During the course of the play, the traditional vice figures Pride, Adulation and Ambition give up being allegorical characters and go home because Aman embodies their vices better than they can ever hope to do. It is more than possible to read the play as metatextually acknowledging the emergence of a greater interiority on stage, and the subsequent waning of allegorical representation. For a readily accessible text of this brilliant and much neglected play see *The Enterlude of Godly Queene Hester* in Greg Walker ed. *Medieval Drama: An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000)

[16] The directions towards the close of the play in the 1554 MS go as follows: 'Heir sal Thift be drawin up or his figour' (4045); 'Heir sal Dissait be drawin up or ellis his figure' (4117); 'Heir sal [Falset] be heiset up, and npt his figure; and an Craw or an Ke salbe castin up, as it war his saull'. See Douglas Hamer, ed. *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490–1555* Scottish Texts Society (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1931). My own view is that the insistence on the raising up of a real figure signals the end of allegorical representation-a visual version of what happens verbally in *Godly Queen Hester.* For a detailed account of the moment in *Ane Satire,* see Amanda Piesse in Happé, cit. above.

[17] In Bale's *King Johan,* Sedition, an allegorical character, dresses up as Stephen Langton, historically a Catholic cardinal, thereby graphically displaying the notion that a physical character can be inhabited by an abstract vice, and greatly problematising the generic attribution of the play.

[18] Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989)

the image on stage presenting a visual text of its own, and in terms of a visual impression that sites itself within a tradition of visual impression. Intertextual readings of both text and visual icon thus become more apparent. As Eve Rachele Sanders has pointed out, 'Subjects exist in dynamic relation to the societies in which they live ...both structure and agency are critical to our understanding of the subject.' She goes on, 'paradigms, practices, and forms of interiority evolve in societies, enmeshed in divisions between asymmetrically positioned groups, in short, through conflict and confrontation'.[19]

It seems to me that this approach might validly inform the evolution of dramatic mise-en-scène as not disconnected from the evolution of socialconvention. In *Joseph's Doubt,* the audience and Joseph SEE the image of a typically fallen woman, but HEAR one conforming to meekness and modesty. In this particular case, the audience is informed by metatext, and understand too that unknown to Joseph the gender hierarchy is problematised, transformed, because of Mary's semi-divine status, as we've already seen above. In Act 2.3 of *Measure for Measure,*[20] the disguised duke confronts the fallen Juliet in a visually similar moment (pregnant woman confronted by troubled male in a moment of stasis), the difference being the Provost's silent presence in the background[21]:

> Duke: Repent you, fair one, of the sin you carry?
> Juliet: I do; and bear the shame most patiently.
> Duke: I'll teach you how you shall arraign your conscience,
> And try your penitence if it be sound
> Or hollowly put on.
> Juliet: I'll gladly learn.
> Duke: Love you the man that wronged you?
> Juliet: Yes, as I love the woman that wronged him.
> Duke: So then it seems your most offenceful act
> Was mutually committed?
> Juliet: Mutually.
> Duke: Then was your sin of heavier kind than his.
> Juliet: I do confess it and repent it, father.
> Duke: 'Tis meet so, daughter. But lest you do repent,
> As that the sin hath brought you to this shame-
> Which sorrow is always toward ourselves, not heaven,
> Showing we would not spare heaven as we love it,
> But as we stand in fear-
> Juliet: I do repent me as it is an evil,
> And take the shame with joy.
> Duke: There rest. {2.3.20–38].

In *Joseph's Doubt,* it is conflict of status that causes the conflict between image and truth. In this scene, the deceptions are legion. How very fallen Vienna is; how secularised the truth has become since the mystery and morality plays. Having confessed, Juliet is content to be what she is; and, technically, at this moment, it is the Duke that is in the greater state of sin, hearing confession illegitimately, disguised as a friar- in terms of the visual signals of the morality plays, me-

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[19] Eve Rachel Sanders, *Gender and literacy on stage in early modern England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 2–3.

[20] All Shakespeare quotations, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the Norton Shakespeare.

[21] Although one could argue that the Provost's silent presence is an imitation of Gabriel's absent presence in *Joseph's Doubt,* since in 2.1 of *Measure of Measure* the Provost has a very clear Good Angel function in opposition to Lucio as each urge Isabella to behave in particular ways fromn opposite sides of the stage.

tatextually aligned with a vice figure.[22] Juliet interrupts him, is not chaste, nor silent, nor obedient. But her argument and her certainty has a greater secular moral truth than the Duke's illegitimate fumblings. A secular kind of self-knowledge rewrites a visually familiar scene, but still problematises the symbols of gendered power, in keeping with general problematisation of gendered positions and the nature of authority throughout the play.[23] Again, what the visual symbol asks us to see, and what the verbal signifiers tell us to understand, are at odds with each other; but what a knowing audience sees is also informed by its experience of theatre's antecedents, and reinformed by changing social mores. Seeing this icon through the lenses of mystery and morality positions creates an added dimension to the moral problematisation of the moment in the play, but also, rather wearily I think, comments on how signifiers have changed, how complicated male/female and ecclesiastical/temporal issues of authority have become.

The similarities between the mystery cycle 'descent from the cross' scene and the final scene in *King Lear* have been well-rehearsed, and the visual invocation of the Pieta scene, with its gender transfer (father weeps over daughter) and all its implicit meaning for the familial resolutions at the end of that play, probably needs no elucidation here.[24] These specific comparisons, though, lend some weight to the idea that explicit attention drawn to particular social groupings and exchanges might carry more embedded meaning than is immediately obvious when an audience has a common interpretative vocabulary of position and posture.

Take, for example, the iconography of friendship invoked in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Twice, powerful visual images- recalled ones in these cases-of the amity of female friendship rear up to meet the challenge of problematic, power-based sexual ties. At 3.2 Helena, in painful disbelief at what appears to be her friend's betrayal recalls how they 'like two artifical gods/Have with our needles created both one flower,/Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,/ Both warbling of one song, both in one key ...' [204–7], and at 2.1 Titania has contrasted the troubled relationship with Oberon to that she shared with her votaress, mother of the Inidian boy over whom she and Oberon now quarrel. In the latter instant it's interesting that the image of the pregnant woman is conjured as central to the moment of happiness recalled:

> The fairyland buys not the child of me.
> His mother was a vot'ress of my order,
> And in the spicèd Indian air by night
> Full often hath she gossiped by my side,
> And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
> Marking th'embarkèd traders on the flood,
> When we have laughed to see the sails conceive
> And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind,
> Which she with pretty and with swimming gait
> Following, her womb then rich with my young squire,
> Would imitate, and sail upon the land
> To fetch me trifles ... [2.1. 122–133]

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[22] The character of Sedition in Bale's *King Johan,* cited above, is one clear example.

[23] For example, in this play it is a female figure, Isabella, who has the key to the walled garden- the phallic symbol that unlocks the standard icon of chastity- in this play, a moment that turns a gendered norm on its head. For an examination of gendered roles and the transfer of gendered vocabulary in *Measure for Measure,* see Amanda Piesse, 'Self-preservation in the Shakespearean system' in Nigel Wood, ed. *Measure for Measure,* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996) 44–89.

[24] See Philip Brockbank, 'Upon such sacrifices', The British Academy Lecture, 1976. I am most grateful to Professor Michael Hattaway for reminding me of the whereabouts of this reference.

Where the project of the play is reconciliation of the sexes, and an exploration of shifting focus, poignantly recalled visual images of female friendships are superimposed as a challenge to the dominant ethos of male-driven manipulation of the female. Why use these images in opposition to the mise -en -scène? There is a whole structure of female friendship, inherited from the mystery plays and regularly represented in paintings of both Mary and Elizabeth and the (extended) Holy Family that should lend strength outside of the domain of eros; but it is by now so liminal in the current general social scheme of things that it is not part of the physical mise-en-scène, but wistfully dismissed to memory. The transfer of iconographical moments to the imagination suggests a shift of focus, a relinquishing of a previous *status quo* to a time gone by.

Similarly, in a repeated motif that also betokens a gendered power struggle, one that many critics have aligned with Elizabeth's own, Cleopatra is created by and creates for herself a particular iconographic status; she is Venus on a barge [2.2.197–224], a matriarch surrounded by her family[3.6.1–19], a monument, 'marble-constant', to herself in death [5.2.226]; famously, too, she chooses a self-choreographed death [5.2.222-end]over a patriarchally imposed constructed image [5.2.205–217]. The interrogation of the idealised woman as icon, deliberately but problematically presented as a picture or as a piece of sculpture, is a recurrent motif in Shakespeare's plays and in other dramatic pieces of the period, and a notion I will revisit towards the end of this paper.

IV

But most interesting of all is when these visually striking moments are in contradiction to what is being said, when the visual iconography is in competition with the verbal expectation, and it seems to me that in Shakespeare, these moments often have to do with moments of familial, or at least social, redefinition.

The opening scene of *King John* is one such example. The playwright immediately alerts the audience to a conscious iconography of character:

> King John: Now say, Châtillon, what would France with us?
> Châtillon: Thus, after greeting, speaks the King of France,
> In my behaviour, to the majesty-
> The borrowed majesty- of England here.
> Queen Eleanor: A strange beginning: 'borrow'd majesty'?
> King John: Silence, good mother, hear the embassy. [1.1.1–6]

The person of the king of France speaks through Châtillon; this 'borrowed majesty' is in ironic contrast with the borrowed majesty of which he accuses John, and to which Eleanor draws attention. But in interrupting, Eleanor also usurps her place, adding another layer of irony to this already tense scene, and John's attempts to silence her are only momentarily successful:

> Queen Eleanor :What now, my son? Have I not ever said
> How that ambitious Constance would not cease
> Till she had kindled France and all the world
> Upon the right and party of her son?...
> King John: Our strong possession and our right for us.
> Queen Eleanor [*aside to* King John]:
> Your strong possession much more than your right,
> Or else it must go wrong with you and me:
> So much my conscience whispers in your ear,
> Which none but heaven and you and I shall hear. [1.1.31–34, 39–43]

Eleanor's role extends far beyond what we expect of the dowager queen. The closeknit grouping, with woman as advisor, subverts the norm of gendered hierarchy, superimposing a problematic familial hierarchy, adumbrating the subversions of notions of legitimacy and the metatheatrical subversion of notions of character that will follow.[25] Further, the broad notion of whispering in the ear, in the dramatic and the iconographic tradition, can betoken all kinds of things – at one extreme, conception, as in Christ as the incarnate Word entering Mary through Gabriel's speech and therefore through her ear – in *Mankind,* planting of a desperate idea by Titivillus (the downfall of whisperers)[26] – at the other extreme, in *Othello* (Iago's continual taking aside of both Othello and Cassio) and *Hamlet* (where the motif becomes literal in the dumbshow) the moment becomes fatal. Here, there is a gender subversion – the female is the whisperer, her only antecedent the serpent in the garden, traditionally played with a woman's face. What kind of a mother, then, is this? Interestingly too in this play, Eleanor's death will signal the moment at which John will return to the Mother Church[27] (the papal legate repeatedly speaking of the church in these terms) suggesting that the function of 'mother' is iconographic throughout the play, and the problematisation brought about by the opening scene, the complicated relationship between mother and son, is truly iconographic; an indication of John's difficulty in finding a true image of a powerful self in relation to both his familial and political selves.[28]

In contrast, take these moments from *Richard III,* where iconographic confrontations underline expectation in an expression of nihilism. At 4.4, Old Queen Margaret, the Duchess of York and Queen Elizabeth enter in turn, to form a tableau lamenting the loss of the men in the family. One by one they sit upon the ground, a standard expression of grief and despair, linking by visual motif *King John* (Constance sinks to the ground in grief at the end of 2.2, saying 'my grief's so great/that no supporter but the huge firm earth/ can hold it up'), and by verbal and visual motif *Richard II* ([*Sitting*] 'For God's sake let us sit upon the ground/And tell sad stories of the death of kings' 3.2. 151–2).[29]

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[25] For a detailed exploration of the idea of woman as subversive of history in Shakespeare's history plays, see Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (London: Routledge, 1991), Chapter Four, 'Patriarchal history and female subversion'.

[26] Titivillus puts Mankind to sleep and then whispers a dream of despair – that Mercy is hanged – into his ear. In a kind of perverted creation-of-Eve moment, Mankind awakes, believes the dream to be true and in the absence of any hope of Mercy, heads off (rejoicing, oddly) to a life of debauchery with the vices. See Mark Eccles, ed. *The Macro Plays,* EETS 262 (London: Oxford University Press) 1969. Traditionally, Titivillus collects the restless mutterings of inattentive Mass-goers and gathers them in a sack, to be emptied out in an accusatory whispering pile when the offender stands at the gates of heaven.

[27] Eleanor's death is reported to John towards the end of 4.3; the beginning of the next scene, 5.1 sees his return to the Church, with John rendering up the crown to the papal legate Pandulph only to receive it back again immediately with the Pope's blessing through Pandulph's person, recalling the transferred personae of the first scene as described above.

[28] For an account of the relationship between metatheatricality of character and individual legitimacy, and an overview of writing in this area in the last forty years, see A. J. Piesse, '*King John:* changing perspectives' in Michael Hattaway ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 126–140.

[29] Edward is Margaret's son; her husband is Henry VI; the second Edward, Elizabeth's son, as is the murdered Richard; the Duchess of York's Richard is her husband, and Rutland her youngest son. See notes to the Norton edition, 573–4, whence this information

Queen Margaret: I had an Edward, till a Richard killed him;
I had a husband, till a Richard killed him.
[*To* Elizabeth] Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard killed him;
Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard killed him.
Duchess of York: I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;
I had a Rutland too, thou holpst to kill him.
Queen Margaret: Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard killed him.
From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death: [4.4. 40–48]

The group of mourning women, too, is not unrelated to the women of Jerusalem in the mystery plays; here, they are bewailing a lost generation, seeing no possibility of redemption. On Phyllis Rackin's reading, there is a rapprochement between women's work-inscribing personal history- and men's work-inscribing national history, as national history is voiced in familiar terms.[30] It is a female function, this group mourning of the dead, the opposite to the other central female function, the bringing into being of the next generation. The figure of the eponymous Richard of the play-specifically casting himself as a Morality vice figure – has to a certain degree recast the terms of the play, invited the audience to think of it on terms of its antecedents. As a direct result of this connection the icon of the regenerative young male is similarly recast in the vital scene at 3.1:

Prince Edward: I do not like the Tower of any place. –
Did Julius Caesar build that place, my lord?
Buckingham: He did, my gracious lord, begin that place,
Which since succeeding ages have re-edified.
Prince Edward: Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?
Buckingham: Upon record, my gracious liege.
Prince Edward: But say, my lord, it were not registered,
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retailed to all posterity
Even to the general all-ending day.
Richard Gloucester:(aside) So wise so young, they say, do never live long.
Prince Edward: What say you, uncle?
Richard Gloucester: I say, 'Without characters fame lives long'.
[*Aside*] Thus like the formal Vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word. [3.1.68–83]

Thinking about history, and how it is communicated, is part of the proper process of growing into authority for the two young princes. In a play that, like *King John,* continually investigates its own terms, not least through the self-interrogating character of Richard, the role of the young in identifying the idea of historiography, (weighing up written against oral public history, male against female familial history, history set in stone as opposed to history in the making) and realising their own inscription within the history in which they participating, connects the formulation of these characters to the textuality of history, just as the formulation of the character of Richard blows apart the notion of a particular kind of character for a particular kind of play.

In the same vein of recasting of types, what should be a triumphal entry into London by the two young princes is halted, their relative positions of power overshadowed by Richard's plotting. There is a clear conflict of expectation between an uncle's welcome and a Protector's; and again, the social/ political conflict is intensified by a verbal turning aside of a visual set piece. In-

30 Rackin 146–200.

terestingly, two film versions of *Richard III* play with the notion of Richard as an icon- through the use of shadow looming in the 1955 Olivier version, by the transformation of McKellen's Richard into a snarling boar (at this precise moment I think) in Loncraine's 1996 version.

In contrast to the mothers, wives and daughters of the histories, the group of women at the beginning of *The Winter's Tale* shows an idyllic social group- the women of the court gathered dotingly around the young Mamilius- when the audience knows that Leontes' view of things is about to disrupt the idyll. That group of women, though; after *Richard III,* can it still be unproblematically idyllic? Does a switch of genre necessarily betoken a switch of interpretative viewing? Are not women in groups signifiers, now, of a disruption of the proper function of families? And will the questioning child, after the princes in *Richard III,* and Arthur in *King John,* not automatically come to grief? Is it valid to read the Shakespearean canon as internally intertextual in terms of its visual iconography?

V

The examination of the function of the male perspective gives way, in *The Winter's Tale,* to female icons of redemption, firstly as Perdita becomes an icon of pastoral restoration, and finally as Paulina's patient reorientation of Leontes' point of view makes him recast his perspective on Hermione. Catherine Belsey's recent reading of the descending statue as a reworked monumental sculpture allows the motif of the death of a particular kind of an image to work at a close to literal level.[31] Leontes' readiness to accept a naturally aged image of Hermione allows her icon to become real again, allows the 'real person' to come back to life, in a way that was denied Desdemona, where Othello can only 'love her after' when she remains iconographic, her blood unshed, her skin unscarred 'and smooth as monumental alabaster' [5.2.5]. *Othello* is an interesting case in point here; full of the imagery of opposition, the play indicates in special at one particular moment, the end of 3.3, the degree to which expectation has gone awry, as Othello and Iago kneel to swear fidelity in a way that must surely be meant to invoke a kind of perverse marriage. Again, a recent film version (Oliver Parker 1995) has seized on the image and strengthened its implied meaning by recalling it in the final moments of the film when the fatally wounded Iago crawls into the marriage bed between the dead Othello and Desdemona, the body of Emilia already flanking her dead mistress, to provide at once a suggestion about Iago's desire for Othello and a deliberately problematised visual echo of a family memorial monument.

By the time Webster writes *The Duchess of Malfi,* the theatre-going public is clearly expected to recognise this ongoing motif of iconographic representation. In an extremely erotic moment, the duchess is explicit about her relationship to the iconography of perfect womanhood:

The misery of us that are born great
We are forc'd to woo, because none dare woo us:
And as a tyrant doubles with his words,
And fearfully equivocates: so we
Are forc'd to express our violent passions
In riddles and in dreams, and leave the path
Of simple virtue, which was never made
To seem the thing it is not. Go, go brag
You have left me heartless, mine is in your bosom,
I hope 'twill multiply love there. You do tremble:

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[31] Catherine Belsey, *Shakespeare and the loss of Eden: the construction of family values in early modern culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) 85–127.

> Make not your heart so dead a piece of flesh
> To fear, more than to love me. Sir, be confident,
> What is't distracts you? This is flesh and blood, sir,
> 'Tis not the figure cut in alabaster
> Kneels at my husband's tomb. Awake, awake, man,
> I do here put off all vain ceremony,
> And only do appear to you, a young widow
> That claims you for her husband, and like a widow,
> I use but half a blush in't. [1.2.360–378]

In this case, it is her relationship to Antonio and to her children that transform her from the image her brothers would have her be to a closer expression of the type of self she would choose for herself. Later in the play, as a mother surrounded by children she is created as a less politically constructed, a more visible image of the self she would sooner be. The tragedy of the play is that she really achieves the replacement of the political self with familial self just before she loses everything; the tragedy of her final scene is reinforced by the imposition of her mock enthronement in the house of madmen: surely, again, the visual icon is one forced on the audience as the opposite of what should be, and its location in the madhouse a contextualisation that suggests a particular reading.

In terms of iconographic final scenes, *Pericles* is perhaps one of the most powerful, not least because the play has repeatedly invited the audience to read its matter in a variety of verbal and visual iconographic terms, through the intertextuality of the choric Gower, the metatextuality of Antiochus' riddle, the metatheatricality of Thaisa's pageant, and the deconstruction of the iconography of place in the brothel scenes.[32] Each of these draws together to inform the moment when Marina restores her father at scene 21 and the divine image of Diana descends to confirm the miracle of their reunion.

It is a long scene, and there is not space here to examine it in detail, but the point I want to make is this. Marina has resisted construction of herself as a whore by verbal fencing with Lysimachus; has insisted to Boult that she will work, but only 'amongst honest women', a phrase that echoes Magnificat. (sc. 19) When she is sent to her father, (sc. 21) there is a danger that he will interpret her having been sent to his bedchamber as the approach of a whore, and the way in which they question each other is hesitant, and mutually careful. The woman sent to the enclosed bower of a man is automatically in danger, but her verbal ability and his physical weakness and self-imposed silence complicates the expected stereotype, so that again the message of the visual scene- woman sent alone into the chamber of a man- is at odds with the power-balanced verbal exchange that takes place. Also, at this moment, it is Pericles, the male figure, who is revealed explicitly from behind a curtain as a grotesque mock-funerary monument (the stage direction at sc.19.28 says '*Helicanus draws a curtain, revealing Pericles lying upon a couch with a long overgrown beard, diffused hair, undecent nails on his fingers, and attired in sack-cloth*). When he's greeted, he '*shrinks himself down upon his pillow*' (SD sc 21.30), the action one might sooner expect from a woman caught abed. Marina's words to her father are defensive of her privacy- one might almost read the scene as an inverse version of Miranda questioning her father about her personal history[33] – and the appearance of Diana, goddess of chastity, in a standard 'dea ex machina' masque in the next scene sweeps away the previous attempts to superimpose verbal images of whoredom by insisting on a real, and universal, image of chastity.

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[32] For a more detailed account of the importance of place in this scene, see Amanda Piesse, 'Space for the self: place, persona and self-projection in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*' in Gordon MacMullan, ed. *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580–1690* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) 151–170, and especially164–169.

[33] *The Tempest* 1.2

VI

As is often the case, I arrive at the end of this paper wishing I'd written a different one. Wouldn't it be interesting to see how the iconography of family in the visual arts compares/ contrasts with that suggested by the drama? A great deal of what I've said here is conjecture, supported by theoretical readings, but theatre has to remain liminal, because with a very few exceptions, we simply don't have contemporary pictorial representations of what happened on stage, probably because of the low social status of theatre and because it is such an evanescent medium. Or perhaps Hall is more right than he knows in his observations about English distrust of the visual sign. As a society, we are, clearly, learning to read the visual signs once again, as a glance at the OED definition of 'icon' will bear witness.[34] But a reconstruction of a movement of iconographic representation in the early modern drama is going to have remain just that- a reading of the verbal signs. As Ben Okri has written recently, 'True reading is not just passing our eyes over the words on a page, or gathering information, or even understanding what is being read. True reading is a creative art. It means seeing first; and then an act of the imagination.'[35]

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[34] OED provides the following: 1.a An image, figure or representation; a portrait; a picture, 'cut', or illustration in a book; b. An image in the solid; a monumental figure; a statue. C. *Computing.* A small symbolic figure of a physical object on a VDU screen, esp. one that represents a particular option and can be selected to exercise that option ...

[35] Ben Okri, "What are universities for?" <18/9/2002 http://www.europaeum.org/future/keynote-papers/WhatAreUniversities.htm>.

I am most grateful to Professor Patrick J. Prendergast for calling drawind my attention to this article.

François Laroque

SHAKESPEARE'S ICONOGRAPHY OF DESIRE: SEXUAL FANTASIES AND GENDER RELATIONS IN *VENUS AND ADONIS*, *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM* AND *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*

In *The Merchant of Venice,* Bassanio's choice of the casket where Portia's heart lies locked is played to the sound of music with a song whose first stanza is a query about 'fancy' or fantasy:

> Tell me where is Fancy bred,
> Or in the heart, or in the head?
> How begot, how nourished? (III.2.63–5)

Some critics have suggested that the rhymes in '-ed' are meant to help Bassanio make the right choice, i.e. to open the lead casket, so that they read the song as a secret code used by Portia to pick the man she desires as a husband. It seems that this is one of Shakespare's many undecidable points, which directors will interpret in various ways in their productions. What seems worth noting here is the question whether fantasy is bred "in the heart, or in the head", since there is no doubt as to the importance of fancy and fantasy in the spheres of love and of dramatic performance.

Indeed, this question directly addresses the issue of the tension, or gap, between representation and performance, between showing and telling or imagining, which corresponds to what Celia Daileader describes as a "hole in the text",[1] namely the question of female desire and its relation to sexual fantasies. In her analysis of how sex becomes effaced and placed offstage from the audience, Daileader makes the following remark about the wedding night in *Romeo and Juliet:*

> In the fifty-nine lines of this long good-bye, no direct reference is made to the night's connubial joys: the lovers speak, instead, of larks and nightingales, of misty mountain tops and dawn-lit clouds – all of which, interestingly, also dwell in the offstage. With this sleight-of-hand, Shakespeare fills the gap in the sexual narrative with sensual impressions on which imagination can surfeit, rather than...with teasing reminders of what cannot be seen... Sex and sunrise must, due to the limitations of the Elizabethan theater, occur offstage; in *Romeo and Juliet,* they become interchangeable...[2]

The terms I want to focus on here are 'instead', 'impressions' and 'interchangeable'. These are indeed linked to the playwright's strategy of simultaneous evocation and evasion of sexual fantasy in resorting to metaphoric substitution or to acoustic effect, which makes music and meaning interpenetrate and reverberate upon each other. And what Shakespeare says of the role of the audience's imagination that must supply for the limitations of performance and theatrical space in the Prologue to *Henry V* may also be said to apply to the question of sexual fantasy:

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[1] Celia Daileader, *Eroticism on the Renaissance Stage. Transcendence, desire, and the limits of the visible,* Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 1.

[2] Daileader, p. 43.

...can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did frighten the air at Agincourt?
O, pardon! since a crooked figure may
Attest in little place a million;
And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,
On your imaginary forces work ...
Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts;
Into a thousand parts divide one man,
And make imaginary puissance...(*H5* 11–25)

In this passage the letter 'O' – the hole, which was then definitely gendered as female as in Flötner's human alphabet and in several 'O' emblems of the period[3], stands for the world of imagination, for a kind of cerebral womb that multiply and thurn 'ciphers', i.e. zeros, into 'millions'. The Chorus implicitly associates the teeming womb of the female with the round space of the Globe ("this wooden O"). This brilliant rhetorical strategy defines here a new type of *captatio benevolentiae,* a means of attracting the audience's sympathies as well as of encouraging what Coleridge called 'a willing suspension of disbelief'. It finds its counterpart in the ghost's harrowing story in *Hamlet:*

But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison-house,
I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
Make thy two eyes like stars start from their spheres,
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine.
But this eternal blazon must not be
To ears of flesh and blood. List, list, O list! (I.5.13–23)

The letter 'O' returns at the end both as a way for the ghost to arouse Hamlet's attention as a skeletal reminder of the 'eternal blazon' mentioned above – the blazing blazon of hell, a visual emblem thus reduced to its simple acoustic resonance then echoed and prolonged in the exclamative 'O'. This elaborate, almost perverse, form of *praeteritio* is intended to arouse Hamlet's as well as the audience's attention and it works by way of a long *hysteron proteron,* i.e. by an inversion of cause and effect. The ghost is indeed a compelling orator who can anticipate on the effects of fear on his listener's face, as if he had indeed given all the details he actually keeps silent about. Reticence thus proves a very effective means of calling upon fantasy and imaginary forces; it is a *via negativa* that says more by denying or withholding. So if in *Romeo and Juliet* 'offstage' meant sex, in *Hamlet* it refers to the world of the beyond, to things which, like sexual intercourse, may be imagined but not named, let alone represented. The ghost's 'negative capability' tells more by saying less, and in doing this he simply increases emotional response and brings about all sorts of wild fantasies and fears. Such speech is charting the way for the forthcoming Gothic novel, for the tales of horror and the macabre sensationalism of Mrs Radcliffe or Lewis

[3] See Peter Flötner, *Menschenalphabet,* (Augsburg, ca 1534) reproduced in *Alphabets fantastiques,* L'Aventurine, Paris, 1995, 53. As to 'O' emblems, see for instance "On the letter O" by Charles Lapworth in Sir John Mennes, *Musarum Deliciae* (1650) reproduced in Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England.* (Chicago University Press, Chicago and London, 1999), iii, and "Eternitas" in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britannia* (London, 1612), Plate 1.

Monk. There is certainly a specific *jouissance* in the shuddering evocation of the terrifying, a territory that will be explored and exploited by many women writers of the late XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries...

And *Venus and Adonis,* a poem written in time of plague when the playhouses had been closed down, certainly creates a certain frisson in its particular way of mixing the worlds of desire and fear.

I. Myths of desire: *Venus and Adonis*

As Catherine Belsey has shown, desire in *Venus and Adonis* works as a *trompe-l'oeil,* where the goddess's eye is allured but not fed by the show and presence of male beauty.[4] Indeed, Shakespeare's Ovidian epyllion is to be read as part of a diptych and as a companion piece to *The Rape of Lucrece* and, contrary to the depiction of brutal male desire in the latter poem, it certainly provides a *reductio ad absurdum* of female desire. Indeed, Venus's attempt at seducing and almost raping the beautiful Adonis does not work, simply because she fails to arouse the cold youth who is only interested in hunting the boar with his companions. So, the erotic mythological narrative poem, which is so subversive of gender relations, shows a powerful 'woman on top' defeated by male chastity. Of course this may well have been written as a witty and perverse paradox meant to amuse the Earl of Southampton and his group of male friends since, in Ovid's and Golding's texts, Adonis is killed by the boar only after he has yielded to the wily advances of the queen of Love.[5] The frigidity of young Adonis must then be regarded as a reversal of the traditional *carpe diem,* or libertine, poem where the cold or coy nymph (or lady) is intensely, sometimes aggressively courted by a very eager male speaker, and as a device to exacerbate female desire, which makes the poem a flamboyant plea for hedonism and day to day pleasure. The reputation of *Venus and Adonis* with Shakespeare's contemporaries was indeed that of an inflammatory text. In Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters* (1605) Harebrain presents it as a "wanton pamphlet(s)" or "luscious mary-bone pie(s) for a young married wife" (I.2.45–6) and the Courtesan advising Mrs Harebrain will say that this sort of 'stirring pamphlet' was safeliest carried "under your skirt, the fittest place to lay it..." (I.2.90–1).[6] The courtesan's advice indeed seems to provide a perfect reading of the poem since, as in Shakespeare's perverse mythology, desire and sexual fantasies mostly concern women, while their jealous or puritanical husbands are more preoccupied by finding means to contain their wives' desires than by trying to satisfy them. In an epigram published in the now obscure text called *Runne and a Great Cast* (1614), Thomas Freeman describes the poem in those terms:

> Who list read lust there's *Venus and Adonis,*
> True modell of a most lascivious leatcher (epigram 92).[7]

The 'list'/'lust' pun is interesting as the verb 'to list' both meant 'to prefer' and to 'listen to' as in the ghost's speech in *Hamlet.* 'List' thus refers both to eye selection in reading as well as to

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4 "Love as Trompe-L'oeil: Taxinomies of Desire in *Venus and Adonis*", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46 (Fall 1995), 257–76.

5 In *Shakespeare and Masculinity.,*(Oxford University Press, 2000), Bruce R. Smith argues that "for the first consumers of *Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece* and the sonnets, the act of reading was itself an act of masculine self-affirmation", 135.

6 Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World My Masters and other plays,* ed. Michael Taylor (Oxford University Press (World's Classics), 1995).

7 Quoted by Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* ("Sexual Poetry") (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), 48.

'greedy ear(s)' devouring the actor's discourse on stage. As to lust, Shakespeare defines it in sonnet 129 as an uneasy in-between space, an uncertain liminal zone:

> Mad in pursuit, and in possession so,
> Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
> A bliss in proof, and proved, a very woe;
> Before, a joy proposed; behind a dream...

Lust is caught somewhere between fantasy and anticipation ('bliss in proof', 'joy proposed'), on the one hand, and experience ('a very woe', 'a dream') on the other, and it seems situated in some impossible time ('before'/'behind') which, like Othello's famous 'double time', simply fails to appear on ordinary clocks. This actually refers to the space and time of fantasy land, the 'undiscovered country', or dark continent, associated with feminine fancy and sexuality. Hamlet's 'undiscovered country' (III.1.79) is later echoed in the Prince's naughty retort to Ophelia in the bawdy allusion to 'country matters' (III.2.115). This quibble binds together the dark worlds of *eros* and *thanatos* and makes the unknown spaces of sex and death the two most powerful 'offstage' protagonists in the play.

Venus and Adonis already made sex and death the two sides of the same coin. For Heather Dubrow, "Venus stands for the amoral eroticism of ... Ovid himself, while Adonis represents the pieties of Ovide moralisé".[8] In *Shakespeare and Ovid,* Jonathan Bate describes the piece as

> ...a poem about transgressive sexuality... bound up first with the polymorphous perversity of family romance, and second with a dissolution of the conventional barriers of gender, for in those stories women take the active role usually given to men...[9]

Referring to the myth of Samalcis and Hermaphrodite in Ovid, Bate then adds that "*Venus and Adonis* is a disturbing poem in that violent death takes the place of the unfulfilled Samalcian/ Hermaphroditic potential".[10] Indeed, the most bizarre aspect of the poem occurs when the final bloody evisceration of the young hunter at the fangs of the frightening, foaming boar is described, in erotic terms, as a kiss of death dealt by 'the loving swine':

> 'Tis true, 'tis true; thus was Adonis slain;
> He ran upon the boar with his sharp spear,
> Who did not whet his teeth at him again,
> But by a kiss thought to persuade him there;
> And nuzzling in his flank, the loving swine
> Sheathed unaware the tusk in his soft groin. (ll. 1111–16)

But this macabre, Mannerist painting does make sense here because, in her amorous discourse to the youth, Venus had couched her wooing discourse in terms of hunting imagery, thus describing her feminine shapes in images borrowed from green-world topography:

> 'Fondling' she saith, 'since I have hemmed thee here
> Within the circuit of this ivory pale,

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[8] Heather Dubrow, "'Upon Misprision Growing': *Venus and Adonis*" in *Captive Victors: Shakespeare's Narrative Poems and Sonnets.* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1987) 21–79, rept by Philip C. Kolin ed., Venus and Adonis. *Critical Essays.*, (Garland, New York and London, 1997) 143.

[9] Bate, 1993, 60.

[10] P. 64

I'll be a park, and thou shalt be my deer;
Feed where thou wilt, on mountain or in dale;
    Graze on my lips, and if those hills be dry,
    Stray lower, where the pleasant fountains lie.
'Within this limit is relief enough,
Sweet bottom-grass and high delightful plain,
Round rising hillocks, brakes obscure and rough,
To shelter thee from tempest and from rain:
    Then be my deer, since I am such a park;
    No dog shall rouse thee, though a thousand bark.' (ll. 229–40)

The use of animal imagery, which takes up the traditional conceits of the garden of delights and of the love hunt with their usual puns on 'dear' and 'deer', leads to the erotic anamorphosis where the female body is read as a park with its 'pleasant fountains' and 'round rising hillocks, brakes obscure and rough'. Here sex, landscape and the vocabulary of hunting become interchangeable as it were. We are also coming close to Sidney's negative representation of the female pudendum in the poem where the 'blason' of the female body is being concealed somewhere in the apparently innocent topgraphic description.[11] The phrase 'sweet-bottom grass' in its erotic connotations may even be read as an adumbration of Titania's mad doting on Bottom, the ass-man, in her luscious green bower.

II. 'Shaping fantasies': the world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

There is a basic difference between *Venus and Adonis* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* as the logic of the comedy is one that reverses the metamorphic process. Indeed, Adonis's blood is seen to give life to an unnamed 'purple flower...chequered with white' (1168) which Venus plucks from the ground and places in her bosom to cradle it as Adonis's child. The red blood of the youth is changed into the 'green-dropping sap' identified with Venus's tears that accompany her mourning and her farewell to love. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* the flower of love has a name, it is called "love-in-idleness", and it juice is the cause of love rather than the emblem of the death of desire:

Oberon That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
Flying between the cold moon and the earth
Cupid, all armed. A certain aim he took
At a fair vestal thronèd by the west,
And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts.
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quenched in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,
And the imperial vot'ress passèd on,
In maiden meditation, *fancy free.*
Yet marked I where the bolt of Cupid fell.
It fell upon a little western flower –
Before, milk-white; now, purple with love's wound:
And maidens call it 'love-in-idleness'.
Fetch me that flower; the herb I showed thee once.
The juice of it on sleeping eyelids laid
Will make or man or woman madly dote
Upon the next live creature that it sees. (II.1.155–72)

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[11] See Mike Pincombe's paper in Volume II.

Interestingly, chastity and maidenhood which are here associated with the 'fair vestal' and 'imperial vot'ress', a probable allusion to Queen Elizabeth herself, are defined as 'fancy free'. Hence fancy and fantasy are unmistakably linked to desire and sexuality, while the expression 'madly dote' is to be connected with the 'mad pursuit' of sonnet 129 (Helena refers to her own 'fond chase' when she pursues Demetrius into the wood, II.2.94). So, 'love-in-idleness' is both a powerful aphrodisiac and a quasi-religious relic of 'love's wound' which may be alternatively explained by the fable of Cupid's poor marksmanship and by the double death of Pyramus and Thisbe at the end of the inset play in act V. Shakespeare, who chooses not to describe or allude to the spurting blood that dyes black the white mulberry leaves in his main source,[12] prefers to make metamorphosis a cause and this is why he places it at the beginning rather than at the end, as Leonard Barkan makes clear:

> Like many Renaissance Ovidians, Shakespeare is more interested in transformation as a cause than in transformation as an effect. So he transfers the metamorphosis from the end of the story to the beginning: instead of a memorial via the oozing blood of the dead lovers, he offers a cause for the passionate blood of the living lovers. The now-purple flower is itself an emblem of metamorphosis by love and, more important, it became the inspiration for the metamorphosis of passion.[13]

What is interesting is that the flower juice will work on men and women alike. So, Oberon primarily uses it to make Titania erotically enthralled with Bottom, so much so that the ass-man becomes a substitute for the changeling boy he wants as his henchman to restore the patriarchal hierarchy which has been subverted by the women:

> There sleeps Titania some time of the night,
> Lulled in these flowers with dances and delight,
> And there the snake throws her enamelled skin,
> Wide enough to wrap a fairy in.
> And with the juice of this I'll stroke her eyes,
> And make her full of hateful fantasies...(I.1.253–58)

Contrary to Queen Pasiphaë in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or to the Roman matron at the end of Apuleius' *Golden Asse,*[14] the animalized Bottom is not as such an object of feminine sexual desire. Stanley Wells and Peter Holland are certainly right when they underline the absence of bestiality in the play.[15] And contrary to what W. Thomas MacCary argues, namely that "the insatiable

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[12] See *Ovid's* Metamorphoses. Transl. Arthur Golding, Madeleine Forey ed. (Penguin Classics, London, 2002):

> " ...The blood did spin on high
> As, when a conduit pipe is cracked, the water, bursting out,
> Doth shoot itself a great way off and pierce the air about.
> The leaves that were upon the tree, besprinkled with his blood,
> Were dyèd black..." (IV.147–51)

[13] Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh. Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (Yale University Press, 1986), 257.

[14] Lucius, when describing his intercourse with a woman, makes the parallel himself:
"But she, as often as I, to spare her, pulled back my hips, so often did she yield herself with wild exertion, and pressing my spine down upon her cling with closer embraces, so that by Hercules, I thought I might fail to satisfy her, not did I think it was for nothing that the Minotaur's mother took pleasure with a bellowing bull" (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses,* X, 21–22).

[15] Peter Holland ed., Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Oxford Univesity Press (World Classics), 1994), 72–3.

sexual desires of women [and] their preference for beasts with huge phalluses to men",[16] this beauty and the beast fantasy, artificially induced by the magic juice, is a form of humiliation for Titania, a comic punishment in the form of a charivari, or 'rough music', which licensed a form of popular justice against scolds, cuckolds, second husbands and unruly women in general.[17] The dream soon becomes "a fruitless vision", so that Titania immediately dissociates herself from it when she wakes up:

> My Oberon, what visions have I seen!
> Methought I was enamoured of an ass. (IV.1.75–6)

Bottom's dream is quite different, as he seems delighted with having had "a most rare vision", even though he uses a turn of phrase similar to Titania's ("Methought I was, methought I had...", IV.1.205), which somehow still binds them. Bottom's confusion is expressed by his synaesthesia and by his garbling of St Paul's letter to the Corinthians which some critics read as a sanctification of a dream which seems to turn him into a 'holy' fool...

The most interesting fantasy in the play, though, is certainly Helena's when she wishes she could become Hermia in order to win Demetrius's love back to her:

> Call you me fair? That 'fair' again unsay.
> Demetrius loves you fair – O happy fair!
> Your eyes are lodestars, and your tongue's sweet air
> More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear,
> When wheat is green, when hawthorn buds appear.
> Sickness is catching. O, were favour so!
> Your words I catch, fair Hermia; ere I go,
> My ear should catch your tongue's sweet melody.
> Were the world mine, Demetrius being bated,
> The rest I'd give to be to you translated... (I.1.181–91)

But when her fantasy of being in Hermia's place is gratified by the wood's magic, she is horrified. She had not anticipated such verbatim realization of her deepest desires, so that when she is wooed by both Lysander and Demetrius she becomes paranoid, imagining that the two men are conspiring and making fun of her. And even in the end when Lysander goes back to Hermia and Demetrius decides to stay with her, Helena remains fairly uncertain and doubtful as she stands on the borderland between fantasy and gratification:

> I have found Demetrius like a jewel,
> Mine own and not mine own... (IV.1.190–91)

The jewel image is an interesting one. If indeed *Romeo and Juliet* was written before *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* it might then refer us back to Romeo's first description of Juliet when he sees her at the annual feast of the Capulets:

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[16] *Friends and Lovers. The phenomenology of desire in Shakespeare's comedy* (Columbia University Press, New York), 1985, 142.

[17] It was also known in early modern England as 'Skimmington' or 'Skimmington ride'. According to the *OED,* the term designated "the man or woman personating the ill-used husband or the offending wife in the procession intended to ridicule the one or the other...". Very often the man or woman was made to ride a donkey backwards, facing the tail end of the animal. On this see Martin Ingram, "Le charivari dans l'Angleterre du XVIe et du XVIIe siècles" in Jacques Le Goff et Jean-Claude Schmitt eds., *Le charivari* (Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, 1981), 257–64.

O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright.
It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night
As a rich *jewel* in an Ethiop's ear...(I.5.43–5)

In using this particular image, Romeo is still the Petrarchan sonneteer fetishizing woman's beauty in successive 'blasons'. But ironically, the word 'jewel' also happens to offer an acoustic *dopplegänger* or pun on the name of Juliet (born in the month of July) whom the Nurse keeps calling 'Jule'. This strange epiphany of the name suggests that Romeo may be getting access to some mysterious form of prior knowledge, or remembrance, in a Neo-Platonic perspective. Love at first sight plays the part of a sort of visual 'bed trick', since Juliet is then suddenly magically substituted for Rosaline just as Romeo takes the place of count Paris. Vision replaces fantasy and it works as a form of tragic trompe-l'œil as in *Venus and Adonis,* so that *thanatos* will replace the pleasures of *eros* when love becomes equated with passion and sacrifice in the end rather than with marriage and sexuality as in the world of comedy. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* the flower trick substitutes Helena for Hermia in Demetrius's heart, while Bottom occupies the place of the pretty boy in Titania's bosom and bower. In his changeling comedy, Shakespeare reveals and plays with the volatility of desire in a make-believe night world where the fulfilment of fantasy entails identification, substitution, upside down situations and preposterousness. But the laws of exchange and the very 'mutabilitie' of fancy must be faced and fully displayed, so that the lovers may escape from the harsh law of Athens and thus avoid a life of frustration and unhappiness. Contrary to *Venus and Adonis* and a later play like *Antony and Cleopatra,* the women in the comedy (Titania being a noteworthy exception) remain patient and submissive except when they abuse each other. Even the female homosocial bonds are presented like a prelapsarian garden of delights, like a paradise of bliss and of perfect understanding, while heterosexual relations are presented as a fall into 'hell':

Before the time I did Lysander see
Seemed Athens as a paradise to me.
O then, what graces in my love do dwell,
That he hath turned a heaven into a hell? (I.1.204–207)

This bitter denunciation of love comes close to the ending couplet of sonnet 129:

All this the world well knows, yet none knows well
To shun the heaven that leads to this hell...

The fantasy of heterosexual love as 'hell', combined with the current pun on women's genitalia, may be countered by happy images of women together in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* and the narrative involving Titania's friend is poles apart from her current brawls with her 'lord' Oberon:

The fairyland buys not the child of me.
His mother was a vot'ress of my order,
And in the spicèd Indian air by night
Full often hath she gossiped by my side,
And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
Marking th'embarkèd traders on the flood,
When we have laughed to see the sails conceive
And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind,
Which she with pretty and with swimming gait
Following, her womb then rich with my young squire,

> Would imitate, and sail upon the land
> To fetch me trifles, and return again
> As from a voyage, rich with merchandise... (II.1.122–34)

In her analysis of the comedy as a staging of "the eradication of homoerotic desire", Valerie Traub offers some useful and perceptive comments on the passage:

> Titania is psychologically threatening precisely to the degree she upsets the homosocial 'traffic in women' formerly negociated by Egeus and Theseus in the opening scene, and implicitly played out by Demetrius and Lysander in the forest. The changeling boy, child of Titania's votress and representative not only of her female order, but of female-oriented erotic bonds, is an object of maternal exchange between women. In inverting the gendered relations of the homosocial triangle, Titania not only 'effeminizes' the boy, but usurps patriarchal power...[18]

After the odd situations have been evened out and patriarchy restored in a way that accomodates the intimate law of the heart rather than the brutal law of Athens, lovers and madmen are placed side by side by Theseus in his soliloquy at the beginning of act V. Their 'shaping fantasies' lead them to see 'more devils than vast hell can hold' and to see 'Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt' (V.1.5–11). The last example, when applied to the situation of the lovers in the play, amounts to going on a pilgrimage or love progress in which they by start loving the brunette Hermia, in a fantasy world as it were, just as Romeo creates a whole Petrarchan fantasy around Rosaline, before returning 'home' to Helena later (III.2.171–72). It seems then that the idea of the couple in the play is founded on an inevitable triad, as in the *Sonnets* which describe and expose the infernal 'ménage à trois' formed by the poet, his friend and the dark lady. Fantasy is thus linked to some inevitable 'triangulation of desire' which moves from identification through emulation to substitution, which René Girard calls 'mimetic desire'. And oddly enough, towards the end of act IV, Theseus sums up the situation in a strange arithmetic that seems to subvert ordinary matrimonial arrangements when he declares:

> Away with us to Athens. *Three and three,*
> We'll hold a feast in great solemnity... (IV.1.183–84)

Theseus is in fact referring to the three couples about to be married. He means three times two of course, but his formula remains ambiguous enough to suggest that loving pairs may still be subverted by odd numbers. Just as Hemia had repeated the burden of how two made one in the world of female friendship (III.2.202–16), the danger remains that two may add up to three. The unexpected apparition of a lion in the *Pyramus and Thisbe* interlude, where the vile beast is said to have 'deflowered' (V.1.286) Pyramus' love, Thisbe, is a case in point which seems to show that the danger is not just a theoretical one.

III. *Antony and Cleopatra:* vying 'strange forms with fancy' (V.2.97)

At the end of Theseus's speech in V.1, the poet is presented as the one who can, as it were, bridge the gap between 'apprehension' and 'comprehension' by giving "to airy nothing/A local habitation and a name" (V.1.16–17). Shakespeare's poetry thus defines itself as a geography of desire, a mapping out of knowledge through fantasy across social, sexual and racial differences.

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[18] Valerie Traub, "The (in)significance of Lesbian desire in early modern England" in Susan Zimmerman ed., *Erotic Politics. Desire on the Renaissance Stage* (Routledge, New York and London, 1992), 158–59.

Antony and Cleopatra gives a kind of late echo to and a confirmation of such views, in that it allows the question of sexual fantasies and gender relations to take precedence over empire and power politics. Indeed, Caesar accuses Antony of having "given his empire/Up to a whore..." (III.6.68–9), of having 'turn'd Turk' as it were and given up his duty, his country, his wife and children in order to indulge in his Eastern pleasures. But, at the end, he radically changes attitudes for the sake of some kind of 'fair play'. In the oral epitaph he delivers after hearing the news of the queen's suicide, Antony and Cleopatra become 'a pair' and 'their story' is placed as high as 'his glory':

> Her physician tells me
> She hath pursued conclusions infinite
> Of easy ways to die. Take up her bed,
> And bear her women from the monument.
> She shall be buried by her Antony.
> No grave upon the earth shall clip in it
> A pair so famous. High events as these
> Strike those that make them; and their story is
> No less in pity then his glory which
> Brought them to be lamented... (V.2.348–58)

'Their story' is here opposed to 'his glory'. His/(s)tory has become double, it has opened up a space for 'a pair so famous' because the addition of a 'he' and a 'she' now genders it as 'their' story, while Caesar is left with his own solitary glory. After the splitting apart of the triumvirate and the failure of the glamorous pair, what is left is the understatement of 'universal peace', i.e. one-man rule of over the whole empire. The phrase "she hath pursued conclusions infinite/Of easy ways to die" may be connected with Cleopatra's 'infinite variety' (II.2.246). Just as she was a queen of infinite desire, endowed with the full array of *ars amatoria* where she made 'fancy outwork nature' (II.2.211), the staging of her orgasmic death is linked with the multiplicity of her previous sexual deaths, according to Enobarbus:

> I have seen her die tweenty times...she hath such a celerity in dying... (I.2.137–40)

Sexual fantasies are here the fantasies which Cleopatra arouses in her Roman entourage much more than her own in fact, and she should be dissociated from the salacious, often misogynous, comments on her behaviour and would-be intentions. According to Ania Loomba, Cleopatra's seduction is mainly to be read in terms of cultural difference:

> She is an 'enchanting queen' (I.2.125) and in her person 'witchcraft' can join with beauty, lust with both' (II.1.22)... She is excess itself, she charms and confounds her audiences, exceeding their expectations, and even their imaginations – she is 'cunning past man's thoughts' (I.2.143), her love demands spaces the earth cannot provide...[19]

Ania Loomba also notes that Shakespeare's Cleopatra "carries no trace of the Greek lineage of her historical or Plutarchan counterpart", that she is made swarthy or even black-skinned and that "she embodies Egyptian sorcery and magic, she is described in terms of Egyptian snakes and crocodiles, she is Egypt itself".[20] Cleopatra excites men's fantasies because she is eminently theatrical, because she belongs to this Oriental culture of glamour, processions, pageantry and

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[19] Ania Loomba, "Shakespeare and Cultural Difference" in Terence Hawkes ed. *Alternative Shakespeares,* vol. 2, (Routledge, London and New York, 1996), 175.
[20] Loomba, 186.

festivals. In Enobarbus' description of her meeting with Mark Antony on the river Cydnus, she is in fact nowhere to be seen and the only detail provided about her royal person is that "she did lie/ In her pavilion" (II.2.208–209), which seems pretty vague for such a long ekphrasis. So, she is described indirectly, through the leering lens of Enobarbus' eyes, as if she exceeded the frame she had chosen to stage her own image in. This tangential apparition is an optic anomaly, a cosmic exorbitance that might cause a revolution, or hole, inside nature itself:

> Th'air [...] but for vacancy,
> Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,
> And made a gap in nature... (II.2.226–28)

Cleopatra has become identified with the vacant 'O' of orality and femininity. This image may be regarded as the positive counterpart of Hermia's way of expressing her disbelief in the possibiliy of absence or desertion on the part of Lysander in *A Midsummer Night's Dream:*

> I'll believe as soon
> This whole earth may be bored, and that the moon
> May through the centre creep, and so displease
> Her brother's noontide with th'Antipodes... (III.2.52–55)

This incredulous vision a of sun and moon meeting at the centre of the earth expresses how confident she feels about Lysander's love which simply cannot err if the ordinary laws of cosmology still apply. She cannot even think of a world of magic flowers with its subversive nightrule that puts the ordinary world upside down. Cleopatra, on the contrary, knows everything about magic and especially about how male desire (how to arouse it and keep it going). Knowing full well that fantasy thrives on absence or distance, she has made herself an expert in creating a sense of void, of vacancy, and she almost entirely disappears behind the 'O' in her name. And, before the narrative of the mythical meeting on Cydnus is told in order to feed the excited voyeurism of Roman eyes, the audience had been allowed to peep into Cleopatra's own fantasy factory when she is trying to imagine Antony, now in Rome, away from her and from her spells:

> O, Charmian,
> Where think'st thou he is now? Stands he, or sits he?
> Or does he walk? Or is he on his horse?
> O happy horse, to bear the weight of Antony! (I.5.19–22)
> Interestingly, this fantasy is echoed much later by Antony as he watches sunset with Eros, trying to read the images in the clouds, to decipher the picture in the carpet as it were:
> That which is now a horse, even with a thought
> The rack dislimns and makes it indistinct
> As water is in water... (IV.14.9–11)

Because of his indulgence in those Egyptian enchantments and revels, by dint of 'o'erflowing' himself like the river Nile, Mark Antony experiences a dissolution of identity so that "he cannot hold any visible shape" (IV.14.14). The horse image, though, seems to crop up here like a distant reminiscence, like a resurgence of Cleopatra's earlier fantasy that seems to have printed itself in the sunset clouds above. This would then correspond with Pietro Pomponazzi's theory of imagination, which was meant as a rational explanation for miracles. Indeed, in the city of Aquila, in the Abruzzi, people prayed together to God that He might put an end to the disastrous rains and floods that caused the crops to rot in the fields. Suddenly everyone could see

the image of Holy Pedro Celestino, the patron saint of the city, painting, or rather printing itself in the clouds. And this is how the Aristotelian Padua philosopher interprets the phenomenon:

> These vapours were pregnant with the representation of Santo Celestino and being thus impressed, they could print into the air the one and same figure in reality and appearance, just as a woman, when she imagines something in the course of the Venerian act, has this image actually printed on the child in her womb...[21]

This further exemplifies Theseus's idea that "the lunatic, the lover and the poet/Are of imagination all compact", since the visions of the mother, or of the lover, have the power of printing their fantasies on the flesh of the child just as the poet or painter may put them on paper or on canvas.[22] According to these theories of creative imagination, female 'longings' during pregnancy, as well as feminine *jouissance,* were believed to fashion their visions upon the child in the matrix, just as the artist would have the ability to turn his own textual or sexual fantasies into shapes and give them 'a local habitation and a name'.

Let's now return to the Prologue of *Henry V,* to complete the quotation in introduction:

> ... make imaginary puissance,
> Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them
> Printing their proud hoofs i' th' receiving earth...(ll. 26–7)

The image of the 'proud' hoofs printing themselves in the 'receiving earth' is indeed a strongly sexual one and it also fits Pomponazzi's model. Imagination will print its fantasies into the mould and make the vision come to life since the 'wooden O' of the playhouse is like a feminine matrix about to be impregnated by male semen.

Fancy then is the necessary means and aid for love, an implement or a supplement without which there can only be either violence and rape, if the male, like Tarquin in *The Rape of Lucrece,* manages to impose his lust on a female victim. Otherwise, it is bound to remain an impossible pursuit sanctioned by frustration if the woman subverts the conventional gender rules to behave like a man. This is just what *Venus and Adonis* demonstrates at length and in agonizing detail. This simple repetition of fairly plain physical (and anatomic) realities suggests that fancy must be bred either 'in the heart' or 'in the head', so that frustration may become fulfillment, apprehension comprehension, and imagination creation. Sometimes, as in *Measure for Measure,* Shakespeare will devise the most weird situations, where the denial of sexual advances is made in the name of chastity and also to stress death rather than run the risk of pollution or incontinence. And yet, a character like Isabella is made to speak the most incredible, if oblique, lines of sexual invitation when desire inscribes itself like a brand upon the flesh and turns images of mortification into an inflammatory, erotic vision:

> ...were I under the terms of death,
> Th'*impression* of keen whips I'd wear as rubies,
> And strip myself to death as to a bed
> That longing have been sick for, ere I'd yield
> My body up to shame...(II.4.100–104).

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[21] Quoted in Jacques Darriulat, *Sébastien le Renaissant* (Lagune, Paris, 1998), note 48, 242 *(my translation).*

[22] The parallels between 'imprints' in wax, paper and female matrix are explored by Margreta de Grazia in an article entitled "Imprints: Shakespeare, Gutenberg, and Descartes" in *Alternative Shakespeares,* 63–94.

"Were under the terms.../'ere I'd yield': the three lines contained between the similar sounds of 'Were', 'wear' and 'ere' open up a space of sexual fantasies, a side glance at her masochistic tendencies. Furthermore, the word 'impression' is certainly a very interesting one here, as it suggests ways of connecting these lines with what I have just said about the early modern connection between sexual fantasy, printing and fashioning into the flesh. But *Antony and Cleopatra* takes us beyond such chiaroscuro fantasies (the mysterious 'O' of female desire) and the complex labyrinth of desire (the 'W' of masochistic drives) in order to state the triumph of nature over fancy. Indeed, just as Cleopatra is said by Enobarbus to 'o'erpicture that Venus where we see/The fancy outwork nature" (II.2.210–11), she will later claim to the face of a skeptical Dolabella that

> Nature wants stuff
> To vie strange forms with fancy; yet t'imagine
> An Antony were Nature's piece 'gainst fancy,
> Condemning shadows quite... (V.2.96–9)

It would seem then that the love of the title pair has created "new heaven, new earth" (I.1.17) and invented new gender relations. It takes an Antony to present an alternative to traditional patriarchy and to allow for a playful transgression of gender roles when he allowed himself to be dressed in Cleopatra's 'tires and mantles' while she 'wore his sword Philippan' (II.5.22–3) to greet the Egyptian queen as the "armourer of [his] heart" (IV.4.7) in the end. These sexual games are essentially Saturnalian, i.e. festive in origin and spirit, and they open the door on 'infinite variety' and mutliple creation or re-creation. They give us an image of joy and plenty, of a *cornucopia* of feeling and rich possibilities that feed the creative mind and simply make the theatrical performance come to life. In contrast to this, the king's sad, solitary rumination at the end of *Richard II* sounds like a sterile repetition, like the vain attempt to recreate a world that has simply gone by and deserted him:

> My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,
> My soul the father, and these two beget
> A generation of still-breeding thoughts,
> And these same thoughts people this little world
> In humours like the people of this world... (V.5.6–10)

It would seem then that, for Shakespeare, fantasy does require some kind of green world, a utopia, an exotic India or Egypt, a dark forest or a foreign land to conquer and expand itself into. Prison is not even a prism and the magic lantern of the imagination simply does not work there. It will have to wait then for the mad imaginings of the 'divin marquis', namely of Alphonse, Donatien, François de Sade, before it may fashion itself into a compensatory world, into a theatre of cruelty filled with the infinite variety of sexual or erotic fantasies...

Rajnai Judit

HYSTERIC(AL) BODIES IN WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

"Thou map of woe, that thus dost talk in signs" (3.2.12)

Titus Andronicus is one of the most horrifying plays of Renaissance drama. The human body is at the center, present as flesh and blood: wandering body parts and mutilated bodies appear all over the drama. Applying Janet Beizer's theory on 'ventriloquized' bodies, which are made mute while nevertheless their mutilated bodies tell more than their tongues would, my aim in the following paper is to show in what ways the dismembered bodies – especially those of the female protagonist – are hystericized, and how they start to relate their (and others') stories due to their lithographic, readable nature.

Lavinia is the figure who speaks the least but tells the most. Her body gains meaning and significance after becoming different, "not normal": she is raped and dismembered; her hands are cut down and her tongue is torn out. She is deprived of the body parts which are the usual tools for making signs. She cannot use language in the traditional way: she is not able to utter a word or to make a gesture with her hands. Her body is "ventriloquized" similarly to the bodies of the female figures Janet Beizer examines in her book *Ventriloquized Bodies.* Although she becomes mute, she starts to signify; she is certainly silent – on the surface – just like the ventriloquist who seems to keep his /her mouth shut but is actually talking. She does not say a word, but discourse "in the large sense is not only what is spoken but what is silenced, and what is then imposed in its place" (Beizer 1994, 10)[1].

Lavinia starts to signify after losing the original tools for signification: she gains meaning after becoming different; meaning begins only when there is something divergent from the previously existing thing. If everything remains the same there is no change; there are no curves in the straight line as if there were only death or the nothingness before and after life. There is no change without transgression, and there is no process without change. In order for there to be a story, at least one body has to be hurt, one law has to be transgressed, and something abnormal has to happen. Lavinia's real life as far as the play itself is considered begins at the moment of her becoming 'deviant', different from what she used to be, from what others used to see her, different from the normal.

Beizer explains in her book that literary hysteria is crystallized in the image of women's bodies in textual poses: "saying nothing, signifying all" (Beizer 1994, 1). Lavinia is the perfect embodiment of this description. She cannot say anything since she has been deprived of the capability of using her tongue, but she signifies everything. She is the living emblem of her story which cannot be told in the usual way. Moreover, she is the mirror of the others; she is the fountain in which every one sees his own destiny just as Narcissus did.

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[1] Carla Mazzio in "Sins of the Tongue" also highlights the fact that the mutilation of the tongue is the birth of voice in case of women. He describes the tongue as a vehicle of speech and meaning, and a masculine symbol due to having a will of its own similarly to the penis.

Shall thy good uncle, and thy brother Lucius,
And thou, and I, sit around about some fountain,
Looking all downwards to behold our cheeks,
How they are stain'd like meadows yet not dry,
With miry slime left on them by a flood?
And in the fountain shall we gaze so long
Till the fresh taste be taken from the clearness,
And made a brine-pit with our bitter tears?
Or shall we cut away our hands like thine? (3.1.122–30)

In this passage the "fountain" of Lavinia's bloody mouth becomes "a mirror for her male relatives to gaze into" (Rowe 1994, 295). The hysteric's story is not only hers: "it is a more inclusive cultural story that, repressed, can be spoken only in the Other's name – that the hysteric is so readily appropriated as narrative screen" (Beizer 1994, 9). Not only might the story of her relatives be visualized through Lavinia's body: her story is already the repetition (and not the sole one) of the Ovidian masterplot, the rape of Philomela. Philomela was raped by her brother-in-law, Tereus, who was asked by his wife, Procne, to bring the lovely sister into their house for a short time as a visitor. On their way home, the husband could not restrain his fierce appetite and raped the girl; to prevent her from revealing his villainy, he tore her tongue out, threw her into a prison, and told his wife that Philomela had died during the journey. Philomela, however, was inventive enough to find a way to make signs (on embroidery) of where she was and what had happened to her. Tereus' horrifying deed called for revenge; but the revenge was even more horrid than the crime of the husband: they killed the son – the son of Tereus and Progne –, and served him to his father as a dinner. This part of the story also echoes in the Shakespearian play. The final revenge in *Titus Andronicus* is the consuming of the sons by the mother – sending them back to where they originated from: the mother.

Hands play a key role among the mutilated body parts: "hands, more than other body parts, figure the martial, marital, and genealogical bonds so much at risk in the play" (Rowe 1994, 280). Hands are the instruments of instruments; they are the symbols of the capacity of action, of being and acting effectively. Hands are both objects and active agents: they are merely parts of the subject's body but these parts connect the intentions of the subject with the effects, the acts actually carried out. Hands furthermore symbolize power, the ability to act, the capacity to grasp, to get hold of anything, thus to be in control of the events: they are the preeminent signs of political and personal agency. Emblems, symbols of old noble families, frequently present a hand holding something, usually a scepter. As Rowe explains, "Emblems of severed arms, which are depicted holding a variety of symbolic objects, are explicit icons of power" (1994, 287). Therefore, if somebody loses his/her hand, that means losing power, becoming weak, and being compelled to rely on others' benevolence (or malevolence). Lavinia was forcefully deprived of her hands; Demetrius and Chiron were shrewder than Tereus and they did not leave any possibility for Lavinia to give an account of her story not even using embroidery similarly to Philomela. Rowe says, "In losing her hands, Lavinia, as Chiron and Demetrius note, loses the ability to *do* for herself: to wash or even to hang herself. Loss of these *means* represents a contingent loss of self-representation, of the capacity to "bewray" her own meaning" (1994, 295). Although she became incapable of presenting her own meaning, she started to mean other (the Other), to signify all, to tell stories for anyone who glimpsed her.

Lavinia is a part of her father's body - she was created partly from her father. Titus first loses her when Bassianus takes Lavinia away as his lawful property since they have already been each other's as husband and wife. Titus loses control of his actions: he loses a hand - Lavinia - through which he should have been able to act as he wanted. Losing his daughter makes him go mad; his actions are no longer under the control of a healthy mind -metaphorically speaking,

he loses his head(!). He murders his own sons to prove that he is the one who has the power, the right to decide what is wrong or right. Yet, his sons are also his body-parts, significant parts of his family, of the affiliate bond, which was extremely important at that time. He mutilates himself, now symbolically, when he kills his own descendant but later actually gives his hand for his other sons, as if the same event were repeated in an upside-down way: he maims himself in order to save his sons' lives, in order to regain the power of a whole family. He is deceived: the sons' heads are returned for his hand.

Titus Andronicus voluntarily cut off his hand: he gave his hand in exchange for his sons' lives. With his hand cut off, he loses the connection between his volition and action. That might be an explanation for his inconsistent behavior. Furthermore, he symbolically gave up his power – just like Lear who retired referring to his old age – and, since hand represents agency, the capacity to act. Deliberately chopping off his hand is a repetition of the very beginning of the play. Titus was asked to be the first man of the empire; all the people of his country regarded him as the appropriate leader of their nation, somebody who had already proved several times that he was worth relying on. However, Titus refused the offer because of his age – another parallel with Lear – and recommended Saturninus as the person suitable for the throne.

Titus's hand is later returned with the heads of his sons – a real 'fleshback'. This wandering hand is finally placed into Lavinia's mouth as if she were representing Titus's power from then on. She is the holder of the scepter, the emblem of what Titus should represent. When Titus slays his daughter with his own hand, it is an attempt to regain the lost strength and agency, to be in control of life and death again. Since Lavinia held his hand, murdering her is a way of obtaining his lost hand, his lost ability to do things for himself[2].

The hysteric body always becomes textual: it is turned into a lithographic body. As soon as Lavinia's figure is ventriloquized and made to signify, she becomes a text for the others to read. Her body is hystericized: her own story and other people's stories are written in (or on) her mutilated body. Her hysteric body sets off the signifying chain which constitutes the play. Lavinia is the key signifier, the 'story-teller'; her death also brings the end of the whole story, the end of the Shakespearian play.

Let us have a closer look at what 'hysteric' means and how it might be applied in describing Titus' character. Hysteria had very long been considered – from Egyptian antiquity until the seventeenth century – as a specifically female disease: a uterine disorder. It was related to sexual abstinence: the womb was not fixed by anything, so it started to wander all over the body. The Greek representation of the wandering womb is found in Plato's *Timaeus:* "The womb is an animal which longs to generate children. When it remains barren too long after puberty, it is distressed and sorely disturbed, and straying about in the body and cutting off passages of the breath, it impedes respiration and brings the sufferer into the most extreme anguish and provokes all manner of diseases besides" (cited in Beizer 1994, 4). Around the seventeenth century scientists started to make connections between hysteria and the brain or, the head. The hysteric has "a mobile and impressionable nature, lacks willpower, and is able to contain neither secrets nor secretions. Dominated by her passions, she is overly emotional, subject to frequent and unmotivated fits of crying, capricious, egotistical, fickle, and prone to exaggeration. She is excessively imaginative, histrionic, and dishonest." (Beizer 1994, 19). This description is much more valid for depicting Titus than for delineating the female characters in the play. Titus is the head of his family, the head of the Roman army and almost the head of Rome. No wonder if

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2 For further reading about the symbolism of 'hand' see: Katherine Rowe, "God's handy 'worke': Divine Complicity and the Anatomist's Touch".

– considering hysteria a cerebral rather than a uterine disorder – he is the most hysteric character: his actions are often inconsistent and contradictory. He returns home from a serious war where he lost almost all of his sons. At home, however, a single manifestation of resistance from his remaining sons, who support their sister and her lover, is enough to make him go mad and murder his closest relatives. He bursts out in sudden fits of anger, easily changes his mind from one moment to the next, and is prone to extreme exaggerations. A remarkable example of his extremely capricious mood is in Act III Scene II, when his brother kills a fly. He furiously attacks the 'murderer' but after a short argument he suddenly changes his mind.

> Out in thee, murderer! thou killst my heart;
> Mine eyes are cloy'd with view of tyranny:
> A deed of death, done on the innocent,
> Becomes Titus' brother. Get thee gone;
> I see, thou art not for my company. (3. 2. 53–57.)

The intensity of Titus' anger might not be easily understood since he is the one who was able to murder his own sons with whom he just returned from a savage war. After such a furious outburst, it is enough to say that the fly was ill-favoured and Titus's response is just the opposite of what he declared before:

> O, O, O!
> Then pardon me for reprehending thee,
> For thou hast done a charitable deed.
> Give me thy knife, I will insult on him;
> Flattering myself, as if it were the Moor. (3. 2. 68–72.)

Titus is definitely a struggling, and by no means homogeneous, subject. This is also true of the other fragmented figures: the real mutilation of living bodies symbolizes the collapse of the Empire, how the whole country like its individuals falls into pieces. Titus is the most incoherent, inconsistent character; a slightly changed version of his name might better reflect on his split character: 'Titus and Ronicus'.

Lavinia and Tamora are the female figures in the play. Are they hysterical characters? Do they have the features of hysterical women? Who can be described as hysterical? Although Titus is the figure with the traditionally accepted features of a hysterical personality, Tamora and Lavinia, the female characters, do represent hysteric bodies. Tamora eats her own children at the end of the play. Titus serves the dinner cooked from the broken body parts of Demetrius and Chiron. The sons get back to where they originate: into the mother. They finally move back to the place of their pre-birth, to the place of non-existence: to death. The wandering of the sons out of the mother and back again might symbolize the wandering womb since that was the starting point of their journey (another 'fleshback'). The wandering of Tamora's womb continues in giving life to a baby, who unfortunately apparently takes after his father, Aaron: he is black.

The mobility which describes the womb of hysteric women is characteristic of other body parts too. Body parts wander all through the play, beginning with the expression that Rome became headless after the death of the emperor and needs a new head. In a less symbolic sense, the heads of the enemies (Tamora's sons) are taken for the victims of the war, which calls for revenge: this is the beginning of the real wandering of body parts. First Lavinia is dismembered by Demetrius and Chiron, then Titus gives his hand for his sons but he gets their heads in exchange – only the part instead of the whole body. The body parts represent the whole body: parts standing for the whole, a metonymic chain without which there would be no story. The narrative comes to its end not when the parts move from their original place to somewhere else

but when the whole body is destroyed. Applying Brooks' model for the narrative patterns (Brooks 1992, 90–113), that is the final metaphor – death – into which the chain of metonymies collapses.

The final scene, the cannibalistic feast, might express how incorporation takes place not merely verbally. Applying the Deleuzian model of the language of the schizophrenic, everything occurs on a bodily level without the use of words. 'Speaking is eating': action immediately takes place without discourse. Tamora eats her own children, who are the step-sons of Saturninus. Saturninus' name must remind the reader of the Roman God, Saturnus, who ate all of his children to avoid subjugation by any of them; the feast is thus the repetition of not merely the Ovidian masterplot (tragic story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus) but that of an even older myth.

The dismemberment of human bodies symbolizes the problems within the whole empire[3]. The wounds of contemporary civilization are emblematized in the severing of body parts. Bonds and relations so significant in that age are destroyed and this fragmentation within the family and within the "court" is well represented by the fragmentation on a completely different level: that of human bodies. The mostly fragmented body, however, is that of Rome. The lithographic body of the empire is converted into literature, the most appropriate form for being read. It might be argued that each and every theme of a literary work is a hysteric body: a body that is different, and thus able to signify even if it does not speak a word.

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[3] Huston Diehl argues in his article "The Iconography of Violence in English Renaissance Tragedy": "The metaphor of the divided body politic is repeatedly used in *Titus Andronicus* to characterize a civilly torn Rome" (Diehl 1980, 36).

Dana Chetrinescu Percec

THE SHREW AND THE TAMER – SHAKESPEARE, FLETCHER AND THE SEMIOTICS OF FEMALE DOMESTIC (MIS)RULE

Women in early modern England, as elsewhere in Europe, benefited from a limited range of scripts as specific contexts in which they lived or as descriptors of their status or character. And even these limited scripts were, as Mendelson and Crawford (1998, 65) notice, sharply polarized. Female categories were either domestic, with a moral connotation – virgin, wife, mother – or antisocial – scold, whore, witch. All the three negative categories revolve around the feature that is considered dominant in women not kept under the control of the family – disruptiveness, insubordination.

Fig. 1.

The whore is sexually deviant, having lost the womanly qualities attributed to the domestic categories – modesty, fidelity and love. Witches were archetypally female as being the weak sex – unstable and lustful – carrying the original guilt that was caused by their unlimited desire for power. The antisocial category that springs from the domestic sphere is that of the scold. Popular sayings promote this feature in most women, in a more or less humorous manner. If a woman could not keep quiet (which, according to the stereotype, happened all the time) she was fined or punished in public. The legal and official punishment was the cucking stool, where scolds were ducked in water. The alternative punishment, practiced although illegal, was that of the scold's bridle, an iron cage that was put on the woman's head, with an iron tongue forced into her mouth, that usually caused severe bleeding *(Fig. 1)*. The woman was paraded like this around the town, to the amusement of the local population whose chief entertainment were the public executions.

Medieval and early modern societies were obsessed with the dangerous power of women's speech. Especially within the domestic sphere, female excessive talk was regarded as a severe form of insubordination that could reverse the sexual and the political gender hierarchy. In *Fig. 2,* an anonymous early modern English engraving, the wife, standing in an aggressive posture in front of a kneeling man, has two weapons. The first one is the ladle, the other one is her speech which is as aggressive as the tool that she might use to harm her husband physically. The two persons' posture is contrastive and so is their lan-

Fig. 2.

guage. The ladle is opposed by the man's bare hands, and the derogatory term 'rogue' the wife is using is opposed by the husband's praising address 'o goodwife', spelt in one word as if he said 'ladybird' or 'bluebottle', as if the noun and the adjective, as well as the notions denoted by them, were inseparable – the word in this context being, obviously, supposed to carry an ironic value. The man's head is uncovered as a sign of respect but the absence of the hat reveals the horns. The man is not only verbally and physically aggressed by his wife, but he is also cuckolded – the ultimate humiliation. In the background, the fruit-tree reminds us of the biblical scene, the wife's prototype being Eve who, being easily tempted by the devil, caused the man's fall from Heaven. The implication is that, if a woman is given free access to discourse, this will disturb all the traditional domestic values and that a woman speaking is not only indecorous, but immoral.

In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* the Wife of Bath seems to be the very embodiment of the scold, of the dangerous and 'unfeminine' woman in *Fig. 2.* She has had five husbands and she has nagged and yelled at all of them. She speaks more than any other woman pilgrim in the tales. She doesn't only tell her own story like everybody else, but interferes in other people's tales, being unable only to listen. Priscilla Martin (1996, 218) sees the role of the Wife of Bath in sheer opposition with that of the Prioress who has a 'coy', quiet and discreet smile. The Prioress is invited with greater politeness than anyone else to tell her story because that implies giving up, although only temporarily, her best quality – silence (unlike the Wife of Bath, the Prioress never speaks during the links between the stories). If the Wife of Bath is Eve – whose sin is illustrated not just by pride, disobedience and gluttony, but also by speech – the Prioress is Mary – who accepts, at the Annunciation, to be the mother of Christ without talking.

Here wives are 'good' or 'bad' depending on the quantity of language they produce. Griselda in *The Clerk's Tale* is as 'sad' and 'sobre' in her actions as in her speech. Her complete lack of individual will, manifested primarily in her silence, is interpreted as a very good example to be followed by all wives who want to be 'good'. Her husband takes the children away from her, drives her away from home and asks her to prepare the palace for his new wife and she doesn't protest. Walter does all these in order to test her virtue, the conclusion being that, if she could keep silent in so many dramatic situations, she is an ideal of femininity (unlike her, other wives speak even in far less dramatic situations). January's wife in *The Merchant's Tale,* as well as the Host's wife, are the exact opposite, a good illustration of *Fg. 2.* January is sixty and marries young and beautiful May who very soon cuckolds him. Being blind, January doesn't realize at first that she is making love to his servant in his very presence. Even the pagan god Pluto is outraged by the immorality of this behaviour and decides to make January see again. The husband sees his wife with Damian in the pear-tree but, due to her eloquence, May convinces him that she was only fighting with him as a solution against January's blindness.

Her persuasive strategies being very successful, the husband, very happy and pleased, apologizes to his wife. The Merchant complains about the discursive qualities of the scold who uses words as weapons to distress and manipulate men. The Host seems to be even more miserable, because his wife has also reversed gender roles not only by speaking more than her husband and contradicting him, but by exchanging instruments specific to each sex. She takes his knife and gives him the distaff, an action as humiliating for the husband as that of beating him with the ladle, because the distaff is, in traditional sayings and proverbs (such as *on the distaff side,* "on the woman's side in a family"), one of the most gender-loaded domestic symbols. On the other hand, gentleness and unassertiveness are dubious when they appear in men. The young clerk is urged by the Host to tell a story and therefore act in a manly manner instead of being shy and coy like a maid about to get married. The Knight is indirectly criticized by the narrator

for being too 'meek'. What is advisable and admirable in one gender, is ridiculous or vicious in the other one.

So, in Chaucer's epoch and later, different linguistic behaviour was prescribed for men and women. Mannered women even in later historical periods are prescribed silence: they shouldn't talk too much or tell jokes; they should mainly listen. Listening, in conversational analysis, is the major sign of cooperative behaviour, but it also suggests obedience, accepting the supremacy of male speech. As Dale Spender (1998, 52) puts it, women having been excluded from the production of cultural forms (language being one of them), it follows that language has been made by men and that they have used it for their own purposes. In this case, a dialogue between the 'dominant' and the 'muted' as Dale Spender (1998, 76) calls men and women, is a sort of an anomaly. Discussing is, in a way, sharing power and turn-taking, the basic mechanism of a conversation, a minimal sign of equality. The same researcher, analyzing, mixed-sex conversations, notices that men are not very willing to share power in speech, to participate in listening as well as talking when the conversation is about imposing a point of view. The researcher's conclusion is that, "if women cease to be muted, men cease to be dominant and to some males this may seem unfair because it represents a loss of rights" (Spender 1998, 89), a statement that recalls the grotesque representation of the domestic dialogue in *Fig. 2.*

Analysing the mechanisms of power in mixed-sex conversation, Deborah Tannen (1993, 166) locates the source of domination in such linguistic strategies as interruption, volubility and topic raising and the source of powerlessness in strategies like indirectness, tag questions and silence, associating the former strategies with male speakers and the latter with female ones. According to her, the key to power – in the conversational interaction as well as elsewhere – is asymmetry while solidarity is marked by symmetrical relationships. Which is to say that, if one dialogue partner uses strategies such as interruption and volubility while the other one uses opposite strategies such as silence, the relation established between them is one of power and dominance and not of solidarity. Then books on female etiquette stating that the most attractive woman is the silent one, men who like women to pay attention to what they are saying (so, women who listen instead of talking) or husbands who can't stand their wives contradicting them especially 'in public' do nothing else but promote a relationship of domination in mixed-sex conversations that has been going on forever.

In spite of what is usually thought, as Dale Spender (1998, 42) notices, in about 98% of conversational circumstances, it is men who interrupt women and not the other way round. And she goes on, "The talkativeness of women has been gauged in comparison not with men but with *silence.* Women have not been judged on the grounds of whether they talk more than men, but of whether they talk more than silent women. When silence is the desired state for women [...] then any talk in which a woman engages can be too much. What an advantage for males in a patriarchal order!" Sara Mills (1997, 97) also notices that there are institutionalized constraints which also serve to silence women in terms of public speaking, proving once more that discursive structures are sites where power struggles are played out. A good example is the weddings, where most of the formal speaking roles belong to men (the best man, the father of the bride, the groom, but never the bride).

This is, roughly, the background on which Shakespeare wrote his early comedy, *The Taming of the Shrew* as well as the background on which I am analyzing this play, referring also to a sequel of this story that John Fletcher imagines half a century after the Bard's *Shrew.* In Shakespeare's play, Katharina is a 'bad girl' – disobedient daughter, aggressive sister, stubborn and proud wife. Being notorious for her 'tongue', no one wants to marry her except Petruchio who will take over the role of a tamer in front of a wild and angry beast. Finally, the shrew disappears, Katharina becoming, in the final scene, a role model to follow for all women. In John Fletcher's *The Wo-*

man's Prize or The Tamer Tamed, Petruchio is a widower who remarries a 'good' girl, Maria. But as she has found out about his behaviour towards his first wife, good Maria is determined to become 'bad' herself in order to teach her husband a lesson. After their wedding, she refuses to let Petruchio in the house and continues like that until the final act when her husband becomes mad with despair and dies. At the funerals, however, he wakes up, to the joy and relief of everybody, including Maria. They both decide to make compromises for the sake of their love.

Although not a masterpiece from the point of view of form and artistic innovation, Fletcher's comedy is, in many ways, a modern play, discussing such issues as the liberation of women within the domestic sphere and the equality of sexes. What the two plays share, apart from plot and some characters, is the author's view on discourse as a gendered production, with women trying – more or less successfully – to negotiate their positions within the family and on a larger social scale. In *The Taming of the Shrew,* Kate is the main disruptive element. Because of her, Bianca, her younger and docile sister, cannot get married although she has many suitors. Because of her, Baptista, her father is always sad, worried and ashamed. The two sisters are contrasted from the very beginning. Kate does not have the right to have mates unless "she were of gentler, milder mould" (I, i), whereas in Bianca's "silence" men see "maid's mild behaviour and sobriety" (I, i). Kate's "scolding tongue" is contrasted with Bianca's "beauteous modesty" (I, ii). The good girl's silence is regarded as feminine and beautiful, connoting with obedience and seriousness, whereas the bad girl's voice that is too much heard is ugly, unfeminine and grotesque, betraying her vain and proud nature, qualities praised in men but feared and despised in women. Bianca is so obedient that she listens to her sister as well, not just to her father ("Or, what you will command me, will I do", II, i). Being so different, the father doesn't allow the good girl to spend much time in the bad girl's company, fearing that Kate's independence and wit might be contaminating. Baptista advises his favourite child to concentrate on specific activities ("Go ply thy needle; meddle not with her" II,i), the needle as a tool becoming the opposite of language as a weapon.

Men, both in *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Woman's Prize* are obsessed with women's tongues, the climactic instance of their disorderly, wicked, shrewd nature:

PETRUCHIO: Come, come, you wasp; I'faith, you are too angry.
KATHARINA: If I be waspish, best beware my sting.
PETRUCHIO: My remedy is then, to pluck it out.
KATHARINA: Ay, if the fool could find it where it lies.
PETRUCHIO: Who knows not where a wasp does wear his sting? In his tail.
KATHARINA: In his tongue.
PETRUCHIO: Whose tongue?
KATHARINA: Yours, if you talk of tails: and so farewell. (II, i)

and:

PEDRO: To have the Sea between thee and this woman,
Nothing can drown her tongue, but a storm. (V, ii)
PEDRO: Oh her tongue, her tongue.
JAQUES: Rather her many tongues.
PEDRO: Or rather strange tongues.
JAQUES: Her lying tongue.
PEDRO: Her lisping tongue.
JAQUES: Her long tongue.
PEDRO: Her lawlesse tongue.
JAQUES: Her loud tongue.
PEDRO: And her lickrish...
JAQUES: many other tongues, and many stranger tongues
That ever Babel had to tell his ruines,
Were women rais'd withall; but never a true one. (V, ii)

In the first quotation, it is worth noting the homophony between *tail* (the wasp's tail that has a sting in it) and *tale,* a discursive form, yet another possible antonym for silence, the desired state in which Kate should find herself. In Fletcher's play, tongues utter not just tales, but lies ("never a true one"). Therefore, women don't just talk too much, they also give inexact, unreliable information.

After the wedding ceremony, Kate invites the guests to her bridal dinner, flouting, thus, one main rule concerning women's access to discourse in official circumstances such as the wedding. With sarcasm, Petruchio urges everybody to obey her command, but he doesn't do it himself, leaving the town immediately after getting out of the church and, of course, taking Kate with him. At home, Petruchio starts the taming process:

PETRUCHIO: This is a way to kill a wife with kindness;
And thus I'll curb her mad and headstrong humour.-
He that knows better how to tame a shrew,
Now let him speak: 'tis charity to shew. (IV, i)

He doesn't let Kate eat or sleep or choose the clothes she likes on the grounds that he is imposing these restrictions to her own good. Reading Foucault's study on docile bodies (Foucault 1997, 206), we see that Petruchio already applies his scolding wife modern methods of punishment. Giving up the cucking stool and the scold's bridle, the punishment has passed into an economy of suspended rights. The body becomes an intermediate, caught within a system of constraint and deprivation. The invention of the machine-man, a materialistic reduction of the soul and a general theory of taming, has turned docility into a crucial notion, making the body exclusively something that can be analyzed and manipulated. The docile body is the body that can be subdued, used, transformed, perfected. The human being as automaton is, according to Foucault, an illustration of power politics. When Kate protests against Petruchio's cure for the last time, her husband doesn't even listen to her:

KATHARINA: Why, sir, I trust I may have leave to speak;
And speak I will; I am no child, no babe:
Your betters have endured me say my mind;
And if you cannot, best stop your ears.
My tongue will tell the anger of my heart;
Or else my heart, concealing it, will break:
And rather than it shall, I will be free
Even to the uttermost, as I please, in words. (IV, iii)

The next time she speaks, she does so only to voice her submission. Although it is night, Petruchio insists that it is broad daylight. Kate accepts his whim and we can see this also as a diplomatic move: she gives up being direct, but still preserves the right to have a voice and use it:

KATHARINA: Then, God be blest, it is the blessed sun –
But sun it is not, when you say it is not;
And the moon changes, even as your mind.
What you will have it names, even that it is;
And so it shall be still for Katharine. (IV. v)

We notice here a subtle irony masked by sheer obedience, when she insists that she says it is the sun because he wants that, not because she really believes that (a little bit different from the scene of brain-washing in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four,* where the victim is already convinced that the torturer is showing him three fingers instead of four) and even drops hints at his chang-

ing nature (something very similar to madness) when she compares his mind to the changing phases of the moon. We can say the same thing about the final scene in the play, where, at Bianca's wedding, Kate is summoned by Petruchio to give an example of a good, obedient wife. She does come when he calls her and she does say that husbands are lords and governors for their wives, but, again, we can see here a form of subversive behaviour: under the pretence of doing her husband's will, she manages to finish what she hasn't been permitted to do at her own wedding and what no other woman in the play or elsewhere could do: she gives a speech and she has the final word in a conflict that she managed to settle down due to her intelligence and diplomacy.

As intelligent and diplomatic but more direct is Maria in Fletcher's sequel. If Petruchio almost kills Kate with kindness, Maria almost kills Petruchio with directness:

PETRONIUS: Your stubborn, and unworthy way has kild him. (V, iv)

Petruchio is determined to treat his second wife in the same way, considering that, if he made a good wife out of a shrew, he will surely make a new Griselda out of innocent Maria:

TRANIO: His very frowne, if she but say her prayers
Louder than men talk treason, makes him tindar; [...]
She must do nothing of her selfe; not eate,
Drink, say sir how do ye, make her ready, unready,
Unlesse he bid her. (I, i)

But, determined to teach him a lesson, Maria gives up her 'soft' typically feminine nature, saying no to everything Petruchio may suggest:

MARIA: I am no more the gentle tame Maria;
Mistake me not; I have a new soule in me
Made of a North-wind, nothing but tempest;
And like a tempest shall it make all ruins,
Till I have run my will out. [...]
Adieu all tendernesse, I dare continue;
Maides that are made of feares and modest blushes,
View me, and love example. (I, ii)

Although female friends contrast her behaviour with that of 'serious' women in the city, Maria makes herself 'unserious', trivial in a programmatic manner.

The verbal duel between the spouses always takes the same form:

PETRUCHIO: If you talk more, I am angry, very angry.
MARIA: I am glad on't, and I will talke.
PETRUCHIO: Prethee peace,
Let me not think thou art mad. (I, iii)
PETRONIUS: Use no more words, but come down instantly,
I charge thee by the duty of a child.
PETRUCHIO: Then by that duty you owe to me Maria,
Open the doore, and be obedient: I am quiet yet. (I, iii)

Petruchio considers a dialogue between a husband and a wife a monologue where the husband speaks and the wife listens. Every time Maria talks, he interrupts her: "Pray hear me" or "You shall hear me first", starting from the assumption that, if she is listening, it means she can't

be talking at the same time. If female language is a mighty weapon for the Host in *Canterbury Tales,* for Petruchio it is stale food or even poison:

PETRUCHIO: Had I not ev'ry morning a rare breakfast,
Mixt with a learned Lecture of ill language,,
Louder than Tom O'Lincoln; and at dinner,
A dyet of the same dish? (III, iii)
It is also a frightening manifestation of all forms of rebellion:
MARIA: Look not strangely
Nor feare what I say to you. (V, iv)

But, like the Host and the husband in *The Merchant's Tale,* he admits that female eloquence has a very strong impact on men's mind and, although he is the slave of the patriarchal belief that women's tongues are evil, signs of their sinful and unreliable nature, he cannot help admiring her persuasive skills:

PETRUCHIO: Though I know this falser than the devill,
I cannot choose but love it. (IV, i)

Many critics have dashed to consider Shakespeare a misogynist and even to identify stages in his career when he liked or disliked women for some invented personal reasons. However, I consider that *The Taming of the Shrew* is one good illustration of the fact that such labels cannot be applied without some serious problems. Like in other plays about categories considered marginal in his time (women, blacks, gays, Jews etc.), here Shakespeare voices, on the one hand, social stereotypes of the period but, on the other hand, undermines the mainstream ideology by giving the marginal groups a voice of their own. Therefore, the resulting attitude is either paradoxical or, in my opinion, subversive. Because by giving the marginals the right to speak and to express their dissatisfactions and anxieties, the Bard, central figure of the Western canon, is placing himself, in a way, on their side. Caliban is claiming rights on the island the white man has conquered, Shylock demands equality between people of different religions. And women demand to be allowed to speak and to be listened to. I will end with a quotation from *Othello* where Emilia, one of the first liberated women in literature, is advising Desdemona not to let her husband humiliate and abuse her but to stand up and speak out:

Why, we have galls; and though we have some grace,
Yet have we some revenge. Let husbands know
Their wives have sense like them: they see, and smell,
And have their palates both for sweet and sour,
As husbands have. [...]
Then let them use us well: else let them know,
The ills we do, their ills instruct us so. (IV, iii)

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Zenón Luis-Martínez

"LIKE SORROW'S MONUMENT": WOMEN AND THE PERFORMANCE OF MOURNING IN ENGLISH RENAISSANCE TRAGEDY[1]

I

Lamentation is central to tragedy. Both men and women lament in drama, but social and literary conventions have for long made tears the realm of women. English Renaissance tragedy is hard to conceive without its endless list of plaintive characters, quite a few of which are – not surprisingly – female. The death or loss of a loved person are the most frequent causes of female tragic lamentation.

This topic would be exhausted here if lamentation were not a thing done with words. And in quite a few plays these words shape entire speeches, occupy entire scenes, or considerable space of an entire play. These words come together not without their own rules; and this reason has led critics like Wolfgang Clemen to explain the rhetorical energy of pre-Shakespearian tragedy in terms of the part played by this particular kind of set speech. Clemen asserts that dramatic lamentation embodies "the preoccupation of the Elizabethan playwrights with high-wrought feeling and declamation", as well as "the almost constant hyperbole which has with justice been described as being of the essence of Elizabethan drama" (Clemen 1961, 64). Things change, always according to Clemen, with Shakespeare, and thus the differences between pre-Shakespearean and Shakespearean (to which I would add post-Shakespearean) Renaissance tragedy lie on Shakespeare's "fusion of the fast-moving, closely-packed drama of action with the tradition of the rhetorical tragedy which was dependent for its effects on the power of the spoken word, of eloquence" (Clemen 1961, 25). Which amounts to saying that the rhetorical stance of pre-Shakespearean tragedy is crucial to what comes later, but nevertheless we must acknowledge the superiority of Shakespearean drama for giving life to a kind of language that was too frozen and static. And thus – and back to dramatic lamentation – we can be moved by, for instance, Desdemona's willow-song in Shakespeare's *Othello,* but not very much by Videna or Marcella in Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc.* In the first case we critics will feel free from the constraint of form in order to seek character motivation, apparent or hidden, to explain Desdemona's divided self between love and rebellion, frustration and self-assertion. In the second case, we will look for apostrophe, parison, anaphora and a few other figures, and metaphor, hyperbole, and a few other tropes, but will feel free from looking for anything beyond the plain fact that rhetoric serves Videna to lament Gorboduc's injustice to Ferrex, or Marcella to mourn the death of Porrex. Conventional rhetoric seems to construct characters with very plain, uninteresting minds, whereas the dilution of highly patterned rhetoric is conducive to psychological subtlety and nuance. It may be so, as long as we accept that in Renaissance drama lamentation is only or primarily at the service of tragic character.

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But what if we don't? My point is that it is impossible to dissociate Renaissance dramatic lamentation from more complex, sophisticated modes of meaning that we could name allegorical and emblematic. This paper proposes a re-orientation of the abovementioned rhetorical and psychological approaches to dramatic lament from a perspective that has deserved too little credit in English drama criticism, namely Walter Benjamin's notion of *Trauerspiel* (or "mourning-play"), not as a mere synonym with tragedy, but as a constellation of dramatic traits that reveal a distinct essence of the genre in the Renaissance and the Baroque periods. In my necessarily sketchy and incomplete account, the focus on female lamentation will have the advantage of looking into the dynamics of this genre and its main signifying modes in what seems to me a particularly extreme form.

II

In his *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiel,* whose first version was completed in 1925, Benjamin argued that the distinctiveness in German baroque drama of the words *Tragödie* and *Trauerspiel* is not merely lexical. No equivalent for the second exists in other European languages, if we except medieval notions of tragedy as *carmen luctuosum* or "mournful poem" (Kelly 1993, 27; Reiss 1999, 236). For Benjamin, *Tragödie* should be confined to the classical period, whereas *Trauerspiel* comprises the essence of humanist and especially post-humanist drama. History becomes the key concept for this distinction: "historical life, as it was conceived at that time, is [the] content [of *Trauerspiel*], its true object. In this it is different from tragedy. For the object of the latter is not history, but myth" (Benjamin 1977, 62).

"History" and "myth" should be taken primarily as distinct modes of involvement of the human subject in a particular course of events. Whereas myth, the mode of tragedy, is based upon heroic life, the historical mode addresses "the decisive confrontation between human-earthly perplexity and princely-hierarchical power" (Benjamin 1977, 84). *Trauerspiel* stages historical life insofar as it acknowledges what Benjamin calls the "creaturely estate of the dramatic character" (Benjamin 1977, 86). The creature, in its state of dispossession and alienation from divine providence, becomes the subject of the heavy lamentations and the allegorical extremes of these dramas. In terms of style, *Trauerspiel* is violently elegiac, a theatre of mournful ostentation. In terms of character, *Trauerspiel* is the drama of the tyrant and the martyr. In terms of spectacle, *Trauerspiel* adopts an emblematic mode that privileges allegorical dissemination over symbolic unity. In terms of ideology, *Trauerspiel* conceives a universe that is rooted in "the hopelessness of the earthly condition" (Benjamin 1977, 81).

History does not mean historical fact for Benjamin. It is rather an inter-subjective state of consciousness that governs the relations between dramatic character and his/her earthly existence, a premise imposed upon a play's line of action. Mourning is an effect of the dramatic discovery of this historical consciousness: it is the perspective – and lamentation the performative mode – from and through which the subject expresses its flawed position in history. The rhetorical and visual excesses of Renaissance drama (this may remind of Clemen's "hyperbole") constitute an aesthetic search for expressive forms that may account for this sense of historical perplexity. In the words of a commentator of Benjamin,

> The *Trauerspiel* does not offer some manifest commentary on ... historical events. Rather, the experience of historical catastrophe itself is incorporated into the structure and the content of the work, becoming the controlling premise of dramatic action, the fixed metaphorical referent for the generation of dramatic language. Lamentation is not thus merely the subject matter of the *Trauerspiel;* it is the *Trauerspiel.* It is not a matter merely of the conscious comprehension of the practical

> meaning of contemporary events within the minds of playwrights ... Far more significant is the phenomenon in which an aesthetic expression enters into a relation with historical time so dialectically deep that time itself comes to dictate the actual procedure and contours of aesthetic production (Pensky 1993, 75).

Trauerspiel makes lamentation, in its highly allegorical and emblematic qualities, its privileged expressive vehicle. And this infects all levels of dramatic expression: the mournful experience of historical catastrophe is a structural condition of these plays, and one that is inseparable from its stylistic and aesthetic choices. One of these choices is what following recent classic emblem criticism we can call the "emblematic mode" (Daly 1979). Benjamin affirms that, "the Renaissance stimulates the visual memory ... but at the same time it awakens a visual speculation which is perhaps of greater import in the formation of style" (Benjamin 1977, 221). This visual import starts with the written word and is always the essence of a mixed mode, the theatrical, where the verbal and visual act sometimes as mutual supports, sometimes as commentary of each other, sometimes as substitutes of each other, or even sometimes as antagonistic forces. And for this reason we can never acknowledge a fixed method or a fixed function for such a mode.

The same goes for allegory. Let us take C. S. Lewis's simple definition as a starting point:

> On the one hand you can start with an immaterial fact, such as the passions which you actually experience, and can then invent *visibilia* to express them ... This is allegory ... The allegory leaves the given [...] to talk of that which is confessedly less real, which is a fiction (Lewis, 1936, 45)

The *visibilia* of a given passion, let us say grief, are materialised in a set of images (maybe words, since the term only speaks of the visual as potential), and these images inaugurate a fiction, necessarily less real than our real experience. As M. Veltkirchius, a Renaissance commentator of Erasmus's *De Copia,* puts it, allegory is "a species of narrative [that] invites a second, different interpretation, alluding to things from quite another sequence of events to moral attitudes, emotions or types of character present" (Sonnino 1968, 225).

The recognition of different realms in dramatic allegory, the acknowledgement that these can be located in different representational levels (verbal and visual, fictional and real) suggests that no matter how tightly allegory seeks for unified, controlled meaning, there is always the risk of semantic alienation, dissemination, and loss. Benjamin has this in mind as he asserts that in the rhetorically inflated style of the *Trauerspiel* "language is broken up so as to acquire a changed and intensified meaning in its fragments" (Benjamin 1977, 208). When fragmented signifiers – a single word, a single speech, a prop or a *tableau vivant,* a character, or even a secondary plot – are magnified in their aspiration to allegorical totality, the picture must be of a signifying chaos that nevertheless fits the representational aim of these plays' characters as emblems of a human consciousness of historical catastrophe.

In this sense, and in spite of Benjamin's meagre remarks on female characters, we should not be surprised by the fact that women became in early modern tragedies powerful emblems of the historical inadequacy of the creature. Since the 1980s feminist criticism of English Renaissance tragedy has accounted for the instability of the female subject, its confinement to the margins of heroic action (Belsey 1986). It is my contention first, that women come to the foreground in many Renaissance plays insofar as they are mourners, and second, that these women are above all linguistic, iconic constructions, that is, aesthetic effects at the service of their plays' allegories of historical consciousness. What I offer below is a roster of instances ranging from pre-Shakespearean to post-Shakespearean tragedy in the attempt to open up a historical and theoretical framework which I intend to explore further in future work.

III

Two instances from Elizabethan tragedy will first illustrate the role of female lament and its generic implications. Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *Gorboduc* (1561) is frequently considered the first English tragedy. The play is certainly the first great political allegory of the Elizabethan period, if we give credit to its traditional interpretation as an admonition to the Queen on the role of Parliament in deciding exceptional issues of succession (Gómez Lara and Jiménez Barrientos 1996; Jones and Whitfield White 1996; Picombe 2003) This justifies the play's careful adoption of hermeneutic strategies that both control and unveil its conspicuous political message: the opening "Argument of the Tragedy", as well as the five dumb shows that precede each act are the most obvious instances. Moreover, its status as an Inns of Court product provides it with the best of weapons for accomplishing formal control over political meaning, namely, the expertise in forensic and deliberative rhetoric shown throughout the play's lengthy political disputes. Sir Philip Sidney's praise of *Gorboduc*'s "stately speeches and well-sounding phrases" and its "noble morality" must have been an implicit recognition of the play's achievement of stylistic and ethical excellence through its orthodox use of political allegory (Sidney 1966, 65). Sidney's short comment of the play has been highly influential in later criticism, of which Clemen is again a relevant instance here. As he acknowledges *Gorboduc*'s Senecan inheritance, a line also pursued by Sidney, he stresses the play's borrowing of the Roman dramatist's "stately dignity, his gravitas, and his moral tone", but not his "impassioned manner of speech", in order to conclude that "neither in Italian nor in English tragedy does ... passionate utterance make its appearance until rather later in the century" (Clemen 1961, 29). For that particular reason, Clemen continues, "the play lacks one of the primary driving-forces of tragedy. For in most of the scenes we find nothing but cold deliberation and the endless debates of pros and cons" (Clemen 1961, 59). I want to claim here that Clemen is only almost right.

The main question should be why a play that puts a great deal of its rhetorical and emblematic potential at the service of moralising on King Gorboduc's decision to abdicate and split his kingdoms into two moieties in spite of the laws of kingship and primogeniture should start with a scene that ignores these political premises and focuses on private grief. Scene one stages Queen Videna's complaint at her husband's neglect of her very much beloved elder son Ferrex in favour of her very much hated younger son Porrex:

> The silent night, that brings the quiet pause
> From painful travails of the weary day,
> Prolongs my carefull thoughts, and makes me blame
> The slow Aurore, that so for love or shame
> Doth long delay to show her blushing face:
> And now the day renews my griefull plaint. (*Gorboduc* 1.1.1–6)

Somewhere else I have analysed the incestuous subtext of *Gorboduc* as the play's unconscious, that is, as the theatrical surplus that exceeds the orthodoxy of its political signified (Luis-Martínez 2002, 98–118). But what matters here is the potential in Videna's particular speech for tearing apart the play's aspirations to unified meaning. These words are an instance of "impassioned speech", the expression of personal grief through deliberately tight rhetorical patterns. The phrase "griefull plaint" makes clear the performative nature of the Queen's sorrow: it is sorrow as long as it finds existence in representation (in "plaint"). What is more important, grief achieves its status as representation as long as this speech constructs its relatedness to a very specific and complex time structure. The cyclical structure of endless sorrow depends on "night" and "day" as antagonistic forces that paradoxically promise relief and protract each other's

"cares". Sorrow announces endless discourse, or to use the play's own term, "renewed" lamentation. And it is this representation of sorrow as never-ending passion that this speech amplifies even before presenting its actual causes and foretelling its political consequences.

The performative status of Videna's sorrow must find material support on the actor's presence on stage, on his emblematic *actio* of rhetorical *pathopoeia* or *imaginatio*. In the words of the Renaissance rhetorician Richard Sherry, *pathopoeia* takes place when "feare, anger, madnes, hatered, envye, and lyke perturbations of mynde is shewed and described" (Sherry 1550, Eii). Show and description, or in Benjamin's term, ostentation defines a distinct discourse of the passions in Renaissance tragedy. To this extent, the Queen's speech matters primarily insofar as emblematic Grief itself comes to be known in image and words.

Beside the masculine world of deliberative and forensic rhetoric – the languages of political argument and legal persuasion – feminine lamentation emerges, perhaps on the margins of meaning, but with unquestionable prominence from the point of view of dramatic *dispositio* – we should remember that she opens the play. And from the beginning Videna remains an uncanny fragment in the unitary logic of the play, but a fragment that intensifies its own signifying possibilities, both within and beyond *Gorboduc*. Her speech creates a new time, the historical time of inescapable sorrow that entraps the rest of the play and situates it in the origins of later plays that name themselves "lamentable histories". We could take, for instance, the feminine lamentations in Shakespeare's history plays to realize Gorboduc's allegorical legacy. Plays like *Richard III* (1593) or *Richard II* (1595) are full of rhetorical fashionings of this time of sorrow. As a very brief instance, let us consider the Duchess of Gloucester's reaction at her brother in law John of Gaunt's refusal to avenge her husband's death in the first act of *Richard II*. A thorough debate on the pros and cons of revenge, in the best tradition of deliberative rhetoric, is concluded in lamentation: "Farewell, old Gaunt. Thy sometimes brother's wife, / With her companion, Grief, must end her life ... / Yet one word more. Grief boundeth where it falls, / Not with the empty hollowness, but weight. / I take my leave before I have begun, For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done" (1.2.58–61). The extent to which these words convey a verisimilar image of a woman's frustration at a man's inaction is to be doubted. But the images of Grief, first as a companion to Death, and second, as a paradoxically heavy and light ball sever the Duchess of Gloucester from her role in the previous debate. The words are a powerful allegory of the narrative endlessness of sorrow. As such, the Duchess becomes the spokesperson of the play's narrative engagement with ensuing catastrophes. Gaunt's inaction is also Richard's. The Duchess's sorrow will be Richard's, and finally Bolingbroke's, the first and last mourner in this play. As intensified fragments of speech, as repositories of powerful *visibilia*, these words, and many others throughout *Richard II*, become the emblematic container of the play's historical perspective.

IV

Benjamin's idea of historicity as a subjective and structural premise rather than as bare historical fact should also serve to expand the aesthetic scope of early modern *Trauerspiel* beyond the chronicle play. In this sense, the Jacobean move toward private issues in revenge and domestic tragedies should be taken as proof of the plays' involvement in the kind of historical life described above. The contemporary Venice and Cyprus of *Othello* (1604), or even the more remote Rhodes of *The Maid's Tragedy* (1611), should be viewed as settings in which the connections between aesthetic lament and historical catastrophe are reinforced. We could even argue that, in spite of not being properly historical, *Othello* or *The Maid's Tragedy* share a sense of history which is at a further remove from myth than *Gorboduc*, *Richard III*, or *Richard II*. My analysis of

female lamentation in these two plays means to make a claim for the relevance of the aesthetics and ideology of Benjaminian *Trauerspiel* in late Renaissance tragedy.

The questions raised by Desdemona's willow-song scene in *Othello* can be used as a starting point. Is this scene just a pathetic reinforcement of Desdemona's undeserved suffering? Why a song and why one that the singer cannot recall properly? Is it just a way of signalling Desdemona's faltering state of mind? What is the relation between the willow-song and Desdemona's concerns with chastity, fidelity, or her attitudes to men and marriage? Let us reconstruct the context for the scene. Othello has summoned Desdemona to bed and asked her to await his arrival. His murderous intentions have been announced after Iago's suggestion that he "do it not with poison" but "strangle her in bed, even the bed she hath contaminated" (4.1.195–96). So Desdemona's arrangement of the whole scene as a monument of Grief should be understood in terms of her foreboding some ill in Othello's intentions:

DESDEMONA He says he will return incontinent;
He hath commanded me to go to bed
And bade me to dismiss you.
EMILIA Dismiss me?
DESDEMONA It was his bidding; therefore, good Emilia,
Give me my nightly wearing, and adieu.
We must not now displease him.
EMILIA I would you had never seen him.
DESDEMONA So would not I: my love doth so approve him
That even his stubbornness, his checks, his frowns –
Prithee, unpin me – have grace and favour in them.
EMILIA I have laid those sheets you bade me on the bed.
DESDEMONA All's one. Good faith, how foolish are our minds!
If I do die before thee, prithee shroud me
In one of those same sheets. (4.3.10–23)

The scene exploits well-known commonplaces of erotic and Christian iconography that range from the Ovidian cosmetic preliminaries of the closet to the discourse of feminine *ars moriendi.*[2] To this extent, Desdemona monumentalises herself as a faithful wife only insofar as she aspires to become a mute, still, idealised corpse. Walter Benjamin has explained the allegorical function of the dramatic corpse in the following terms:

> ... the allegorization of the physis can only be carried through in all its vigour in respect of the corpse. And the characters of the *Trauerspiel* die, because it is only thus, as corpses, that they can enter the homeland of allegory. It is not for the sake of immortality that thy meet their end, but for the sake of the corpse ... (Benjamin 1977, 217–18)

As a matter of fact, only Desdemona's corpse can incarnate an allegory of chastity which otherwise is denied to her living body. The remarkable nature of this scene lies not so much in the dialectics between the unchaste and chaste natures of her character, but in embracing a mode of expression that confines Desdemona into the realm of allegorical meaning. Desdemona's chastity is less a proof of innocent nature than a reason for her own monumental sorrow. This Shakespeare achieves by means of a dense dramatic structure that integrates narrative, lyric, music, and emblem. I would venture to say that Desdemona's "willow-song" becomes meaning-

[2] See in this respect Catherine Belsey's analysis of figures of dead wives in Puritan family portraiture (Belsey 1985, 149–153). Michael Neill also gives evidence of "the fashion, increasingly popular amongst aristocratic women in the early seventeenth century, for having one's corpse wound in the sheets from the marriage night" (Neill 1997, 165).

ful only in terms of its complex allegorical texture, of which its narrative frame is the first we perceive. Because Desdemona's is a story of layers:

> My mother had a maid called Barbary:
> She was in love, and he she loved proved mad
> And did forsake her. She had a song of willow;
> An old thing 'twas but it expressed her fortune,
> And she died singing it. That song tonight
> Will not go from my mind. I have much to do
> But to go hang my head all at one side
> And sing it like poor Barbary – prithee dispatch.
> (4.3.25–32)

Desdemona tells the story of a woman who was forsaken by a mad lover, and who died singing "a song of willow" that was an "old thing" though "it expressed her fortune". The relationship between the sorrowful woman of the willow song and Barbary's story is one of similar fortunes. We must of course accept the existence in the realm of fiction of an original willow-song which Desdemona fails to reproduce and which casts a forsaken lover of the Barbary kind (there are other "old things" where the forsaken lover is as a matter of fact a "he" rather than a "she"). We even get, though indirectly, information concerning Barbary's attitude as she sang the song – conveyed by physical posture. This is possibly the most difficult and I would say crucial sentence in this speech: "I have much to do / But to go hang my head all at one side / And sing it like poor Barbary". Let us first focus on "go hang my head all at one side / And sing it like poor Barbary". So that is how Barbary sang the song, hanging her head all at one side, possibly "her head on her knee", as Desdemona will sing later (4.3.40). Barbary and the willow-lady are thus made emblematic renderings of Love's Sorrow. The point here is the extent to which the willow-lady can be to Desdemona what she was to Barbary, and therefore, the reasons why Desdemona has decided to allegorise her experience through the willow-lady's song as sung by her mother's maid. Does the song express Desdemona's fortunes in the same way as it expressed Barbary's? How similar to Barbary's story is Desdemona's story? What matters here, the male lover's madness (and therefore Othello's)? Or is it death that matters here (the fact that "she died singing it")? Is that the reason why she will remember, why the song will not go out of her mind? We should bear in mind that later it actually goes out of her mind, as she forgets the right words in the act of singing. Finally we have her attitude: "I have much to do / But to go ... / And sing it like poor Barbary". This sentence is ambiguous if not obscure. Is Shakespeare distancing Desdemona from Barbary through a negative "but", thus suggesting that Desdemona's remembrance of the song is all she can do not to fall in a melancholy state (she will try to avoid hanging her head all at one side), so she will not sing the song like poor Barbary? Is "but" simply restrictive, meaning "just" or "only", therefore suggesting Desdemona's identification with Barbary's attitude? Certainly, there is much in the text that suggests Desdemona's detachment from the female figures that she uses as analogies. First, her inability to remember the lyrics of the song, in spite of what she herself declares ("that song will not go from my mind"). Second, the nature of that forgetfulness: we can see that Desdemona's own version of the song stresses Othello's scorn and jealousy rather than the lover's suffering. Third, her resistance to accept Othello's beliefs about her, and in a more general way, men's opinions of women in the ensuing conversation with Emilia. And fourth, and most important of all, her resistance to die later in the murder scene. The above quoted Benjaminian tag that characters in *Trauerspiel* need to die in order to achieve allegorical significance would certainly fit a different ending, namely, Othello's murder as the spectacle of a peaceful metamorphosis of a sleeping Desdemona covered by the marriage sheets into a shrouded corpse. What we find instead is an

ironically Sleeping Beauty-like Desdemona that wakes up after Othello's kiss and tries to dissuade him from killing her, thus subverting the *ars moriendi* iconography of this and the previous scene: her argumentative "That death's unnatural that kills for loving" (5.2.49) gives way to the more desperate and almost farcical "Kill me tomorrow; let me live tonight!", "But half an hour!", "But while I say one prayer" (5.2.81, 83, 84). All for nothing, since Othello smothers her with her pillow, sending her to that realm of allegorical Grief and Chastity which she first creates and then fruitlessly tries to resist.

In spite of this resistance, it is the aesthetic of *Trauerspiel* that determines the style and the ideology of *Othello*. Its conclusion is no other than Desdemona's accession to the realm of allegory through her condition as love's martyr. And it is Othello himself that in his passion foretells his wife's status as aesthetic ruin. "Yet I'll not shed her blood, / Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow / And smooth as monumental alabaster" (5.2.3–5), is Othello's announcement, whose "most preposterous conclusions" – and I cue on Iago's words in the beginning of the play (1.3.321) – become fully intelligible from a Benjaminian perspective: "Be thus when thou art dead, and I will kill thee / and love thee after" (5.2.18–20). Only as corpse does Desdemona achieve the frozen, heavenly whiteness of her otherwise impossible allegorical plenitude: "Now, how dost thou look now? O ill-stared wench! / Pale as thy smock! When we shall meet at compt / This look of thine will hurl my soul from heaven / And fiends will snatch at it" (5.2.270–73). And while she is not yet a corpse, her role is to *become* one – both in the senses of propriety and process. Desdemona's grief and death longings meet Othello's madness and jealousy at the end of the play, as they grant Desdemona's entrance into a state of creaturely consciousness, her voyage into the condition of martyr, and the final realisation that only in the fulfilment of her allegorised death can she become an intelligible part of Othello's own *history*.

V

The plot of *The Maid's Tragedy* serves as commentary to the woman's part in *Othello*. The King forces Amintor to leave Aspatia and marry Evadne, so that the latter can continue her illicit and secret liaison with him. After the wedding night, Evadne will privilege her desire for the King over her obligations as a bride. As she is forced into repentance by her brother, she murders the King in his bed. In spite of so many contradictions, we see Evadne defend her sexuality first, and kill her oppressor later. In Evadne we may see an extreme version of Desdemona's reluctance to comply with Othello's image of her. On the other side we have Aspatia. The King's decision forces Amintor's own, and she becomes the victim of both the monarch's tyrannical act and her lover's fickleness and cowardice. Her response is mourning and longing for death, a part for which Beaumont and Fletcher must have surely kept an eye on Desdemona. Aspatia's is a meagre part from a dramatic point of view: she just appears lamenting in two scenes early in the play, and at the end when she meets her death in man's disguise at Amintor's own hands, a motif for which can be seen in the illustration of the title page of the First Quarto of 1619. But these scenes are primarily remarkable from a rhetorical and visual point of view, and even if this aspect has attracted critical attention (Huebert 1977, 609), the tendency is always to stress Aspatia's marginality. William Shullenberger has written that "whereas Aspatia's story attempts to write itself as moral icon, a fable of fixed grief beyond time, Evadne's story is amrked by tragic action and tragic change" (Shullenberger 1982, 154–155). It may be right, but it is ultimately the allegorical icon of Grief and Death that anchors the destiny of both women. Aspatia embodies an aesthetic project which only to a certain extent needs to be understood in isolation from the rest of the play. We learn of Aspatia's state of mind in the very first scene, even before we see her

on stage. The courter Lyssipus provides a first portrait of her in a virtuoso exercise of rhetorical *pathopoeia:*

> The unfrequented woods
> Are her delight, and when she sees a bank
> Stuck full of flowers she with a sigh will tell
> Her servants what a pretty place it were
> To bury lovers in, and make her maids
> Pluck 'em and strow her over like a corse.
> She carries with her an infectious grief
> That strikes all her beholders; she will sing
> The mournfull'st things that ever ear hath heard,
> And sigh, and sing again; and when the rest
> Of our young ladies in their wanton blood
> Tell mirthful tales in course that fill the room
> With laughter, she will with so sad a look
> Bring forth a story of the silent death
> Of some forsaken virgin, which her grief
> Will put in such a phrase that ere she end
> She'll send them weeping one by one away. (1.1.91–107)

This is still the first scene of the play. Amintor has just left Aspatia, and yet we sense that she has been mourning forever. Her grief is presented as repetition of action, of mournful singing and story-telling. In this sense, Aspatia's grief is certainly of the same kind as Barbary's. But Lyssipus's full portrait amplifies Desdemona's brief sketch of the mourning maid by means of rhetorical *enargeia,* that is, the verbal reconstruction of those visibilia that are still denied to the spectator's eye. Before we see her on stage she is already a walking emblem: her grief is "infectious" to the eye, the ear, and the mind. The performative nature of this emblem is fulfilled later as we watch Aspatia sing her own willow-song and tell mournful stories. At a conceptual level, Lyssipus locates Aspatia's aspirations in a universe which is Desdemona's, even Ophelia's: the aesthetic, monumental corpse strewn with flowers whose fulfilment in the realm of allegorical meaning must be also achieved in death, a death that entraps the character even before her active role starts in the play. *The Maid's Tragedy* designs for Aspatia a metapoetic project whereby she renders herself as the culmination of the play's allegorical strain. Like in *Othello,* this is also a project of *becoming,* that is, of decorous adjustment to a frozen signified, and of completion of that project through tragic death.

Thus Act 2 Scene 1 casts jilted Aspatia as a would-be maid of honour to her rival in Amintor's love, Evadne. She enters on stage with a willow garland which, unlike in Desdemona's case, is visible to the audience. Also unlike in Desdemona's singing, there is no deviation from the script in Aspatia's lyrics:

> *Lay a garland on my hearse*
> *Of the dismal yew;*
> *Maidens, willow branches bear;*
> *Say I diëd true.*
> *My love was false, but I was firm*
> *From my hour of birth;*
> *Upon my buried body lay*
> *Lightly, gentle earth!* (2.1.72–79)

The complex mediation process in Desdemona's song (from her story to Barbary's, from Barbary's to the lady in the song's lyrics narrated in the third person) disappears here.[3] The identification of Aspatia with the lyrical persona is complete, especially as we see her replicate all the motives in the song in her own speech:

> Ladies, farewell. As soon as I am dead,
> Come all and watch one night about my hearse;
> Bring each a mournful story and a tear
> To offer at it when I go to earth;
> With flattering ivy clasp my coffin round;
> Write on my brow my fortune; let my bier
> Be borne by virgins that shall sing by course
> The truths of maids and perjuries of men. (2.1.100–107)

The motifs are already well-known: the mournful stories of the accompanying ladies as epigrams to the emblematic *visibilia*, willow and ivy garlands as emblems of Grief and True Love, and the corpse monumentalised in the bier borne by the true virgins. This new exercise of *enargeia* comprises Aspatia's aspiration to truth ("the truths of maids"), not just in the sense of honesty, but also in the sense of authoritative knowledge. Grief is for Aspatia a pedagogical prerogative. Thus as she desires happiness to Evadne, she reminds her rival of her own role as ultimate source of all discourses of mourning:

> May no discontent
> Grow 'twixt your love and you! But if there do,
> Inquire of me and I will guide your moan,
> And teach you *an artificial way to grieve,*
> To keep your sorrow waking. (2.1.92–96, my emphasis)

Aspatia's *artifice* summarises the play's aspiration to join an ethics to an aesthetics of mourning. The play's aesthetic project involves artistic experiment. Wound in her willow garland, Aspatia imposes herself the task of improving, perfecting I would say, the allegorical discourse of mourning: "So with my prayers I leave you, and must try / Some yet unpractised way to grieve and die" (2.1.119–23).

A way to grieve and *a way to die* are the two tasks left for Aspatia to fulfil respectively in the two scenes of the play where we find her. The extent to which these are "yet unpractised" ways is what needs to be tested, although here I will focus only on Aspatia's "way to grieve". In Act 2 Scene 2 Aspatia is found with her maidservants Antiphila and Olympias. Aspatia's pedagogical strain is made clear as she induces her maids to learn to love before they learn to grieve, a knowledge which should be acquired, and I quote, "out of the miracles of ancient lovers" (2.2.8). Aspatia culls old stories: accumulation is at the service of rhetorical amplification here. Cleopatra's "dead-cold aspics", Oneone's sorrow at Paris's infidelity, and Dido's despair are called to the audience's memory as anticipations of the climactic emblem of Sorrow. Antiphila displays

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[3] Rochelle Smith has argued, much in the same line as I suggested above, that Aspatia and Evadne are given one side each of Desdemona's sexual ambiguity: "Beaumont and Fletcher have written for Aspatia the kind of willow song Desdemona intended when she chose to express her mood with a love complaint. What is most remarkable abour their revision of Shakespeare is that although they give Desdemona's willow song to Aspatia, they place Evadne in Desdemona's central position in the very similar stage tableau both scenes create. Act II, scene i of *The Maid's Tragedy* reflects Beaumont and Fletcher's uneasy response to Sakespeare's presentation of Desdemona" (Smith 1994, 320).

on stage a piece of unfinished needlework that represents the story of Ariadne and Theseus to her lady's discontent both with the story and the picture:

ASPATIA ... Does not the story say his keel was split,
Or his masts spent, or some kind rock or other
Met with his vessel?
ANTIPHILA Not as I remember.
ASPATIA It should ha' been so. Could the gods know this,
And not, of all their number, raise a storm?
But they are all as ill. This false smile
Was well expressed; just such another caught me. –
You shall not go so. –
Antiphila, in this place work a quicksand,
And over it a shallow smiling water
And his ship ploughing it, and then a Fear:
Do the Fear to the life, wench.
ANTIPHILA 'Twill wrong the story.
ASPATIA 'Twill make the story, wronged by wanton poets,
Live long and be believed. But where's the lady?
ANTIPHILA There, madam.
ASPATIA Fie, you have missed it here, Antiphila
You are much mistaken, wench.
These colours are not dull and pale enough
To show a soul so full of misery
As this sad lady's was. Do it by me;
Do it again by me, the lost Aspatia,
And you shall find all true but the wild island.
And think I stand upon the sea-beach now,
Mine arms thus, and mine hair blown with the wind,
Tell that I am forsaken. Do my face
(If thou hast ever feeling of my sorrow)
Thus, thus, Antiphila: strive to make me look
Like sorrow's monument, and the trees about me,
Let them be dry and leafless; let the rocks
Groan with continual surges; and behind me
Make all a desolation. Look, look, wenches
A miserable life of this poor picture! (2.2.46–78)

Where we should expect a conventional exercise of *ecphrasis* (a description of a work of art displayed before the spectator's eye) we find a complete verbal refashioning of the art work that affects the story, its conclusion and morals, as well as its visual components. What is lacking is Antiphila's picture is Aspatia: her desire that the story, the passion, and the images in it be her own. And it is the presence of her entire self that will amend both the poetic inadequacy of the myth, its faulty iconography, and of course, its imperfect status as allegory. Aspatia's inclusion in the picture as Ariadne is revealing, since Ariadne becomes mourning only insofar as her picture is *done by* Aspatia. Ariadne is not a model for women's sorrow unless Aspatia becomes first a model for Ariadne. As the perfect replica of "sorrow's monument", Aspatia's lament is a fantasy of allegorical completion and perfection, where past fictions are only rendered meaningful if there are made to her image and likeness.

VI

Death as ending certainly links Desdemona and Aspatia to the Queens and Duchesses of former mourning-plays, since, and making the words in *Richard* II mine, *with their companion, Grief, must end their lives.*[4] There is, however, a difference between the female mourners in *Gorboduc* and *Richard II* and those in *Othello* and *The Maid's Tragedy.* The former are sorrowful emblems of History, fragmentary presences whose rhetorical energy is put at the service of a state of consciousness that transcends them as characters. Their personal grief is the allegorical support of a philosophy of history that their plays embrace. But Desdemona and Aspatia allegorise their own histories, even if these histories are less their own property than they are their male and female counterparts' in their respective plays. Their consciousness as historical subjects within a particular course of events is certainly theirs. This consists in their awareness of their roles as martyrs, and their acceptance of death as ethic solution and allegory as its aesthetic counterpart. Certainly pre-Shakespearean and post-Shakespearean drama must be conceived as different stages in the history of the English mourning-play, but in both stages part of its aesthetic stance relies on the construction of women as allegorical sublimations, as sorrow's monuments.

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[4] The Duchess of Gloucester's words are literally these: "Farewell, old Gaunt. Thy sometimes brother's wife, / With her companion, Grief, must end her life" (1.2.54–55)

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Matuska Ágnes

IMPROVISING FEMININITY

"All things fit not only with their places, but also with their times"
Augustinus, *Confessions,* VII 15

INTRODUCTION

In my understanding of the play *Othello* it is essential that this play, together with other dramas of the period, was written at a point where theatrical traditions merge, allowing interpretations that point in two ways. On the one hand "backwards", emphasising the residual elements of an earlier theatrical tradition, which may be termed "morality mode". This allows us to understand some characters of the drama, first of all Iago and Desdemona, not as flesh-and-blood, phsychologically complex characters, but rather allegories. The other tradition, the emerging psychological drama as another context of the play gives us the opportunity to regard the characters, including Desdemona, as psychologically motivated, complex characters[1]. Therefore, potentially it would have not been far from my approach to accept her being an allegory. Still, as it will turn out from my paper, my vision of her is – as the famous *Monty Python* line goes – "something completely different".

In this paper I would like to create a perspective which I imagine to be Desdemona's, in which she resists being appropriated by other points of view – first of all that of Iago who, according to Greenblatt appropriates the other characters into his narrative control, and potentially the one that wants to make her into an allegory. I would like to argue that Iago is not necessarily and completely successful in his appropriation. I see a potential in Desdemona with which she may resist or at least problematize some narratives about her appropriation, such as her being lamentable, or dangerous to Othello's identity, or completely dependent on Iago's machinations. To unlock this potential in her is the aim of my paper. I do not claim that thus I will finally deliver her "true story" – after all the betrayals of her by the other characters of the drama as well as "her rejection and marginalization by male critics of Shakespeare" (French on Ophelia, 1992, 281). But I do claim that we have to maintain our responsibility in the ways we deal with her and the implications and consequences that follow from such practices.

IS IT THE REAL DESDEMONA WE ARE TALKING ABOUT?

In his introduction to the new Arden Shakespeare, E.A.J. Honigmann questions some interpretations of Desdemona he finds inappropriate and points out: "Such misjudgements tell us more about the speakers than about Desdemona" (Honigmann 2003, 4). Which Desdemona? Is it Shakespeare's? Or Desdemona's own self? Or perhaps the one of the New Arden Shakespeare edition? When talking about Desdemona at the Iconography and Gender conference I found it essential not only to talk about how a woman character was represented in a particular drama in early modern England, but at least as importantly to point out some issues that betray

[1] For the discussions of this double nature of Elizabethan drama, the interplay of two different theatrical traditions see e.g. Felperin, who claims that in a given Shakespearean play there is an archaic or received sign-system (of a miracle play, revenge play, historical morality), but that same play insists on its own difference from that older sign-system and its departure from prior art in the direction of present life (1977, 8).

us, critics, when we discuss the ways female characters were represented. When we are addressing our images of Shakespeare's drama, and the ways we see the contemporary society depicted at work, we are positioning ourselves not only in the discourse that we may call "the Shakespeare Universe", but we are also redefining ourselves in our own society, in our own universe, within which for some of us the former is appealingly offering itself, as an ever changing riddle, for happy explorations.

I will explore Desdemona's attitude towards her life, and based on the examination of her acts and her speeches I will try to detect something that we may call a pattern of behaviour that defines her, and defines the ways she participates in the events of the drama. I will call this pattern by the term improvisation, and I will contrast it with the definition of improvisation Greenblatt gives in his chapter on *Othello* entitled "The improvisation of power" (Greenblatt 1980). According to Greenblatt (the main issues of his argument will be outlined later on in the paper) this improvisation is characteristic of Iago and his intrigues. Although my understanding of the term "improvisation" is not the same as Greenblatt's, I will use the same term in order to characterise Desdemona because it will allow me to contrast her improvisation with the one of Iago or rather, my understanding of the term with Greenblatt's, and arrive at a new definition of the term. I feel that this comparison is the more interesting because although Iago and Desdemona are embodying opposing principles from several points of view, the most obvious ones being Iago's devilish and Desdemona's angelic epithets in the text, there are actually some surprising similarities between the way these two characters act, the way they experience the events and the play, and it is because some sense of improvisation does apply to both.

In scholarly literature we can find a wide spectrum of examples of Desdemona's characterisation ranging from those who consider her to be a morally impeccable, saintly creature to those who question her moral purity or even her being a convincing character at all. Although it is not my aim here to question the validity of any of these arguments, I find it important to point out that I agree with scholars who see her as a complex character, someone who has a special aura in the world of treason and private horror, someone whose state can be characterised by the term "grace" (Adamson's notion quoted by Grennan 1987, 286). I think that it is solely on us, readers and audiences, to decide what are the reader/ audience roles we are ready to take on when we approach the play. It is left up to us to decide whether we are willing to assume a continuity and a character behind the prefix Des, or a series of speeches in a dramatic fiction that may or may not lend themselves to a homogenious character.

DESDEMONA'S IMPROVISATION

The title of my paper, improvising femininity draws on Greenblatt's title "The improvisation of power", but not because I would like to argue that his interpretation of Iago features a rather male improvisation as opposed to my understanding of Desdemona, which would stand for the female type of it. I rather try to show that there is an alternative viewpoint for approaching the idea of improvisation, and it is exactly in the female characters, and first of all Desdemona, in whom I see this possible alternative embodied. This may be an alternative to the improvising power of Iago, which undoubtedly rules the play, but even more an alternative to a more general ruling force of power.

I do see an energy in Desdemona which is an equally sound method in the interaction with events, and a tool for improvisation, as the spectacular method of Iago. Thus, I would take issue with those who find Desdemona in the end "reinserted securely within masculine control" (Traub 1995, 127). The way I see Desdemona is that she presents a force in the drama that is not subdued by her death in the end. And this is her way of improvisation, an improvisation that is outside power.

Greenblatt's article is introduced with a story recounted in 1525 by Peter Martyr about the Spanish in Hispaniola who, facing serious labour shortage in gold mines, lured the whole population of an island (now the Bahamas) into a trap and shipped them to the unpopulated area. Their method included promising the natives that they would be transferred to the paradisal island of their mythology, where they expected to enjoy eternal delights. Greenblatt sees in this a characteristic Renaissance behaviour, linking the Spanish of the story with Iago, and this is what he calls improvisation meaning "the ability to both capitalize on the unforseen and to transform *given materials* into one's own scenario" (227, my italics). What makes improvisation possible, he says, is "the ability and willingness to transform oneself, if only for a brief period and with mental reservations, into another.(...) Such role-playing in turn depends upon the transformation of another's reality into a manipulable fiction" (228). According to Greenblatt it is essential for an improvisor to be empathic and to have the ability of self-cancellation (235), both of these being necessary for a successful creation of a narrative into which the other is subdued. Greenblatt is, thus, talking about imposing a fiction upon the other which will be taken as reality by the other, and thus the one who governs the victim's conception is able to govern the other so, that it fulfils his own interest.

I agree that this is precisely what Iago is doing. He has a narrative control over his victims: their views will depend on his narrations. My problem with Greenblatt's definition is that he considers the interaction of the agent and the given material such that the former incorporates the latter into his "scenario". I agree that flexibility and the ability of self-cancellation are essential for improvisation, but it should also apply to the original scenario of the agent. Namely, in my definition it is not real improvisation if one is not open enough and willing to change his scenario, if the self-cancellation is only temporary, and it lasts only as long as it is necessary for the role-playing which is the prerequisite of subduing the other into one's own narrative control. This I would rather call a control of the events than improvisation, which requires interplay.

No doubt, much of the play *Othello* is about control. And it is not only Iago's. We not only see how the ways imposing control on one another function among characters, but we also see that control is one of the chief values respected in the Venetian culture. "The values most important in this play are power (...), control (...) and possession" (French 1992, 232). When I stated above that in my view Desdemona is not securely reinstated within masculine control in the end of the play, I was suggesting that her aggressive death does not annihilate the behaviour she embodied: a behaviour that does not give control a playground. Desdemona's "betrayal" of Brabantio shows that she is not possessed by her father the way he wished to believe. Othello's fear that Desdemona was unfaithful leads to his loss of identity. Ironically, it seems that Desdemona is an immense potential of threat to the others. But once we identify, with Marilyn French (as she thinks, Shakespeare was likely to suggest) that "the values that motivate and characterise an Iago are accepted and respected values in the Western world" (239), and we keep in mind that Iago can bee understood as the voice of the common sense, the always already given, we see that the source of threat is inherent in the nature of these values, namely power, control and possession, that appropriated by the male characters.

French is radical about male legitimacy in the play when she states that it is "based on pretence and thus it is always shaky. Like Brabantio and others of his culture, Othello believes in his possession and right to command his wife: inconstancy would be a 'revolt'. But beneath this belief always lurks the suspicion that one person cannot really own another" (237). Perhaps Iago's presenting himself as "honest Iago" is much more successful and powerful than, for example, Brabantio's being a powerful father or Othello's as a self-controlled husband. Still, when viewed from Desdemona's perspective, there is not much difference in them until trying to control one another remains the key issue. What French calls pretence is, in my view a parallel to what Greenblatt calls by "role playing", an element of improvisation that he sees victorious and typical in the Renaissance. Let me summarise again the main elements of Greenblatt's con-

cept of improvisation. There are three major elements in it: capitalizing on the unforeseen, transforming given materials and transforming oneself temporarily – the latter two being the tools for the first. Iago's advice to Roderigo in act 2 scene 3 epitomises this approach, except from the temporary nature of one's transformation: "I could heartily wish this had not/ befallen; but, since it is as it is, mend it for your own good" (2.3.303). It is obvious that this skill requires, on the part of the agent, an acceptance of elements over which he has no control and a certain flexibility, openness to change if the circumstances require. In my understanding Desdemona's actions in the play do not only include all the main elements necessary for improvisation, but through them she carries out an improvisation which cannot be controlled by the narrative of Iago, exactly because her acts lack the element of control.

In Desdemona's marital choice I see one of the main indicators of her improvisational attitude. Although Othello established himself as a noble warrior, an excellent soldier and supporter of the Venetian order, his being foreign and a moor, as well as the exotic tales he told about his past acted a main role in Desdemona's choice of the "extravagant and wheeling stranger" (1.1.137) against her father's option, whom Brabantio describes – and perhaps advertises – as the "curled darlings" (1.2.63) of the nation. Marrying the moor in the Venetian society is embracing the unpredictable and in Desdemona's case it is clearly not with the wish to assimilate and control it. The contrast between father's and daughter's attitude towards the moor may be equated with the residual and emergent early 17th century opinions. According to Karen Newman (Newman 1991,80) nationalism and the fear of the black's difference were characteristic of the late 16th century, still there was an exotic or mythic dimension that characterised the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century discourse (90). Newman points out that from the contemporary concepts of blackness it is the heroic rather than the demonic that Desdemona, and thus Shakespeare's representation of her "dislocates the conventional ideology of gender the play also enacts" (93). From this perspective Brabantio's fury at her choice is not so much directed towards the fact that his daughter has chosen someone whose barbarous baseness is inadequate to the girl's perfection, but rather towards the threat this choice poses on the stability of his system: the senator has no wish to show even a modest flexibility; he would clearly make a very bad improvisor. There are several occasions in the play where Desdemona demonstrates her bravery to face the unknown. She seems to have been aware of the dangers that were inherent in her choice. When it is considered whether she should go to Cyprus with her husband she argues in the senate "if I be left behind/ A moth of peace, and he go to the war, the rites for which I love him are bereft me" (1.3.256–8). She seems to have faith in coming to terms with whatever will happen to her, in other words, she believes in her improvisational power. When Othello finally arrives to Cyprus, he demonstrates that his attitude towards the unknown future is quite the opposite: "...I fear/ My soul hath her content so absolute/ that not another comfort like to this/ Succeeds in unknown fate" (2.1.192–5). Eamon Grennan in his article about female voices in Othello finds about the performance of Othello and Iago that they always have a rhetorical end, a persuasion in view (Grennan 1987, 284). He says that Emilia is performing too, but she performs herself. This performing herself" is a major characteristic of Desdemona, and I find it much closer to improvisation than the one that necessarily requires narrative control. In Act 4 scene 3 Emilia helps Desdemona prepare for bed, and this is when Desdemona mentions her mother's maid, Barbary, and by singing Barbary's song, she places herself in the sequence of abandoned women. Although she is consciously not aware of the actuality of her identification with the made, in her song I find a beautiful instance of improvisation, a spontaneous expression of herself through the interplay with the element that is given, her fate. Her song clearly foreshadows the events that are to happen. We may wonder why she is not wise enough to escape, but it seems that she will continue the way she started loving Othello – together with the unpredictable element in him, and she is paradoxically willing to accept whatever comes with it. I find remarkable the contrast with which man and wife relate to the possibility

of their betrayal by the other: Othello's suspicion is unfounded in reality, while Desdemona literally has to face her husband strangle her. Still, it is Othello, who wants to "tear her all to pieces" (3.3.432) and "chop her into messes" (4.1.209), while Desdemona's final reaction to her ultimate betrayal are the puzzling lines where she takes the blame off her murderer and announces that she was the one to kill herself. The paradox of these lines lies in the fact that although we do not find it likely that Desdemona in lying, it is difficult to find an acceptable meaning to her illogical words. Eamon Grennan, focusing on the moral issue involved in the scene suggests that Desdemona's "I myself" is perhaps her way of saying "my husband", because she feels absolute union in marriage, and by uttering the (literal) lie, she is "acknowledging in action that speech can only reach so far as truth, and that untruth can be a speech embodying the higher morality of love"(290). I agree with Grennan that Desdemona feels "absolute commitment" to the "sacramental union of marriage". Still, I do not find it necessary to interpret her words on a moral plane. I see it rather as her identification with the above described idea of improvisation: she has to deal with the given while she continues to perform herself. In her last lines I see her ultimate acquiescence to the events, where in her answer she embraces her life and death as they are, and regrets none of her choices. The source of her calm at this point I find in her certainty that it was always herself that she acted out, and she had the necessary openness towards the unknown, which she does not lose at the threshold of her death either.

The last lines of Desdemona make French suggest that with them she is placing the blame on herself, and that they are the words of a martyr" (240). We may agree with French that "Desdemona must stand as a symbol of what men destroy" (243). But even if she is indeed a martyr, I do not see that *she* wants to identify with the lamentable. The way I imagine martyrs is that it is not they, but rather the audience that feels sorry for them.

WHO'S AFRAID OF DESDEMONA?

Desdemona's overconfidence in the first half of the play may indeed be reflecting some essential innocence, which remains with her to the end – as Honigmann suggests (Honigmann 2003, 43). It is exactly this innocence that allows her to perform herself, that pushes her towards becoming a martyr, but also as a consequence, makes it impossible to the others to control her. I agree with Honigmann when he says that her strength depends partly on Othello's love: "only when he rejects her handkerchief is her self-confidence checked". But, as Honigmann continues: "Thereafter she may seem passive; it would be kinder to describe her as bewildered, out of her depth, not as defeated. True, she bows to Othello's anger (...); it is possible though, to see Desdemona as *the strongest, the most heroic person in the play*" (ibid. my italics).

"The robbed that smiles steals something from the thief", is the Duke's advice to Brabantio (1.3.208–9). Such a smile means that the robbed had the necessary flexibility to restructure the world so that what is stolen is not missing. Brabantio is unable to restructure or reinvent his situation. This is the flexibility that is characteristic of the improvisors: Iago and Desdemona. In act 2 scene 3 Iago plans to capitalize on Desdemona's virtue: "So will I turn her virtue into pitch,/ And out of her own goodness make the net/ That shall enmesh them all." Although not competing with the other improvisor, with her last sentence Desdemona on her deathbed definitely steals something from Iago's victory. Still, the improvisational powers of both are admirable. In the case of Desdemona's speaking in front of the senate or of Iago's comment on Cassio's sudden withdrawal in act 3 scene 3 in a way to feed the jealousy of Othello – neither Iago, nor Desdemona had originally an influence on the event, but they can make use of what is given. The "given" element in the scene may be anything, the improvisor's role is to make the best out of it. Desdemona's method is acting out herself, while Iago's, following Greenblatt, is to impose his own vision on the others through narrative control. This is what Grennan phrased

by Othello's and Iago's always having a rhetorical end or persuasion in view (Grennan 1987, 284). Imposing power, since it weakens the necessary flexibility, does not fit into my concept of improvisation.

I find it extremely interesting how Greenblatt sees the lack of this very element in Desdemona more unsettling than anything. He compares her to Emilia and Bianca and concludes that "Desdemona performs no such acts of defiance, but her erotic submission, conjoined with Iago's murderous cunning, far more effectively, if unintentionally, subverts her husband's carefully fashioned identity" (244). We should note the tension between what Grennan has claimed characteristic to the female characters, i.e. performing themselves, and the threat that the same poses according to Greenblatt, to the "carefully fashioned identity" of Othello. Indeed, the logic of power and narrative control is incapable of dealing with such a behaviour, and therefore feels threatened by it. Such a threat is real for anything that is "carefully fashioned", but lacks the necessary openness to acknowledge the "given material" and an eventual change of one's own scenario. And this is the point where I would like to suggest that power is not the main characteristic of Iago's improvisation either. He is transforming materials into his own scenario to a certain extent, but it is difficult to pinpoint a single and precise scenario into which he wishes to assimilate the acts of the others, apart from the fact that he enjoys manipulating them. The improvisational process depends on the concealment of its symbolic center, says Greenblatt (251). If there is a symbolic center for Iago, then it is his willingness to perform and his fascination by play, just the way it is proper for the descendant of the Vice, the master of ceremonies of the morality plays. I do not think that behind his machinations there is any similar aim to the Spanish colonizer's wish to turn the population of the island into free workforce. I consider him an improvisor exactly because power in his game is subordinated to the pleasure of the play, and he does not stick to the scheme into which he subdues the others longer than is needed for the show to go on. What Desdemona perhaps achieves with realising herself as her own symbolic center is that she escapes becoming an element in a fiction of somebody else. She has not fashioned herself through imposing control on others, and there is nothing in her that can be subverted. What she teaches us about improvisation is, that it is not about power, but rather (and let me quote Dobroljubov from Bakhtin at this point) "a firm belief in the need and possibility of a complete exit from the present order of this life". If anyone feels threatened by it, they should double-check their self-fashioning.

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Kiss Attila

THE SEMIOGRAPHY OF WOUNDS IN *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

Several writings in the poststructuralist study of the semiotics of culture have focused recently on the affinity that has emerged in the postmodern towards those aspects of early modern culture that were groundbreaking or subversive in their own time in mapping out and thematizing the technologies of identity and the interior spaces of the body. The fusion of cultural registers in consumerist culture makes this affinity particularly manifest. Renaissance texts that used to be canonized as high literature now show up among the commodities of popular culture, participating at the same time in that process of decanonization and recanonization which is questioning and revising the reading practices and standards of earlier canons.

By the 1990s, the human body has become a specifically favored theme in the considerably extensive literature on the "discovery" of early modern subjectivity and the social practices of self-fashioning. However, the scrutinizing and the iconographic representations of the body appear not only in scholarly literature but in the general postmodern cultural practices as well. The cultural imagery of malls, shopping centers, plazas, movie productions, exhibitions is loaded with representations that establish a parallel between early modern and postmodern representational traditions.[1]

When I first entered the building of the main library at the University of Oregon in Eugene fifteen years ago, I caught sight of a large poster advertising a performance of *Coriolanus* with the subtitle: "A natural born killer, too." The title of Oliver Stone's influential film was used as a marketing technique for a postmodern Shakespearean commodity. Five years later at the University of Hull I read articles about ambulance cars lining up in front of a London theater playing *Titus Andronicus*. A couple of years ago, after watching the exhibition of the theatrical anatomist Günter von Hagens in Vienna and reading his program for starting an anatomical theater in London, I saw posters in a cinema plaza with Hannibal the Cannibal staring at me from beneath a great big title saying TITUS. These are examples of the new affinity emerging in the postmodern towards cultural practices and texts of early modern culture that scrutinize and thematize the interiority of the human body through surgical or representational means of violence.[2]

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[1] The publications that I have mainly relied on in the present paper are the following: Francis Barker *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection* (London: Methuen, 1984), P.S. Spinrad *The Summons of Death on the Medieval and Renaissance English Stage* (Ohio State University Press, 1987), Valerie Wayne (ed.) *The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), Derek Cohen *Shakespeare's Culture of Violence* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), David Hillman & Carla Mazzio (eds.) *The Body in Parts. Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997, Michael C. Schoenfeldt *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England. Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert and Milton.* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), Jonathan Sawday *The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), Nigel Llewellyn *The Art of Death* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), Cynthia Marshall *The Shattering of the Self. Violence, Subjectivity, and Early Modern Texts* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

[2] "[...]it is an interesting sociological point that the Elizabethans had, like us, a penchant for gory entertainment." Marshall, ibid. 107."[...]early moderns, no less than postmoderns, were deeply interested in the corporeal 'topic'." David Hillman & Carla Mazzio, ibid. xii.

In the present paper I would like to dwell upon that much-debated Shakespearean piece which has become famous as one of the most excessive early modern representations of violence in relation to corporeality.

After several centuries of canonical resistance, critical puzzlement and straightforward rejection, since the 1970s we have witnessed a revival of interest in Shakespeare's earliest tragedy. The rehabilitation of *Titus Andronicus* and other tragedies of revenge and violence can be accounted for by several critical discourses that have been able to address issues which are thematized by English Renaissance drama, but remained unnoticed or deliberately ignored by earlier critical taste. Feminists and cultural historians, interpreters of rhetorical and iconographic traditions have mapped out various implications of the play, which has thus been transformed, through these close readings, from what T.S. Eliot considered as one of the stupidest and most uninspired plays ever written into a drama of extensive visual ingenuity. Michael Hattaway believes the play is "arguably the first 'Gothic' work in the language"[3], and, in an elaborate but very telling judgement, Alan Dessen contends that *Titus Andronicus* is "a pre-realistic, Ovidian-Spenserian, stageworthy revenge tragedy that, in a variety of ways, *resists* 'our' theatrical, critical, and editorial ways of thinking."[4]

As for these new critical discourses, I think this resistance within the drama has been best managed by those performance oriented semiotic approaches which restore the dramatic text to the *representational logic* of the stage that it was designed for.[5] The famous or infamous scenes of the play that may provoke rage, disgust or even laughter in the modern audience will establish a network of interrelated image clusters when they are interpreted according to the representational logic of the Renaissance *emblematic theater.* One of the major challanges directors had to face when staging *Titus Andronicus* was, of course, the representation of excessive violence. Stylization through symbols or the naturalism of buckets of fake blood equally appear to miss the nature of the drama. The codes of the realistic, photographic bourgeois theater, even if they are filtered through symbolism, do not provide the modern spectator with a clue to the understanding of scenes such as the discovery of the mutilated Lavinia.[6] In this dramaturgical turning point of *Titus Andronicus,* Marcus, before he would engage in real action, spends forty-seven lines describing the horrifying image of his niece who had been raped by Tamora's sons who had also chopped off her hands and cut out her tounge. The rhetorical exuberance appears totally unfitting for a situation when every nerve in your body is crying out "GET FIRST AID!", as actor Terry Kraft said, referring to what he had gone through during the rehearsals.[7] Our understanding of this stage representation will be different, however, if we interpret Lavinia's mutilated body as an extended emblem of woe, a *tableau miserabilis,* in the interrelated images of the emblematic stage of *Titus Andronicus.* This emblematic tableau is simultaneously created by the visual image and the rhetorical description on the "empty stage" of the English Renaissance theater,

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[3] Michael Hattaway *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London–Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 127.

[4] Alan C. Dessen *Titus Andronicus. Shakespeare in Performance* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1989), 4.

[5] The importance of the representational logic of the theater, which is graounded in the general smeiotic disposition of culture, has been emphasized by Alan C. Dessen in several writings. See Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995).

[6] This, of course, applies to English Renaissance drama in general, and, as Alan Dessen observes, to dramas of the 1580s and 1590s. "[...]the modern interpreter must confront a different *pre-realistic sense of style,* an alternative approach to dramatic speech or rhetoric (typical of early Shakespeare and the drama of the late 1580s and early 1590s, including *The Spanish Tragedy.*" Dessen 1989, 54. (emphasis mine)

[7] Dessen 1989, 54.

where the imagination of the audience was supposed to "piece out" the imperfections of the representation. This imaginative labor was assisted by the juxtaposition of emblematic image and rhetorical commentary, inviting the spectator to embark upon a semiotic effort which is also required by the contemplative understanding of the classical three-piece emblem, an understanding which then will not be hindered by questions such as how Lavinia could survive such an immense loss of blood, or why his uncle does not immediately administer first aid.

If we are equipped with an insight into the iconographic traditions that established a ground for this non-realistic stage logic of the emblematic theater, and if we combine this insight with an understanding of the general semiotic disposition of the social-historical context of this theater, we will be better able to interpret those representational techniques that have long bothered critics: violence, abjection, "unrealistic" stage action, et cetera.

The emblematic theater that activated the texts of English Renaissance drama did not aim at establishing a mimetic duplicate of the actual world. It rather involved the audience in a complex multilayered system of levels of meaning in which various iconographic and emblematic traditions were activated to achieve a total effect of meaning. The attempt to realize the totality of theatrical effect can be interpreted as an answer to *those epistemological uncertainties* of the period which resulted in a fundamentally *unstable semiotic disposition* of the culture. Amidst the speculations and philosophical questions concerning the order of the universe and the possibility of getting to know reality, the theater offers a site where the techniques of emblematic density and audience involvement provide the spectator with a promise of a more direct access to reality, an *immediacy of experience* which is otherwise impossible to obtain.

At the same time, the staging of violence and the violated body was also informed by a keen interest in the interiority, the corporeality of the human being as the site of the emergence of subjectivity, the new, early modern type of identity. As much recent criticism has argued, the idea of identity as something interior to the human being is a new phenomenon in early modern culture, signaling the advent of the subjectivity of the "cogito" that later emerges with rationalism and the Cartesian discourses. This *process of interiorization* is a challenge that many characters of English Renaissance drama fail to meet: they oscillate between two alternative types of subjectivity as in-between, abject subjects.[8]

Thus, the representation of violence and the promise of unquestionable meaning as answers to the epistemological uncertainty of the age are accompanied by a cultural urge to move beyond facades, to penetrate surfaces, to dig into wounds that until this point had been prohibited to test. Two popular institutions of early modern culture worked to satisfy this curiosity. Real wounds and surgical interventions revealed the secrets of the body for the general public in the anatomy theater, while emblematic wounds on metaphorical bodies thematized this cultural interest in the emblematic public theater. What the combination of semiotics and iconography enables us to discern is that in the trend of English Renaissance revenge tragedies we have a special union of the two practices. A very telling example of this early modern interest towards interiority as the locus of the secrets of identity is the way Sir Philip Sidney writes of comedy and tragedy in *The Defence of Poesy:*

"So that the right use of Comedy will, I think, by nobody be blamed, and much less of the high and excellent Tragedy, that *openth the greatest wounds,* and showeth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue..."[9]

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[8] Michael Neill calls this "the new discourse of interiority." See Michael Neill *Issues of Death. Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 159.

[9] Sir Philip Sidney *Selected Writings.* ed. Richard Dutton (Manchester – New York: Fyfield Books, 1987), 124. (italics mine)

Since linguistic reasoning is becoming the skin on the ego, the tissue that covers the ulcers in the subjectivity of the early modern subject and in the body of society is that of discursive self-fashioning, on the one hand, and that of civilized order on the other. This tissue of the symbolic separates us from the secrets of our maternal and libidinal corporeality, the simultaneously inviting and repulsive presymbolic memories of the womb as preserved in our own interiority. So, when early modern drama presents persistent images of inwardness, this is not only to uncover and publicly heal the ulcers in the body politic; inwardness is also staged because of the keen self-anatomizing interest of the early modern subject.

Thus, through a *semiographic* (i.e., semiotic and iconographic) perspective, *Titus Andronicus* is an emblematic theater of anatomy, in which, according to the argument of the present paper, one of the most systematic image networks is that of the abjection or problematization of gender roles through emblematic images.[10]

It is a critical commonplace that the curiosity towards and the fear of the interior tend to turn the female body into an emblem of menace, monstrosity and otherness on the English Renaissance stage. The female body acts out those gender roles that are inscribed into it by the patriarchal order, and the subversive capacity of these plays is often due to the attempts female characters make to transgress the boundaries of these roles. In *Titus Andronicus,* a network of emblematic images represent and problematize both male and female gender roles, and their system reveals itself if we activate the dramatic text in a hypothetical reconstruction of the original emblematic theater.[11]

At the beginning of the play, we see a Rome which is represented verbally as an immense mutilated female body. The "glorious body" (1.i.190) of Rome is wounded.[12] Headless Rome is constantly referred to as "she" who needs restoration of order in a situation that is characterized by rivalry, uncertainty, loss. This female body, which is supposed to be maintained by the male authorities of civilized order, is now mistreated, disfunctional, and it opens up its generating and consuming womb in the image of the tomb of the Andronici. The womb and the tomb become systematically interrelated in the play, and they establish a complex emblem of that desired and at the same time threatening maternal chora which is expressed in the image of the "swallowing womb". In Julia Kristeva's theory, the chora, this container of pre-symbolic drives, psychic and corporeal energies, is not gender specific, but it contains those archaic experiences that are imprinted in us as the memory of the symbiotic unity with the mother's body.[13] As the incest taboo and the fear of castration separate us from this origin of our existence, the image and the body of

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[10] [...according to] semiographic consideration [...] the theater or drama model of a cultural period is always in close relation with the semiotic world model of the era, since the representational awareness, the "high semioticity" of the theatrical space always serves as a laboratory to test the most intriguing epistemological dilemmas of the specific culture. Semiography as a critical approach combines the considerations of iconography and the postsemiotics of the subject to investigate the textual strategies through which in-between dramatic characters articulate subject positions that put the identity of the receiver in crisis. Semiography also reveals that it is impossible to understand the strategies of renaissance and postmodern metatheater without a psychoanalytically informed theory of the microdynamics of spectatorship that can account for theatrical experiences such as abjection and pluralization. Attila Kiss "Character as Subject-in-Process in the Semiography of Drama and Theater." *Semiotische Berichte* 1–4/2003: 187.

[11] As James Cunningham contends, feminist criticism might not prove the best to investigate the abjection of gender stereotypes in the play, since *Titus Andronicus* does not restore the sovereignty or subversive power of woman. Instead, it rpoblematizes the categories of gender in general. See James Cunningham *Shakespeare's Tragedies and Modern Critical Theory* (Associated University Presses, 1997), 176–177.

[12] References are to the following edition: William Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus,* Jonathan Bate ed. The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd series (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

[13] Julia Kristeva *Powers of Horror. An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), Ch.I. "Approaching Abjection."

the mother becomes marked, signified, inserted into the symbolic order as other, abjected, that is, coded by gender.

A traditional iconographic image of this gendered symbolization of the generative and destructive femininity is the *vagina dentata,* which is represented in the dramaturgically central scene of *Titus Andronicus,* in the image of the pit. The pit as swallowing womb, trap, and burial tomb, as vagina dentata is the second in the sequence of four emblematic scenes (the tomb, the pit, Lavinia's mouth and Tamora's mouth) that set up the dramaturgical rhythm of the drama. The visual connection between the scenes is solidified by the fact that, by all probability, *the trapdoor of the emblematic stage* was used in their representation. The first scene in this emblematic sequence is the trapdoor as the tomb of the Andronici and the womb of Rome; the second scene is the trapdoor pit dug by Aaron to entrap the sons of Titus. Many critics have noted the sexual and gendered aspects of the description of the "abhorred pit" (2.iii.98), the "subtle hole [...] / Whose mouth is covered with rude-growing briers, / Upon whose leaves are drops of new-shed blood" (2.iii.198). However, it has generally remained unnoticed that Tamora's description which introduces the image of the pit as womb is in close resemblance with the words Titus says about the tomb of his family: an intensified dramatic deixis turns these two scenes into the most concentrated deictic parts of the play, both scenes focusing on the trapdoor of the stage. Titus says of the tomb at the beginning of the play: "[...] repose you here in rest. / [...] Here lurks no treason, here no envy swells, / Here grow no damned drugs, here are no storms, [...] rest you here." (1.i.153) However, this is so only as long as the living and the dead are respected and order is maintained. In the chaos of Rome, initiated by the senile, ompotent, blind and miscalculated decision of Titus, the tomb which is supposed to help us come to terms with the dead now easily turns into the threatening, engulfing womb of Rome, starting to eat up its corrupt offsprings. The deictic 'here' dominates the speech of Tamora as well, when she depicts the pit as a Gorgo's head: "These two have 'ticed me hither to this place. [...] Here never shines the sun, here nothing breeds, / [...] here at dead time of the night / A thousand fiends, a thousand hissing snakes, / Ten thousand swelling toads, as many urchins / [...] make [...] fearful and confused cries [...] they would bind me here." (2.iii.92)

In the vertical tripartite dimensionality of the emblematic stage, the trapdoor was the symbol of the gate of the underworld, and thus, in a psychoanalytical reading, it also signifies the dimensions of the unconscious. Considering the concept of medieval and early modern folklore which connected the female genitalia and the mouth of hell, we see that the various associations of the underworld, the maternal chora, the protective and potentially destructive womb and female sexuality are all condensed into the complex emblem of the pit as vagina dentata. However, it is also worth noticing how Tamora conjures up verbally this image of the horrid scene. Her two speeches in the scene are seemingly totally incongruous. First, when approaching Aaron, her lover, she speaks of the forest as a place for amorous entertainment; she cannot wait to have sex with the Moor in the forest, which can indeed be a conventional emblem of fertility. Then, upon enticing her sons to revenge, she describes the same location as a horrible, hellish location with the abhorred pit in the center. We know that, rhetorically, Tamora employs two clichés here, the topos of the *locus amoenus* and that of the *locus horribulus,* but it is very strange to have two opposing descriptions of the same place so closely following one another. Tamora is able to turn the same scenery into two different and contrary locations through her rhetorical performance, combining *ut pictura poesis* with the iconographic method of interpreting signs *in bonam partem* and *in malam partem* simultaneously. This rhetoric is possible and needed on the almost bare emblematic stage, but the fact that Tamora so displays the potential power of rhetoric transforms her into an artist, almost a magician who manipulates our feelings and perception. Here Tamora displays that capacity which makes her the most dangerous agent in the web of revenges, i.e., her capacity to transgress categories, move beyond categories, including gender stereotypes as well. Tamora and her prosthesis Aaron together

represent *an agency of abjection* which penetrates the sick body of Rome, leaving greater and greater wounds. They are difficult to categorize in terms of gender stereotypes: Tamora can be very motherly and can put up a very cold, rational male reasoning as well; Aaron is often very much like a male warrior but at other times he displays features of eroticism and motherly tenderness that are traditionally attributed to woman. Their survival capacity in the Roman environment is due to this ability to penetrate the categorical borderlines: in Kristevan terms, they are ambiguous, non-structural: abject. They penetrate the gender categories, unlike the other Roman characters, who gradually go through a process of losing all their gender markers. Titus desperately tries to secure his role as a patriarch after refusing the empirial diadem, and in so doing he embarks on a series of mistakes that will result in his being reduced to a suffering human being. Lavinia's gender determined signifying capacity is reduced to zero when her commodity value as a woman is diminished by the rape; in a second step she is further diminished by a second metaphorical rape when she carries her father's hand off the stage in her mouth, bringing to a climax the images of chaos and the fall of patriarchal order; and then she is even more reduced for a third time in the scene when she guides the stick she writes with her mouth, through this metaphoric image conforming to the patriarchal prerogative of significtion according to the symbolic codes and intertexts of culture. These characters gradually lose their gender potentials, and are turned into suffering, opened bodies, walking wounds on the ulcerous body of Rome.

Tamora, however, has no exemption from under the logic of revenge tragedies: she commits the mistake which is typical of revengers that start believing they have finally occupied a metaposition above the other characters in the web of revenge plots. The allegorical revenge scene, when she approaches Titus with her two sons, foregrounds the realization that, although she believes she can usurp the role of Revenge, *this metaposition is not granted* to any of the human agents. The spirit of revenge, the passion that turns to an avalanche of destructive forces in revenge tragedies, is always within the human beings, "motivating their souls" beyond their capacity to control this, as the prototypical revenge play, *The Spanish Tragedy* already thematized. Tamora, the most ingenious manipulator and gender-transgressor of the play, commits a mistake when she thinks she is already equal with revenge: it is this mistake that brings her sons into Titus's web of revenge, and not any ingenuity by Titus. When caught in Titus's plot, she will start doing things that are beyond her capacity to control, her vaginalized mouth as vagina dentata will eat up those agents that she has sent out into the world of Rome from her womb of revenge.

The imagery of blood is condensed through the images of the vaginalized bleeding mouths of Lavinia and Tamora, and the parallel in imagery, which is established between the two, otherwise opposite characters, indicates the fact that there is a general, all-encompassing power, a non-gender-specific pre-symbolic energy that will start to emanate from the suppressed depths, the tombs and wombs of our culture, if order no longer separates us from the sway of drive energies, if our passions give a chance to the tombs of our dead to turn into the womb of unstructured, libidinal nature.

As Luke Wilson notes in his article on the anatomical theater, the real function of the dissection in the theater of anatomy was to reconstruct and to restore into order that body in the interior of which there resided, supposedly, the secret of life.[14] In such terms, *Titus Andronicus* as an emblematic anatomy theater can be interpreted as a process in which the body of Rome as an emblem of civilized culture is *dissected and then cured*, healed, restored to order. This restoration is not due to the ingenuity of the characters, because as agents of revenge they are subordinated to that higher power of passion which is symbolized by the Allegory of Revenge that can find its way for eruption any time, and can start eating up parts of the world it had earlier given birth to.

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[14] Luke WILSON: "William Harvey's *Prelectiones:* The Performance of the Body in the Renaissance Theater of Anatomy." *Representations* 17, Winter 1987: 62–95.

Kiséry András

PLAYING BY EAR: THE RHETORIC OF THE BODY IN CARY'S *MARIAM*[1]

The burgeoning critical discourse about Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedie of Mariam, the Faire Queene of Iewry* (1612), as well as the canonization of this previously little-known play as the first ever original dramatic work by a woman published in English, are to a large extent products of a 1980's gynocritical perspective in which the play is the literary expression of a remarkable 17th-century woman's personal struggle with the patriarchal society she was born into. While such an account of *Mariam* is still looming large, more recent work finds ample reason to resist what Martha Straznicky calls "the danger of unself-conscious biographical readings" which, "particularly in view of their recurrent emphasis on the representation and reality of marital conflict, is that they tend to narrow the field of experience out of which the woman writer writes, effectively confining both writer and text to the space of the domestic" (106–7) – and thus reiterating the oppressive tactics they habitually ascribe to the patriarchal voices within the play, and to the patriarchal structures at work in Cary's England.[2] In fact, such biographical reading is only one of the ramifications of the desire to keep the play in familiar territory, to make it speak to us in a recognizable (proto-)feminist voice, and – by claiming it for our own historical moment – to sever it from the discourses and fields of experience it both charts and participates in. Such tendencies are best countered by an interpretive move that attends to the generic and rhetorical structures of the play: this paper is an attempt at such a reading.

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The 1613 quarto of *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene Iewry* displays all the characteristic features of printed closet or academic drama, i.e. of dramatic texts not written for the commercial or public stage. The dedicatory sonnet is followed on the verso by a list of the *dramatis personae.* The characteristic term used to head such lists in contemporary play quartos, when indeed such lists appear at all, is "players." While Martha Straznicky points out that closet plays tend to have "actors" instead (Straznicky 1994, 120 n48), the term employed here: "The Names of the Speakers" (A1v) is even more antitheatrical. Then on the opposite page (A2r) we find an "Argument," a standard paratextual feature of classy, classicising dramatic publications: of the inns of court tragedy *Gorboduc,* of the 1592 *The Tragedie of Antonie done into English by the Countess of Pembroke* as well as of Jonson's plays – but very rare in publications of plays happily affiliated with the commercial stage – there is none in the pre–1623 Shakespeare quartos, for example.

But as any first-time reader of *Mariam* would testify, the "Argument" has other functions beyond bestowing an educated, high-brow appearance on the publication: it provides the back-

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[1] This paper, still a work in progress, has much benefited from the comments and encouragment of Frances Dolan.

[2] For a detailed account and critique of the "anxious biographical validation of Cary's works" in recent feminist criticism, cf. Stephanie Wright: "The Canonization of Elizabeth Cary". In *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing,* Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen and Suzanne Trill eds., (Keele UP, Keele, 1996) 55–68, the phrase at 64.

ground information essential if one is intent on disentangling the connections between events and characters. The action of the play starts with events recounted in the sixth paragraph of the argument, and advances by long speeches occasionally interrupted by dialogue. Cary's reliance on the formal features of neoclassical tragedy, her combination of declamatory rhetoric along with formal features like observing the temporal unity and the deployment of a Chorus are indicative of her no doubt deliberate effort to affiliate *Mariam* with the small corpus of classicising drama that preceded her tragedy only by a couple of years.

The aristocratic genre of Senecan closet drama is a very localized and time-specific form in the history of English writing. Like the other important coterie fad of the turn of the century, the sonnet sequence, closet drama – modeled on Seneca and more immediately on the tragedies of Robert Garnier[3] – originates with an aristocratic model/patron, it produces a series of formally and thematically related pieces, and then disappears, to re-emerge in different contexts and under different pressures in the Civil War and Restoration years. Like the sonnet sequence, closet drama originates with the Sidneys. The wave started with Mary Sidney's translation of Robert Garnier's *Antonie* in 1590, published in 1592. In 1594, Samuel Daniel wrote a sequel called *Cleopatra.* Fulke Greville, a family friend, wrote and then burnt an *Antony and Cleopatra.* In 1598, Samuel Brandon published *The vertuous Octavia,* a play about the abandoned wife of Mark Antony and thus a complement to the central Antony and Cleopatra narrative. Other than these *fin de siècle* instances, Thomas Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornelie,* Fulke Greville's own tragedies *Alaham* and *Mustapha* and William Alexander's *Four Monarchicke Tragedies,* are also related.[4] Interestingly, *Mariam* aligns itself with these plays not only in form, but also in subject matter. I would in fact argue that the political and dynastic affiliations within Elizabeth Cary's play figure the play's own relationship to the Sidnean tradition of closet drama: *Mariam* depends on the tradition established in the previous decade like Herod's fortunes in Cary's theatre of mind seem to depend on the fortunes of his mighty protector, Antony, in the East-Mediterranean theatre of war.

Anyone who has ever found Mark Antony's line "Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears" in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* irresistibly funny, will have plenty to laugh at in *Mariam.* Cary's characteristic techniques of amplification, of rhetorical embellishment and display (van Hook 1988), include the habit of synecdochic transferral of communicative agency from the individual to its body parts. In *Mariam* people ask others to "ope [their] closed ears" when they want them to listen (1.3, 252); when they think they'd said something wrong, they "curse [their] tongues" (1.4, 320); when they catch sight of something, they feel they are "indebted to [their] eye" for it (2.2, 189); tales they hear "pierce [their] ear" (3.2, 52) and when Salome wants to suggest that Herod is not influenced by gossip and hearsay, she resorts to a rather extravagant and bizarrely graphic formulation: "a common error moves not Herod's ear / which doth so firmly to his Mariam bend." (3.1, 87–88) After Mariam's execution, Herod in his final lament moans: "Oh never had I, had I had my will, / Sent forth command, that Mariam should have died." (5.1, 159–60) She seems to have been put to death against anyone's will, as if in a nightmare of accusations and orders emerging from the noise of mouths and tongues broke loose – as if the rhetorical partition of individuals into their synecdochic parts had really been preparing the way for the actual, physical decapitation of Mariam, for the moment when, in the laconic formulation

[3] For a reading of the play as a representative of the sequence, see (Barish 1993). (Altman ??) and (Braden 1985) are both relevant, while (Witherspoon 1924), a conservative and in many ways dated survey, is still useful.

[4] The nature of this relationship is problematic, and is certainly more of a formal, generic one than a product of the collaboration of these writers as a "circle," as some earlier literary historians would have had it. (Lamb 1981)

of the eyewitness account, "Her body is divided from the head." (5.1, 90) The language of body parts thus appears to be more than merely an interesting idiosyncrasy of Cary's style: as it rhetorically motivates the play's tragic conclusion, it turns out to be a rather crucial constitutive element of *The Tragedie of Mariam, the Faire Queene of Iewry.*

While this habit of figuration is not unique to Cary, her interest in it is clearly remarkable. Running word counts on Chadwyck and Healy's LION English Drama database shows that *Mariam* has a surprisingly high number of occurrences of words for various body parts, especially of tongues, ears and eyes. It has the highest frequency of tongues mentioned among all Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedies with 24 occurrences,[5] but its 13 ears also place the play firmly in the top ten. If we also consider that *Mariam* is a relatively short piece, the frequency of ears, eyes, mouths and tongues is even more remarkable: incessant talk about them establishes the priority of isolated communicative functions over communicating subjects as a prime concern of the play.

Such synecdoches are not unusual for texts written in a broadly heroic or tragic mode, often imitative of classical models, and are especially frequent in early–17th century Roman tragedies. Shakespeare's *Coriolanus, Titus, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra* and Jonson's *Sejanus* are among the most persistently corporeal plays of the period, characterized by an insistence on the figurative identification of the physical bodies of heroes and an anthropomorphic body politic.[6] The language of Cary's *Mariam* is closely affiliated to that of *Sejanus:* "If this were true now! but the space, the space / Between the breast and lips – Tiberius' heart / Lies a thought farther, than another man's" (3.96–98); or of *Coriolanus:* "All tongues speak of him, and the bleared sights / Are spectacled to see him." (2.1.191–92); "Let's to the Capitol, / And carry with us ears and eyes for th' time, / But hearts for the event" (2.1.265–67); "if he show us his wounds and tell us his deeds, we are to put our tongues into those wounds and speak for them" (2.3.5–7). In *Julius Caesar,* Antony's apostrophe to Caesar's body is an example of the interplay of synecdochic abstraction with graphic corporeality: "Over thy wounds now I do prophesy – / Which like dumb mouths do ope their ruby lips / To beg the voice and utterance of my tongue" (3.1.262–64).

In these Roman tragedies synecdochic agency is motivated by a concern for the body politic and by its analogy and interaction with the wounded heroic body. A mnemonics of wounds combines with a rhetoric of eyes and tongues in establishing patriotic republican political authority. Plutarch's "Life of Coriolanus" offers a concise account of the founding practices of heroic politics:

> For the custom of Rome was, at that time, that such as did sue for any office should for certain days before be in the market-place, only with a poor gown on their backs and without any coat underneath, to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of election; which was thus devised, either to move the people the more by requesting them in such mean apparel, or else because they might show them their wounds they had gotten in the wars in the service of the commonwealth, as manifest marks and testimony of their valiantness. (Spencer 1964, 317)

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[5] With *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Titus Andronicus* as runners up, with 19 and 20 occurrences.

[6] (Barkan 1975, 61–115) provides a useful introduction to the subject, as well as readings of the use of anthropomorphic analogies, fragmentation and individualization of the body politic in *Coriolanus* and *Sejanus.* More recent work tends to shift the emphasis from the desirability of an ultimate unity projected by Barkan to the inevitability of fragmentation and dismemberment, while leaving most of Barkan's argument untouched. A characteristic example is (Jagendorf 1990), where rehearsing Barkan's interpretation is enabled by the author's apparent lack of familiarity with Barkan's work.

The wounded, lacerated, fragmented body, put on display, provides ocular proof of the hero's valor by reminding the spectators of his endurance and exploits. The heroic military representation of his people in the face of the enemy, the efforts he made to prevent the body politic from being disfigured and mutilated, are represented by the traces the enemy has left on his body instead: and this substitution of his own body for that of the country automatically entitles him to politically represent the people he defended. This heroic mode of politics and representation presupposes the primacy of the visual over the verbal, its immediacy and ultimate persuasiveness:

> many other things have the power of persuasion, such as money, influence, the authority and rank of the speaker, or even some sight unsupported by language, when for instance the place of words is supplied by the memory of some individual's great deeds, by his lamentable appearance or the beauty of his person. Thus when Antonius in the course of his defence of Manius Aquilius tore open his client's robe and revealed the honourable scars which he had acquired while facing his country's foes, he relied no longer on the power of his eloquence, but appealed directly to the eyes of the Roman people. And it is believed that they were so profoundly moved by the sight as to acquit the accused. (Quintilian 1975, II.xv.6–7)

The superiority of sight over hearing, of visibility over language is an assumption *Mariam* clearly shares with these heroic tragedies. Throughout the play, ears and mouths and tongues are figures of transgressive, distorted, slanderous, subversive communication – whereas the eyes are, or at least clearly ought to be, trusted. In Alexandra's account, Anthony did not abandon Cleopatra for Mariam only because Alexandra had sent both Mariam's and her brother's, Aristobulus's portrait to the Roman ruler of the East:

> The boy's large forehead first did fairest seem,
> Then glanc'd his eye upon my Mariam's cheek:
> And that without comparison did deem,
> What was in either but he most did like.
> And thus distracted, either's beauty's might
> Within the other's excellence was drown'd:
> Too much delight did bare him from delight,
> For either's love the other's did confound.
> Where if thy portraiture had only gone,
> His life from Herod, Anthony had taken:
> He would have loved thee, and thee alone,
> And left the brown Egyptian clean forsaken,
> And Cleopatra then to seek had been
> So firm a lover of her waned face:
> Then great Anthonius' fall we had not seen,
> By her that fled to have him hold the chase.
> Then Mariam in a Roman's chariot set,
> In place of Cleopatra might have shown:
> A mart of beauties in her visage met,
> And part in this, that they were all her own.
> (1.2, 179–98)

Alexandra's recollection performs several important functions in the play, providing an interpretive matrix for the whole. The hero falls because he makes the wrong choice between two women, sticking to the obviously and visibly sinister, because darker-complexioned, Cleopatra instead of trusting his visually induced impulse and going for Mariam – a doomed choice which prefigures the visually coded racial conflict between Mariam and Salome, the white Jew and the darker Edomite. (Callaghan 1994, 174–5)

Anthony's failure to act upon his visually sanctioned desire, impeded by the image of a beautiful boy, Mariam's brother, is interesting not only because of its sexual implications, but also because it provides an early instance of the ultimately tragic paralysis so characteristic of the play: and once again, the persuasive power of the image is countered by another visual force pulling in the opposite direction. And although Alexandra's later role in the play might seem to question the validity of the perspective she offers here, Herod's visually obsessed last speech clearly upholds the visual epistemology she so powerfully initiated, if at the cost of making it seem paradoxical:

> If she had been like an Egyptian black,
> And not so fair, she had been longer liv'd:
> Her overflow of beauty turned back,
> And drown'd the spring from whence it was deriv'd.
> Her heav'nly beauty 'twas that made me think
> That it with chastity could never dwell:
> But now I see that Heav'n in her did link
> A spirit and a person to excel.
> I'll muffle up myself in endless night,
> And never let mine eyes behold the light.
> (5.1, 239–48)

If Herod offers to muffle up himself in endless night because he did not believe his eyes, the play's closure muffles up the voice of Mariam's revolt against Herod's marital tyranny. It rather disturbingly retains the perspective imposed on the story of Mariam by Salome's charges, reducing the central problem of the play to the question of adultery, and herself to an innocent and passive woman falsely accused of it. Her exoneration comes at the cost of putting her intent to divorce under erasure, of her annihilation as a subject seeking to articulate her agency, of her assimilation to the ideal of the breathtaking beauty who by nature holds her breath and tongue in the face of patriarchal authority. Herod's repentance is fuelled by his recollection of her physical beauty: "She's dead, hell take her murderers, she was fair" (5.1, 149), he raves, turning her appearance into an indication of her innocence, finally collapsing two kinds of fairness in the single phrase: "the King of Jewry's fair and spotless wife." (5.1, 198) Her belated acquittal is thus ultimately analogous to Phryne's acquittal by her judges, as described by Quintilian in the continuation of the passage quoted above: "according to general opinion Phryne was saved not by the eloquence of Hyperides, admirable as it was, but by the sight of her exquisite body, which she further revealed by drawing aside her tunic." (Quintilian 1975, II.xv.9.) To the repenting husband as well as to the final Chorus, which addresses "Whoever hath beheld with steadfast eye,/ The strange events of this one only day" (5.1, 259–60), the loss of "matchless Mariam" (5.1, 172) is really the loss of a precious object, the pearl thrown away by the Folio Othello's "base Iudean," one which was "richer than all his tribe" because it was not "some Egyptian blowse, or Aethiopian dowdy" (5.1, 195–96), i.e. not like Cleopatra, his own sister or indeed himself, but a fair, that is, white, racially superior woman.[7]

The final section affirms the play's racist and patriarchal tendencies from the perspective of an unquestioned ocularcentric epistemology. One should note however that the *Tragedy of Mariam,* written for the page rather than performance, is one without spectators who could have "beheld with steadfast eye" the events it represents: the appeal to an external, supposedly objec-

[7] The reference is often understood to be to Herod, although Weller and Ferguson's desperate insistence that it might indicate Shakespeare's familiarity with Cary's play is surely unfounded, if symptomatic of the editors' canonical desire. cf. 42 of their Introduction.

tive view is undercut by the purely verbal medium of the play. But to activate this deconstructive potential one must further pursue the genealogies and implications of the prevalent characteristics of the play's rhetorical world.

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The scene Cary's *Mariam* imagines with a stupefied Anthony paralyzed by the double portrait, and the potential marriage explicitly envisaged by Alexandra, have important functions beyond providing templates for the action of the play, and even beyond tying (or envisaging to tie?) the play's own lineage to "Sidnean" closet drama: the fantasy also forges a link between the worlds of Roman and of Old Testament history, subsuming the latter as dramatic subject matter under the aegis of the former. Tragedies based on Biblical narratives were not exactly unheard of in the period, but all surviving English examples are products of clear religious intents and motives. The somewhat richer French tradition also contains some more secular instances: among others, there is *Les Juifves* by Robert Garnier, whose plays served as the basis for the Sidnean fashion of closet drama, and a century later, in the 1670s and 80s, also *Esther* and *Athalie* by Racine. (Seidmann 1971, 11–16; Loukovitch 1933) In these plays, Biblical history is assimilated – to a large extent already by the genre of classicising tragedy – to the conventions of classical heroism. Cary's *Mariam* is unique in the history of early English drama in that it also aims to subsume an Old Testament story under heroic convention: and Alexandra's wish to marry her daughter to Anthony is a figure of this literary filiation.

But this self-conscious modal and thematic shift would probably still not suffice as a motivation for *Mariam*'s adoption of the rhetorical tradition which informs most of the "Roman" plays written in Renaissance England. Cary's tragedy shows no immediate interest in the representation of the body politic, and although it is a play which stands out from among English Renaissance closet dramas with its comparatively significant investment in physical action – as Jonas Barish has pointed out, *Mariam* is unique in that it "adopts or simulates the theatrical technique of direct presentation" in the extended on-stage duel scene between Silleus and Constabarus in 2.4. (Barish 1993, 38–39) – the single combat scene seems insufficient as a motivation for the presence of such conspicuous rhetorical features in it. What we have so far understood as a feature of the "heroic rhetoric" of the play cannot therefore be shown to be immediately motivated by its action and its thematic concerns. The rhetoric of body parts is then either a purely formal mannerism which is to be understood in terms of Cary's individual psyche, taking us back to square one, or we must trace it back to some other, closely related tradition also informing the play. Although the period's fascination with anatomy and dissection offers a general interpretive context, but Cary's investment in freely floating body parts displays a more specific communicative concern. Glenn W. Most, in a fascinating essay on the rhetoric of dismemberment in first-century Latin poetry, is faced with a similar problem. The best he can do to provide a contemporary historical frame for his discussion of the gashed and chopped bodies in Lucan and Seneca (the two ultimate sources for the corporeal rhetoric of English Renaissance heroic writing) is to refer to the contemporary experience of "organized carnage for the delectation of people for whom real warfare had become a remote and negligible possibility" (Most 1992, 401–2) – as it had indeed for the early–17th century English public: demographically speaking, the English military involvement on the continent, the death of Sir Philip Sidney notwithstanding, was more an "organized carnage" than "real warfare," and the Irish expeditions also remained a fairly limited social experience, involving small, temporary armies under aristocratic leadership. Clearly dissatisfied with what seems to him "too undifferentiated a context for the particular literary interest in dismemberment," (402) Most goes on to interpret this literary

obsession as "a symptom of an anguished reflection upon the nature of human identity and upon the uneasy border between man and animals," (405) and as a self-reflexive figure of Seneca's *abruptus* ("torn off") staccato style, characterised by an "avoidance of larger governing structures on the level of the sentence," an "emphasis upon the episode at the cost of sustained dramatic development" and "upon the single observation or paradox at the cost of prolonged philosophical argumentation" (406–8) – all of which is of course true for the closet drama of the period, except that it only seems to have lead to the foregrounding of the dispersal of individual agency in the form of bodies rhetorically scattered over the play in Cary's *Mariam.* So instead of imposing Most's reading of Seneca upon *Mariam,* we ought to uncover the specific rhetorical and cultural structures underpinning the play's fascination with *membra disiecta,* by looking at the particular functions the scattering of members is put to.

At the end of the duel scene, Silleus acknowledges Constabarus' courteousness, expresses his admiration for him, and then admits:

> Had not my heart and tongue engag'd me so,
> I would from thee no foe, but friend depart.
> My heart to Salome is tied too fast
> To leave her love for friendship
> (2.4, 391–94).

Silleus experiences himself as devoid of agency and self-determination. Although in his account his acts and attractions are strictly speaking not imposed on him by external forces, he experiences himself as being "engag'd" by his own alienated and individualised heart and tongue. Earlier in the play, Silleus already declared his complete subordination to Salome in terms of the fragmentation of his own body: "Thinks Salome, Silleus hath a tongue / To censure her fair actions? Let my blood / Bedash my proper brow, for such a wrong" (1.5, 341–43). To further complicate the matter, Silleus claims certain influence over Obodas, king of Arabia, and figures it in the medium of his body: "My mouth is our Obodas' oracle, / Who thinks not aught but what Silleus will" (1.5, 353–4). Salome controls Silleus's tongue, which in turns exerts control over Obodas: Silleus's body is thus transformed into a neutral, depersonalised medium of power-relations totally independent from his will.

Here as elsewhere in *Mariam,* the lack of self-determination or self-control is figured in terms of fragmentation, of the absence or uncontrollability of body parts: the rhetoric ascribes independent agency to arms and eyes and mouths and tongues, investing organs with a life of their own, turning their desperate owners (cherishing but also exploited by truly strange loves) into precursors of Dr. Strangelove. Once the Butler has divulged the tale Salome had taught him, he goes on to reproach himself for not having been able to keep his body under control:

> Foul villain, can thy pitchy-coloured soul
> Permit thine ear to hear her causeless doom,
> And not enforce thy tongue that tale control,
> That must unjustly bring her to her tomb?
> (4.5, 259–62)

Similarly, when Herod's tongue slips and says Mariam instead of Salome, he complains "My mouth from speech of her I cannot wean." (4.2, 86) The world of *Mariam* is experienced by most of its characters as one of involuntary action, where they are unable to counter or resist the course of events, often protesting they are in fact doing things against their interests or indeed their will. Significant and successful agency is denied to everyone, except, perhaps, to

Salome: even Herod seems to experience his decisions as somehow beyond his control – which strangely enough turns him into a near-tragic figure somehow deserving our tentative sympathy.[8]

The loss of control over one's self and actions, and of agency in general, climaxes in the figure of Mariam, in her silent and passive acceptance of her fate, and the literal dismemberment of her body. Her stoic resignation, combined with the conscious modelling of the representation of her death on the crucifixion of Christ, evoke the tradition of the "pre-Reformation display, even glorification, of the suffering female body", exemplified in representations of female martyrs, transmitted to us mainly by the continental tradition, due to the misogynistic puritan iconoclasm which decimated medieval works of art in Britain. Frances Dolan, in her 1994 "Women on scaffolds" cites the iconographic tradition of representing Saint Agatha "plaintively displaying her severed breasts in a dish" as a prime example of the tradition. "By contrast," Dolan argues, "the idealization of female martyrdoms in post-Reformation English texts consistently occludes the very bodily suffering on which martyrdom depends" especially if it is the suffering of female bodies – and she makes a strong case for Cary's participation in the Protestant discourse and aesthetic of martyrdom "which finds the display of the female body 'unseemly.'" Cary, like Foxe in his account of Anne Askew's martyrdom, denies "the women's claims to mortality, sensation, and embodiment – which is in effect to unsex them, given the association of all three of these properties with femininity." (Dolan 1994, 167)

But martyrs were not the only women habitually represented as psychologically unaffected by their own dismemberment, a process which was frequently accompanied by clear sexual overtones in the highly visual pre-reformation tradition. (Bynum 1991) The tradition of the poetic *blazon,* in which the woman is praised part by part, member by member, organ by organ, reduces its subject rhetorically to the status of an assemblage of precious objects. The poet's particularizing description turns the woman into a silent, passive entity, a precious piece of erotic property, divested not only of her clothes, but also of coherence, unity and agency, producing a "symbolic paralysis of the woman." (Kritzman 1991, 110)

It is in the context of the interdependence of rhetorical fragmentation and the (male) gaze that we should try to make sense of the play's thematic concerns, and it is here that we may ultimately discover some sort of a link that connects its visual and corporeal rhetoric to the conventions of heroic display. Vickers' essay on Shakespeare's *Lucrece* joins the poetical subjection of women to more palpable and painful power-relations by reading the rape of Lucrece as logically connected and indeed prepared by the unconsensual rhetorical anatomy she is subject to in the poem on the one hand, and by interpreting her emblazoned body as a heraldic image, a shield deployed in the conflict of the poem, which thus collapses the heroic with the erotic, battle with rape, in the martial image (Vickers 1985). Cary's *Mariam* enables the operation of the rhetoric of anatomizing blazon throughout its text by similarly grafting it onto the corporeal language of the heroic, revealing the one as implicated in subjection by force, and the other as always already aestheticised.

The disintegration and paralysis of the female subject, as Vickers and others have argued, are functions of a particular type of poetic discourse informed by the perspective of the domineering male gaze, and may indeed be seen as parts of a mechanism of self-defense which counters the threatening dismemberment of the voyeur by "inverting the traditional economy of mythical

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[8] (Kegl 1999) argues that "Herod's tyrannical desire is cast as faithful to the narrative logic of Cary's closet drama" (148) in that neither of them are able to delay action: immediate order for execution is followed by immediate remorse in a play condensing the events of a year into a single day. Kegl's observation is really another formulation of what I refer to as the paralysis or involuntary action of characters. Interstingly, she also links the nature of action (or rather, the characters' inability to interfere with the inevitably unfolding events) to formal features.

exchange" (that is, the story of Diana and Actaeon) and disciplining and controlling the observed body by scattering it over the text (Vickers 1981). Exemplifying the workings of such inversions, Herod's anxiety about losing control over his own body seems really a function of his sense of having already lost control over Mariam's. In one of the most memorable passages of the play, he imagines his wife's individualized communicative functions in adulterous intercourse with anyone available:

> It may be so: nay, 'tis so: she's unchaste,
> Her mouth will ope to ev'ry stranger's ear:
> Then let the executioner make haste,
> Lest she enchant him, if her words he hear.
> Let him be deaf, lest she do him surprise
> That shall to free her spirit be assign'd:
> Yet what boots deafness if he have his eyes?
> Her murderer must be both deaf and blind.
> For if he see, he needs must see the stars
> That shine on either side of Mariam's face:
> Whose sweet aspect will terminate the wars,
> Wherewith he should a soul so precious chase.
> Her eyes can speak, and in their speaking move;
> Oft did my heart with reverence receive
> The world's mandates. Pretty tales of love
> They utter, which can human bondage weave.
> (4.7, 433–48)

It really doesn't even require familiarity with Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life – the* book about tongues doing the talking instead of their owners – to figure out what Herod's fixation on ears and tongues might be a transposition of. What makes the passage interesting is the explicit link it forges between the organs of perception and female rhetorical power. If the mistress' eyes in the (Petrarchan) economy of praise "were never like the sun in the discriminating, evaluating sense; they never 'looked with thought' ... [t]hey merely shared in the play of bright bodily surfaces" (Hutson 1992, 26), Herod is so anxious because Mariam's eyes are looking back with thought.

Karen Newman substantially enhances the explanatory force of the much-discussed anatomising discourse of the blazon by relating it to the disciplinary regimes of early modern discourse about marriage. Newman argues that "anatomization was a strategy for managing femininity and controlling its uses, not only in love poetry and the wedding sermon but in drama as well." The texts she cites include Thomas Becon's *Catechisme,* which contends that women are to obey their husbands "with the head, eies, tong, lippes, hands, feete, or with any other parts of the body," and William Whately, who writing about the wife demands that "parts of her body, the eye, the brow, the nostrils, the hands, the feete, the shoulders" be kept "in so good order" (Newman 1991, 9).

Once his wife has been put to death, Herod's anger is suddenly quelled, and turned back against Salome and himself. Although Mariam is definitively silenced, he is still harping on her, caught up in the anatomical discourse of the blazon. He describes her as his "inestimable jewel," and fantasizes about her as about a "precious mirror" he "pash'd" to pieces (5.1, 119, 125, 129) – making himself and also his audience forget that was she alive, she would by no means be obediently mirroring his desires. He dwells on her "admirable face," her brow, and then at length on her hands, somewhat weirdly insisting she actually had two rather than one of them (5.1, 118, 143, 149–156). His monologue provides a self-pitying male reading of the built-in tragic potential of the blazon, showing that if you push its logic to its literalistic extreme, it sug-

gests that you really need to kill the thing you love. The desire for total control over one's lover or wife in the silence of heraldic display is only fulfilled if she is actually, physically silenced and perhaps also dissected.

What the play keeps silent about, is the experience of being the target of anatomical desire: which is why *Mariam,* a play about silencing and scattering the female subject, will resist appropriation by feminist discourses as a conclusive critique of the patriarchal gaze. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon's description of Cary as "a lady of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passions and infirmities of her own sex" is thus perhaps less ironic or paradoxical than Ferguson and Weller would have it.[9] As Diane Purkiss argues in a recent article, Cary "[was] not performing an ideological critique of tragedy's feminisation, and [was] not covertly or overtly resisting the notion of marriage as sacrifice," because her humanist education meant being educated like a man, and "receiving a male education means absorbing male values" – and such an education "annihilates the possibility of speaking in a different voice" (Purkiss 1999, 40). Given her "masculine understanding," i.e. the discursive logic she has absorbed, the "passions and infirmities of her own sex" ought perhaps be read as the force which drives Cary's play to try and test the possibilities and consequences of resisting the implications of that discourse while leaving the key terms of the discourse untouched. As it stands, the play embraces the rhetoric of the objectivity and superiority of the gaze over hearing, but also racial difference as ocular proof of moral standards. Thus it is ultimately implicated in the ocularcentric, patriarchal and racist discourses Mariam's story seems to be criticizing, which may help us understand why the play feels so inconclusive, why its closure seems so contrary to its own apparent premises and promises.

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[9] (Weller and Ferguson 1994, 16) citing *Clarendon: Selections from The History of the Rebellion and The Life by Himself.* ed. G. Huehns, OUP, 1978, 51.

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Oroszlán Anikó

"ACTORS" IN "BARBARESQUE MANTELLS". THE BLACKNESS OF THE FEMALE PERFORMERS IN BEN JONSON'S *THE MASQUE OF BLACKNESS*

1

It seems that there is no real consensus whether the first English women on stage could be regarded as the first English actresses or not. Sandra Richards, in her book, *The Rise of the English Actress*, starts discussing her topic with the Restoration era, and as for the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, she only deals with women performing on public stages (Richards 1993, 1–5). However, just as performances at the court could have been influenced by popular drama, female performers of masques could also have had real theatrical interests, and it is possible to examine them in relation to stage acting.

In this paper I am going to discuss Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* focusing on the symbolism of blackness and its relation to the female performers. This masque, together with its sequel, *The Masque of Beauty*, had been interpreted by D. J. Gordon,[1] Stephen Orgel,[2] and others concerning their emblematic background and Neo-Platonic imagery, and it also has been proved that Jonson's masques, especially their antimasque parts carry the characteristics of popular entertainments.[3] What I would like to suggest is that blackness – beside its Neo-Platonic association to Darkness, Night, Death, etc. – and the performers being female, alien, and black have certain theatrical connotation as well, namely that their "black" condition in *Blackness* relate female masquers to popular (male) players. In other words, what I intend to point out is that the first English women on stage – at least as far as the reactions of their audience is concerned – are not that far from being the first English "actresses".

Since my special interest is theatre history and performance – and in this case, female players – in the 16th–17th centuries, it is important to note that I am mainly treating the masque as a theatrical phenomenon, and I am concentrating on *The Masque of Blackness* as a possible *mise en scène*. Moreover, in my argumentation, I am using Jonson's later masque as a counterpoint to my main object of study, which is *The Masque of Blackness* since *The Masque of Beauty* seems to represent the "normal" condition of female Jonsonian masquers, that is non-blackness and beauty.

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1 D. J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination* (Berkley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 1975).

2 Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge – Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965).

3 Irena Janicka-Swiderska, *Dance in Drama. Studies in English Renaissance and Modern Theatre* (Lódz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Lódzkiego, 1992).

2

The masque, as Graham Parry explains, was primarily a political consruct (Parry 1981, 89). Nevertheless, it was a theatrical genre, a spectacle as well. It used Greek and Roman mythology, well-known Renaissance topoi, and emblem books as well as the English folklore. Although performances were created in a way that the authors counted on the audience's foreknowledge and the classical courtly education, at the same time, they were prepared according to the requirements of the spectators just like plays on public stages. Still, apart from their topic, what made masques different from popular dramas, was on one hand, the function of the performance and the audience, and on the other hand, the emphasised role of choreography, dance, and symbolic scenic effects. The major spectator of the masque was the King, who did not only have the seat from which he could have the best view of the stage, but at the same time, he was also in the middle of the noble audiences' attention (Orgel 1975, 14). In other words, boundaries between stage and auditorium were erased, and the King was not only a part of the audience, but also the part of the spectacle (Wilson 2001). The auditorium and the arrangement of the seats were just as well-organised as the production itself.

This is the case in *The Masque of Blackness,* too. Although James I never played roles in masques, in this one, he was lifted to a superhuman level, which was made clear in the plot as well as by his elevated royal seat in the centre of the space. His role was to overwrite the rules of nature and to make beauty out of blackness thus solving the conflict of the play (Parry 1993, 93).

Noble women on private stages could only be mute masquers. As *The Masque of Blackness* follows this decorum very properly, they wore masks, carried symbolic properties, and they could only participate in the masquers' dance. The dance at the end was performed as the most important part of the masque, and it also involved the courtly audience. Speaking parts were most probably acted out by professional players, and female speaking parts were played by boy actors. The structure of the court masque was brought to perfection by Jonson, when he included the antimasque with the witches of *The Masque of Queens* (1609) and the satyrs of *Oberon* (1611). The antimasque was performed and danced (contrary to the masquers' ballet, these were highly acrobatic and theatrical dances) by professional actors, and it represented the world of misrule and grotesque disorder.[4] It was followed by the main masque, which did not only emphasise the triumph of the royal masquers upon the monstrous creatures committed to folly and vice, but it also showed the victory of the ideal world of poetry over popular entertainment (Orgel 1970, 3). According to decorum, the place of female performers was in the main masque part. Although in the case of *The Masque of Blackness,* which is an early piece, one cannot talk about the four-part structure that later masques usually have (prologue, antimasque, main masque, revels), the black nymphs of it, as I am going to discuss it in more details later, carry the characteristics of antimasque figures.[5] Though they are mute, they are made very spectacular with the symbolic properties and the costumes designed by Inigo Jones.

Although before 1660–62, there are no actresses in English public theatres, theatregoers, antitheatrical writers, and dramatists had remarks on foreign female performers, and especially

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[4] As Jonson argues, "and because her Majesty, best knowing that a principal part of life / in these spectacles lay in their variety, had commanded me to think / on some dance or show that might precede hers, and have the place / of a foil or false masque [...] and therefore now devised that twelve women / in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, / Suspicion, Credulity, etc., the opposites to good Fame, should fill that / part, not as a masque but a spectacle of strangeness" (*The Masque of Queens,* 9–12, 14–17). All parenthesised references to *The Masque of Queens* and *The Masque of Blackness* (hereafter *Blackness*) are from David Lindley ed., *Court Masques. Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). The numbers in the case of masques refer to lines.

[5] For more on the structure the court masques, see Orgel 1965.

puritan pamphlets attacked those "hog-faced women" from Italy and France that participated in plays and entertainments (Thomson 1996, 104). Though English theatre fans, actors, and dramatists – like e. g. Thomas Heywood – spoke in admiration about Italian and French travelling troupes – including women – whom they could see in England, puritans did not only associate actresses with whores and women of easy moral, but also with the devil (Barish 1981, 92). While in Italy, women could play female parts on public stages, in England, the first (noble) women performers' possibility to get on stage was the court masque. It seems that Queen Anne and other women of the court made use of this willingly. The scripts were written by Ben Jonson, whose enthusiasm towards theatre, however, seems to be questionable at many points.

3

As Jonas Barish argues, Jonson is an antitheatricalist in the sense that he treated players and spectacle with bias, and although he wrote for theatre in his whole life, he felt that the mutability of – both public and private – performance threatens his poetic universe (op. cit., 133–40). His deep suspicion toward theatricality can be detected both in his plays and masques as well as in his theoretical works. He believed that playgoers visited theatre in order to parade their fine clothes to make spectacles so as to compete with the play, and as for stagecraft, he was to a great extent against "painting and carpentry" (op. cit., 133). In his *Timber; or Discoveries,* for instance, he announces one of the typical fears of puritan antitheatricalists; namely that the player cannot rule the roles he plays.

> Every man, forgetfull of himselfe, is in travaile with expression of another. Nay, wee too insist in imitation others, as wee cannot (when it is necessary) returne to ourselves: like Children, that imitate the vices of Stammerers so long, till at last they become such (Jonson 1947, 597).

Also, in his city comedies, role-playing and disguising usually have negative connotations.[6] Although his plays were realised on stage, he thought of them as literary entities and reading experience rather than theatre. He found the actor's voice and the public's ear unpredictable and untrustworthy elements over which he had too little control. This prejudice against the momentary or mutable nature of the performance is perhaps the most important aspect of Jonson's antitheatricalism, and this ambiguous attitude towards theatre is detectable in his court masques as well (Barish 1981, 135–40).

With the publishing of the masques, Jonson's aim was to fix performances in a literary form, that is to "redeem them as well from Ignorance as Envy, two / common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion", as he informs us in the introduction to *The Masque of Blackness* (*Blackness,* 11–2). Nevertheless, at the beginning of his career as a writer of masques, he seemed to accept that the masque – or theatre in general – is the result of artistic co-operation, and he admitted that "the honour and splendour of these spectacles was such in the / performance" (op. cit., 1–2). However, his later debate with Inigo Jones demonstrates that Jonson could never really reconcile himself to the fact that beside poetry, spectacle and acting are equally integral parts of the performance.

This brings forward the differentiation between the masque-as-literature and the masque-as-performance; or, in more general terms, the separation of drama-as-text and drama-as-performance. For Jonson, the poet-playwright, the masque was fundamentally about the verse, cha-

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[6] Cf. *Volpone* and *The Alchemist.* More on Jonson's antitheatricalism in his comedies is in Barish 1981, 147–53.

racter, and dialogue, while for Jones, the designer, it was about scenery and performance (Wilson 2001). This debate of playwrights and theatremakers – and / or scholars of drama and of performance – about the priority of drama or performance is, interestingly, one of the most hotly-debated issues ever since.

Although Jonson made the masque a literary genre, in fact, it was also originated in various stage entertainments. Moreover, as Jonson himself put it in his first masque, their "honour and splendour" was in the performance. If one considers masque as theatre, it becomes clear that – just like every kind of performance –, on one hand, it is changeable, unstable, and mutable by nature, and on the other hand, the living experience of it cannot be repeated, reproduced, and documented. However, what Jonson in fact intends to do, especially with the long descriptive passages of stage actions, is to rule the "physical" part of the masque so as to make it lasting; or so as to make poetry superior to performance. Also, this was his way to fight against Jones, who was not really a man of words.[7]

The tension between text and spectacle is made very clear with the distinction between the "body" and the "soul" of the masque made by Jonson in the introduction to *Hymenaei* (1606).

> It is a noble and just advantage that the things subjected to understanding have of those which are objected to sense that the one sort are but momentary and merely taking, the other impressing and lasting. Else the glory of all these solemnities had perished like a blaze and gone out in the beholders's eyes. So short lived are the bodies of all things on comparison of their souls. And, though bodies ofttimes have the ill luck to be sensually preferred, they find afterwards the food fortune, when souls live, to be utterly forgotten (*Hymanei,* 1–9).[8]

Here, the "bodily part", that is a metaphor of spectacle, theatre, or performance is told to be "short living" and "sensually preferred", while the "soul" of the masque, that is poetry is lasting and "subjected to understanding". Thus the body – both as spectacle and physical presence – in (private) theatre is, paradoxically, something that Jonson fights against. It generally acquires negative connotation in the masques, and it is not only a metaphor of theatre and performance, but also, I would say, of Inigo Jones.[9] All this becomes even more interesting, when Jonson, in a mocking way, associates Jones (and also theatre) with a foreign land, Italy. In one of his epigrams, Jonson calls Jones "th'Italian" who makes his way in the world by miming.[10] Beside that this refers to the fact the Jones learned everything about theatre in Italy, what Jonson's discriminating attitude recalls is antitheatrical writers on Italian theatremakers.[11]

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[7] Unfortunately, we know the debate of Jones and Jonson mostly from the Jonsonian side. Jones was primarily a painter and an architect, and he never even wrote a treatise. His *Stone-Heng Restored* (1655) was put together by his student, John Webb about twenty-five years after his death (Parry 1981, 155).

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

[9] "So / much for the bodily part, which was of Master Inigo Jones his design and / act" (*Blackness,* 72–4).

[10] "At every meale, where it doth dine, or sup, / The cloth's no sooner gone, but it gets up / And, shifting of it's faces, doth play more / Parts, than th'Italian could do, with his dore. / Acts old Iniquitie, and in the fit / Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit" ("On The Townes Honest Man", quoted in Barish 1981, 145).

[11] About the debate of Jones and Jonson, in more details, see Parry 1981, 176–80.

4

The Masque of Blackness and its sequel, *The Masque of Beauty* were the first two productions of Jonson. Though probably the original idea was about staging the metamorphosis from blackness to beauty, the first part, which contained the promise of a second one, was presented in 1605. The continuation was performed only in 1608. The chief masquer was Queen Anne, and among the dancers, there were the Countess of Bedford, the Countess of Suffolk, Lady Anne Herbert, Lady Susan Herbert, and Mary Wroth. The plot of *The Masque of Blackness* is quite simple; the daughters of Niger set on a journey with their father in order to find a land the name of which ends with "tania" where the sun is hot and "forms all beauty, with his sight" (*Blackness,* 171). The reason for the travel is the daughters' sudden awareness that their blackness is ugly. Finally it turns out that they arrived in Britannia, and they are told that this is the land they were looking for. It is ruled by the Sun, that is King James, "Whose beams shine day and night and are of force, / To blanch and Ethiop and revive a cor'se" (*Blackness,* 225–6).

The idea of the discontentment with blackness could have come from the emblem called "Impossibile" ("The Impossible") from Alciato's *Emblematum Liber (Book of Emblems).* The drawing shows two white men washing a black man ("Why do you wash, in vain, the Ethiopian? O forebear: no one / can brighten the darkness of black night.") (Alciato 1995). This emblem was later taken over by Geffrey Whitney in *A Choice of Emblems* (1586). The drawing remains the same, and the poem emphasises that Nature is of power, and human beings cannot do anything with unchangeable things.

Since there is a reference to the washing of the Ethiopian – Jonson usually relates his described images to emblems in his text –, the symbolism of blackness has a quite clear explanation. James I, the representative of the Sun, who is raised to a supernatural level – which is also symbolised by his elevated seat in the middle of the auditorium – has greater power than nature, thus the daughters of Niger get a promise that their blackness is going to be turned to beauty. What is interesting to consider is that, as Jonson explains, "it was her Majesty's will to have them [the courtiers] blackamoors at first" (*Blackness,* 18).

Fig. 1. Emblemata LIX, "Impossibile". [Emblem 59, "The Impossible".] Alciato, *Emblematum Liber [Book of Emblems] (1621).*

[12] Available: <http://www.mun.ca/alciato/e059.html.> Access: 15 June 2003.

On one hand, being disguised as black people was popular in England at festivals during the preceding decade (Wynne-Davies 1992, 89), and on the other hand, black-moors in public plays – cf. *Titus Andronicus* or *Volpone* – were associated with the underworld; devils, beggars, gypsies, and other monstrous creatures, which were also synonyms of the "masterless men", vagabonds, jugglers, and all kinds of public entertainers as well as common players (Newman 1991, 80–1).[13] Moreover, it was a common Renaissance topos that black women are ugly (Hall 1994, 192). Thus, beside that she wanted to enhance the masque with exoticism, Queen Anne's quite provocative idea to mask herself and her courtiers as black nymphs might be ascribed to her devotion to theatre and acting.[14]

The Masque of Blackness was a novelty for several reasons. It was only the second occasion that Queen Anne stepped onto the stage – her first appearance was in Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses,* where she played Pallas Athena –, and it was Ben Jonson's and Inigo Jones' debut in front of the court. Moreover, as Orgel puts it, the masque's most striking innovation was its theatricality, because it was the first time that the single point perspective, mechanical motion, and other stage effects were applied (Orgel 1970, 4). The performance evoked strong negative reactions. The most famous one is of Sir Dudley Carleton.

"At night", he writes, "we had the Queen's Maske in the Banquetting-House, or rather her Pagent" (quoted in Orgel 1965, 4). The use of this particular word, 'pageant', is significant, because since, in 1605, it has theatrical overtones, it seems to be proved that the noble audience could have been impressed by the masque as theatre. Carleton gives a detailed description of the scenery and he is not forgetful about the female performers. Above all, he finds it out of decorum that all their faces were painted black. There is no wonder that he was shocked, since this was the first recorded use of black paint as disguise – instead of masks, which was more common in courtly theatre.

> At the further end was a great Shell in form of a Skallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the Queen with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the Ladies Suffolk, Darby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their Apparell was rich but too Curtizan-like for such great ones. Instead of Vizzards, their Faces and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; but it became nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly Sight, then a troop of lean-cheek'd Moors (quoted in Wynne-Davies 1992, 88).

In another letter, he even calls the Queen and her companion "Actors" "strangely attired in Barbaresque mantells" (ibid).

The noble performers of *The Masque of Blackness,* thus, got a response, which was very similar to those of foreign actresses of popular stages, since the performance used images that could be connected to popular actresses and boy-actors. The words of Carleton are very similar to the ones for which William Prynne, the author of *Histrio-Mastix* was deprived of his ears and imprisoned more than twenty years later. Although it is not proved that with "Women-Actors, noto-

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[13] For more on 'Egyptians' in the 16th – 17th-century England, see Gãmini Salgãdo, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (Phoenix Mill – Thrupp – Stroud – Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1992), (Chapter 8, "Minions of the Moon").

[14] The same interest of theatre can be mentioned in connection with other female masquers, like Queen Henrietta Maria, who wrote, directed, and played in her own masque in 1626. Also, Lady Mary Wroth, the poet-playwright was influenced by her role in *The Masque of Blackness* to a great extent. For more details, see Michael Sharpio, "Lady Mary Wroth Describes a 'Boy Actress'," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 4 (1989) 187–94. and Anita Hagerman, "'But Worth pretends': Discovering Jonsonian Masque in Lady Mary Wroth's Pamphilia and Amphilantus," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 6. 3 (2001), available: <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/06-3/hagewrot.htm,> access: 10 August 2002.

rious whores", Prynne reflected to the Queen then, the statement was held to be a deep offence on the royal theatricals (Orgel 1975, 44).

At this point, let me refer to the issue of acting briefly. Orgel says that in the case of royal performers, "acting was out of question" (Orgel 1970, 3), because "a lady or gentleman participating in a masque remains a lady or gentleman" (Orgel 1975, 39). In fact, however, actors on public stages also remained *actors* who played parts. Instead, the crucial difference between royal and public players, might be that actors surely regarded themselves as actors, while there is no evidence what female masquers regarded themselves to be.

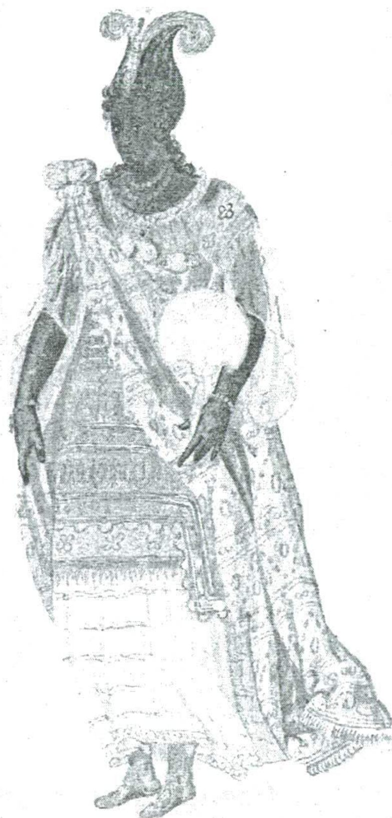

Fig. 2. A daughter of Niger from *The Masque of Blackness (1605).*

This question has also theoretical bearing, since, as Sandra Richards also expresses, it is not even clear whether a 16th–17th-century "actress" means the one that spoke dialogues on stage, or simply a woman on stage (Richards 1993, 3). All this brings forth the question of the definition of the actor in general, since what Orgel's argument suggests is that acting is defined by transformation and character impersonation. However, one has to consider that there are several schools and methods of acting, and actor being an actor is not a question of the extent of submerging one's personality into the role. The Brechtian actor works differently on stage than that following Stanislavsky. Moreover, one can talk about professionals and amateurs, as well as about players in motion theatres and dance companies. It seems, thus, that being an actor is not dependent on the played character or the extent of "transformation". Rather, actors are those that define themselves as actors and are interpreted by the spectators as such. This appears to be the case with Queen Anne and her companion if one considers the reactions of the noble audience. However, self-judgement of these noble players remains a riddle, since they are "mute hieroglyphics" both on- and offstage.

In *The Masque of Blackness,* according to the decorum, professional male actors took the speaking and singing parts, while women could only dance. However – as Orgel also refers to this –, since *The Masque of Blackness* in fact represented the quality of blackness as disorder – just like Carleton observed and noticed –, it can be taken as an antimasque to *The Masque of Beauty,* in which the ultimate resolution comes. In this way, not only the black daughters of Niger con-

[15] Available: <http://virtual.park.uga.edu/%Ecdesmet/jonmasq/slide3.htm.> Access: 10 July 2003.

note the grotesque figures of the antimasque,[16] but the royal performers can also be associated with professional actors / boy-actors / actresses. For this reason, Carleton's outcry seems to be even more meaningful and understandable, as well as the self-conscious intention of the queen to play an antimasque character – that is to take the masque of a professional player to enact "theatre" within the masque – is even more daring, because the symbolism of blackness, strangeness, ugliness, and acting overlap.[17]

The solution of the riddle of the antimasque gives way to the main masque. The significant action, that is the transformation from blackness to beauty, or, more exactly, the disappearance of blackness, however, takes place between the two masques (Orgel 1965, 128). In *The Masque of Beauty,* the nymphs are already non-black at their appearance. This change might have been necessary not only because it was the original idea to glorify the King by emphasising the influence of the Sun. Also, the black daughters should have been whitened in a "theatrical" sense, too; they had to be deprived of qualities of strangeness and acting. This later masque, thus, was decorous, and very well received. As the Venetian Ambassador puts it:

> [*The Masque of Beauty* was] worthy of her Majesty's greatness. The apparatus and the cunning of the stage machinery was a miracle, the abundance and beauty of the light immense, the music and the dance most sumptuous. But what beggared all else and possibly exceeded the public expectation was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies (quoted in Janicka-Swiderska 1992, 78).

The essential scenic image of this masque is the "throne of beautie".[18] Around it, there are the eight elements of Beauty, and on the steps, there are several Cupids. Both the throne with Harmony sitting on it and the steps with the Cupids were moved thus symbolising the universe ruled by harmony, beauty, and love.

The white daughters of Niger, in their dance – which was "full of excellent device and change" and ended in a diamond shape –, enact their physical as well as their spiritual beauty. As the first song tells us, the world was "lighted" and moved "out of Chaos". In other words, the world and the characters of the antimasque were replaced by the main masque and the ladies who "were varied in their beauties" *(Beauty).*

So Jonson, finally, washed the "Aethiop" white. The foreign black ladies associated with the antimasque, performance, and emphasised physicality were made white dancers of the main masque. In the more detailed description of the dances and the scenery, nevertheless, another act against theatre might be detectable. Jonson's intention to save performance in a literary form, however, is not really successful. In the case of the masque, readers of masques may agree, it is probably performance, which is more powerful.

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[16] See Francis Bacon's "Of Masques and Triumphs" (1612): "Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirites, witches, *AEthiopes,* pigmies, turquets, *nymphs,* rustics, Cupids, statuas moving, and the like (31)" (italics are mine). All parenthesised references are to Francis Bacon, *Bacon's Essays,* eds. F. Storr – C. H. Gibson (New York – Bombay: Longman, Green, and Co., 1898).

[17] To give another characteristic example, one may recall that Mary Wroth was called a "Hirmophradite in show, in deed a monster" by Sir Denny after she published her *Urania* (cf. Wynne-Davies 1992, 93). The term "hermaphrodite" was also a common word to boy-actors, moreover, interestingly, it was associated with black people. The Stationer's Register in 1580 had a record about a child, which was said to be a "monster with a black face, the Mouth and Eyes like a Lyon which was both Male and Female" (quoted in Newman 1991, 52).

[18] All parenthesised references to *The Masque of Beauty* (hereafter *Beauty*) are from Clark J. Holloway ed., *The Masque of Beauty. Reprinted from the 1692 Folio,* available: <http://www.hollowaypages.com/jonson 1692beauty.htm,> access: 12 July 2003.

Fig. 3. Female masquer.

Beside that he followed the courtly decorum of the entertainments, the metamorphosis of the blacked "antimasquers" into non-black masquers represents very well Jonson's vague and ambiguous relationship to theatre. Also, possibly, it cannot be accidental that this uncertainty is related to the female performers of the masques – whom we may or may not call the first English actresses – and who, for this reason, seems to have a quite unstable position in English Renaissance theatre history.

[19] Available: <http://virtual.park.oga.edu/%Ecdesmet/jonmasq/slide1.htm.> Access: 10 July 2003.

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