MULTIFORM ARGUMENTS IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF INDIVIDUALISM IN PRE-MODERN EUROPE

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation argues that we can have a better, more effective illustrated historiography; that we can construct and communicate historical arguments that combine words and images, considering clear nomenclature, conventions and standards; and that we can develop an analytical and critical discourse about verbal-visual or "multiform" arguments and knowledge.

We can do so because this dissertation offers a new analytical approach to historiography that combines words and images. This approach conceptualizes illustrated historiography and arguments as "multiform," to emphasize their hybrid nature, and enhance the awareness of the various forms this hybridity takes. My investigation of this hybridity provides terminology to describe nuances of textual multiformity; analytical methods to explore the structure and function of "multiform arguments" (MFAs); and, finally, directions for future empirical research that will help scholars construct MFAs more effectively, and deepen our understanding of "multiform grammar."

This dissertation analyzes five MFAs from five different publications that explore pre-modern individualism in Europe (ca. 1050-1600). Their debate is on where and when individualism developed; what its catalysts, and cultural and social features were; and how to define "individual." These illustrated publications range from 1958 to 2015. While the first publication was illustrated after the historian's death, the other four were illustrated by the historians themselves. Therefore, the analysis of those five MFAs shows how historians and illustrators create historical notions, using primary sources of both verbal and visual sorts, and how they communicate those notions by juxtaposing words and images in printed books.

Analyzing MFAs from a discourse that historicizes the self, and that addresses the methodological and epistemological problematic of the historian's self doing so, promotes self-awareness, and analogy between selves and MFAs. Drawing on studies from historiography, linguistics, art history, literary criticism, psychology and computer science, this dissertation concludes that the rhetorical devices that serve historians in depicting the past through MFAs are the same devices that have enabled institutions and individuals to construct "identities" for "individuals." Thus, awareness of multiformity in the past and its representation increases the effectiveness of using MFAs, as it illuminates the ideologies and playfulness that prevail between words and images.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Conceptual Introduction

Can we have a better, more effective illustrated historiography? Can we construct and communicate historical arguments that combine verbal and visual means, considering clear nomenclature, conventions and standards? Can we develop an analytical and critical discourse about verbal-visual or "multiform" arguments and knowledge?

This study answers these questions positively by offering a new analytical approach to historiography that combines words and images. I suggest conceptualizing illustrated historiography and arguments as "multiform," to emphasize their hybrid nature, and enhance the awareness of the various forms this hybridity can take. The new framework attempts to provide: new terminology to describe textual multiformity and its nuances; new analytical methods to explore the structure and function of "multiform arguments" (hereafter MFAs); and, finally, directions for future empirical research that will help scholars construct MFAs more creatively and effectively. My motivation to offer a new approach to illustrated historiography grew from the realization that this genre manifests diverse textual forms that have not been analyzed and termed thus far. I argue here that once these forms will be studied systematically and conceptualized, we will have a powerful tool to create and communicate historical knowledge that is drawn from verbal and visual sources and is expressed by verbal and visual means. Moreover, since this study explores word and image relation in the context of historical knowledge, it raises fundamental questions about our capacity to coordinate varied kinds of input into a unified meaning that is meant to stir a conversation and, ultimately, to convince. The implications of this study are far-reaching, since word and image relation is a rhetorical device that is commonly used in media such as newspapers, journals, brochures, posters, television, films, video-clips, websites, various digital applications, in spaces such as museums and

galleries, and on objects such as coins, machines, clothing, and more. Therefore, the terminology, analytical methods and future research that this study presents may enrich cultural realms which are not strictly considered as "knowledge."

My awareness of the need of a new conceptual framework to illustrated historiography developed from reading publications in cultural history. When I wanted to discuss how cultural historians use visual evidence in their publications with my peers, I found myself lacking terms to describe what I read and observed. While it was easy to recognize and point out textual units such as "words," "images," "sentences," "captions" and "list of illustrations" in those publications, it was challenging to point out combinations of words and images in the same argumentative environment. The lack of terms that describe multiform components in historiography, I believe, results from the little attention they have been given by the historical and other scholarly communities. To be sure, the history of using visual - and material - evidence in historiography and its socio-cultural and epistemological contexts and implications have been addressed by scholars, especially in the theoretical framework of cultural and art history.[1] The problem of verbalizing non-verbal evidence; the possible conflict between an aesthetic, compelling narrative, on the one hand, and a cohesive and convincing argument, on the other; and historians' effort to judge the images' rhetoric and trust them in comparison to verbal sources, have all drawn scholars' attention.[2] Scholars have also shown how technological advances in print and the invention of the camera and film in the nineteenth-century, which increased the accessibility of images, altered historiographical methods. The parallel acknowledgment that images can convey information that verbal language cannot; the new

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[1] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*; Haskell, *History and its Images*; Holly, *Past Looking*; Jordanova, *The Look of the Past*; Prown, *Art as Evidence*.
[2] Rabb and Brown, "The Evidence of Art."

nineteenth-century literate public, who became consumers of published material; and new

historical interest in "ordinary people" all paved the way to a new illustrated historiography.

Consequently, the traditional identification of verbal representation with knowledge and mind,

and visual representation with entertainment and senses, that has especially characterized

Western culture, has gradually collapsed.[3] W. J. T. Mitchell termed the new status of visual

representations or pictures in intellectual inquiries, especially in the Humanities, as a "pictorial

turn;" an emerging central topic of discussion, "unsolved problem, perhaps even the object of its

own 'science'."[4] My aim is to investigate as thoroughly as possible combinations of words and

images in a single argumentative sequence, in printed historiography.

Hayden White argues that verbal and visual representations of the past are equally factual

and equally fictional, because both are based on communicative, constructed conventions;

however, they differ in their lexicon, grammar and syntax.[5] Therefore, according to White, the

truthfulness of representations of events results from the adequacy of the syntax that historians

use to represent sequences of cause and effect that occurred in a certain time and place. In other

words, the type of event and the type of its representation by historians should have similar

syntax to allow a claim of veracity for the historical account.[6] The historiographical discourse

has found terms to examine and better understand the question about representing the past

through verbal or visual means, and about what each of the semiotic systems entails in relation to

creating, communicating and consuming notions about the past. Nevertheless, since events and

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[3] Gossman, *Figuring History*. Rosenstone, "History in Images/ History in Words."
[4] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 13.
[5] White's use of "grammar" and "syntax" aside, in this study the term "syntax" focuses on sentential structures or relations between words and images within a single sentence, and "grammar" focuses on linguistic and aesthetic structures and patterns, such as paragraphs, the layout of the illustrated pages, the way MFAs expand in the space of the book, and so on. It follows that grammar may include syntax. See "Grammar" and "Syntax."
[6] White, "Historiography and Historiophoty."

their representations cannot truly be classified by their either "verbality" or "visibility," it would make sense to have a verbal-visual syntax and grammar; a multiform principle that crosses through past reality, and an adequate tool to represent it. Such a tool will allow us to explore further how multiform sequences occur, and how we ought to identify and classify them and their components at the perceptual, cognitional and representational levels.

Throughout the intellectual history of the Western world, thinkers from the Humanities and the Arts examined the relation and interaction between the verbal and the visual realms, and the possibility (or impossibility) to integrate the two. Some of them have ascribed not only rhetorical and cultural meanings to the verbal-visual question, but also social and political ones. For example, Leonardo da Vinci stressed the differences between poetry and painting, claiming the superiority of the latter. Taking part in the combative comparison between the arts, the *paragone*, Leonardo defined painting as a "scientific" practice that, based on optical and mathematical laws, allows accurate representation of nature that none of the other arts can provide.[7] Following a similar line, Enlightenment thinker G. E. Lessing pointed out that verbal and visual representations are governed by "natural laws," according to which signs arranged side by side can only represent objects existing side by side, whereas consecutive signs can only represent objects which succeed each other in time.[8] Lessing's division between aural and visual experiences indicates his perception of the body itself as limited in integrating different sensorial inputs. Philosopher Susanne Langer also emphasizes the distinction between the "great orders of arts," as each work of art - plastic, musical or literary - has its exclusive "primary apparition," which is made constantly from the first gesture of its creation. Langer, who ascribes space to

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[7] Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*.
[8] Lessing, *Laocoon.*

painting and time to music, explains her findings by first treating the arts in their "own terms,"

and then concluding her observations in general ones.[9] Although Langer discusses theories of

unity in the Arts, and points out cases of their "assimilation," I do not know what she thinks

regarding printed words and images in the same format. Philosopher Nelson Goodman

distinguishes between non-linguistic systems (including painting) and languages by focusing on

possible physical and semantic gaps embedded in their expressions. He argues that non-linguistic

(or analogue) systems are characterized by continuation or density, while languages (or digital

systems) are characterized by differentiation, in which those gaps have no meaning.[10] Finally, art

historian Norman Bryson emphasizes the resistance of paintings to "intertextuality," or flow of

information between individual paintings, on the basis of their materiality or "embodiment,"

which verbal texts do not have.[11]

On the other hand, Leon Batista Alberti claimed that knowledge in diverse disciplines

enables both poets and painters to invent compositions in their work.[12] This view suggests that

broad knowledge nurtures inventions of compositions, based on commonalities between verbal

and visual creativity, and consequently permits the analysis of verbal and visual works. Linguist

Ferdinand de Saussure's dual model of the sign offers an interdependent relation of (mainly

spoken) words and visual representations. In his model, the verbal elements ("sound pattern" or

"signifier") and the visual elements ("concept," "image" or "signified") jointly compose the

linguistic sign; psychologically associated in the brain, by an arbitrary connection that is

accepted and institutionalized by society, the two kinds of elements trigger one another to form a

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[9] Langer, *Problems of Art*, 80-89.
[10] Goodman, *Language of Art*, 159-64 and 225-32.
[11] Bryson, "Intertextuality and Visual Poetics."
[12] Alberti, *On Painting*, 53.

whole sign.[13] Ludwig Wittgenstein reflected on the possibility of manipulating the psychological

and compulsive mechanism that brings an image to our mind when we hear a certain word and

vice versa.[14] Michel Foucault's consideration of the integration between (especially written)

words and images oscillates between possibility and impossibility; one the one hand, he sees it as

an opportunity for a playful and subversive expression, and on the other, as a space of reciprocal

hostility. He claimed that in the empty space between words and images on the page of an

illustrated book "are established all the relations of designation, nomination, description,

classification." Once this space is shattered by rhetorical means, it becomes "an uncertain, foggy

region;" an "absence of space."[15] Roland Barthes argues that text can "anchor" the meaning of an

image by a selective elucidation of it; this anchorage, he says, may be a reflection of an ideology.

He also points out a complementary, though less common, relationship between text and image,

in which the meaning "relays" between the two as between fragments of a shared, general

syntagm and unified message. According to Barthes, those two modes - the anchorage and relay

- can co-exist in the same work, while the dominance of one or the other depends on the

economy of the overall message.[16]

Further, studies from the late-twentieth century have drawn our attention to the social and

political aspects embedded in word and image relation. Mieke Bal, for instance, finds word and

image relation a key to understanding how readers and observers ascribe meaning to literature

and art, and how, as such, word and image relation becomes a powerful rhetorical and

ideological tool. In *Reading Rembrandt*, she goes beyond the word-image opposition, opening

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[13] de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, 15 and 66-68.
[14] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, PPF 6, 139-141 and 239.
[15] Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 28-29.
[16] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 40-41.

space for possible subjective interpretations and new theories.[17] Responding to Lessing's

division between temporal and spatial representations, W. J. T. Mitchell argues that, in fact,

artists regularly cross these imagined boundaries, as the definition of space and time as

independent and antithetical categories is, practically, inaccurate.[18] Like Bal, he ascribes values,

interests and systems of power to word and image relation or "problem."[19] The binary division

between the verbal and visual realms, he claims, emphasizes a binary ideology in classifying

culture, society and politics. His concept "imagetext" - that manifests and highlights diversity,

interconnectedness, integration and openness to new forms of media, society and culture - comes

to eliminate that division.[20] According to Mitchell, there is great potential in the dissolution of

the traditionally distinct sensory-semantic categories; hybrid concepts such as "thirds" and

"imagetext" enable us to transgress binary divisions, and open multiple options of expression and

experience.[21]

As mentioned above, while reading illustrated books in cultural history, the challenge

was to describe intersections of words and images in the same argumentative sequence or space.

Further, even if these hybrid instances are kinds of "thirds" in those sequences and spaces, they

are more specific than "imagetext," since they have a particular rhetorical and epistemological

role in their argument.[22] The lack of terms that denote multiform components in historiography, I

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[17] Bal, *Reading "Rembrandt."*
[18] Mitchell, "The Politics of Genre," 100.
[19] Mitchell, "Word and Image," 47-57.
[20] Mitchell, "The Politics of Genre."
[21] Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 417-25; *Image Science*, 38-47. For the development of the doctrine of the sister arts, from antiquity to the seventeenth century; its comparison between painting and poetry and emphasis on their common traits, see Rensselaer, *Ut Pictura Poesis*. For modern theories that compare painting and literature, see Steiner, *The Colors of Rhetoric*.
[22] Additionally, "thirds" implies that these hybrid forms are between two binary oppositions. Mitchell is aware of the possibility that additional media can manifest between verbal and visual signs, which enables "thirds" to be a colligation rather than intermediator. *Image Science*, 38-47. I hold that the phonological aspect of the verbal and visual components of MFAs is a meaningful factor and intend to examine this in the future.

believe, has deterred authors and readers from exploring these hybrid forms, and subsequently

constructing them more sophisticatedly, creatively and effectively. Moreover, since studies have

shown that language shapes thinking, it would be reasonable to assume that, without copious

nomenclature, not only the language of illustrated arguments might stay limited but also the

notions that this language is meant to convey would be stunted.[23] Furthermore, without adequate

nomenclature it is impossible to establish a critical discourse about using multiformity in

historical argumentation, nor to teach them by employing clear standards. The concept "MFA"

seems to be a proper beginning of a solution, since it sets forth the multiplicity of the semiotic

systems and their combination within an argument, as well as the argumentative context in which

these combinations function.[24] Moreover, the concept "MFA" allows us to investigate the

semantic, temporospatial and epistemological aspects of verbal-visual utterances; their

cohesiveness, focusing on the way they expand in space, as well as the time that it takes to

consume their body; and their coherence, paying attention to their logical consistency. Thus, the

concept "MFA" promotes the creation and communication of historical knowledge through

diverse and hybrid forms of thought and expression. It cultivates an experimental, theoretical and

critical approach to textual multiformity, and another perspective on life from the past and right

now.

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[23] Benjamin Lee Whorf's concept "linguistic relativity" underlines how various languages condition various kinds of thinking, as well as the relation to the physical world. According to Whorf, imposed and unconscious patterns in language and culture control their users' thinking like a "puppet," capturing them in a specific and unbreakable perspective on reality. "Language, Mind and Reality," 256. These patterns lead language-users to notice and neglect certain relations and phenomena by summing up every possible linguistic combination and bar out others. Ibid., 252 and 257. Thus, Whorf emphasizes the crucial role of grammatical organization and sentence design in thinking. Ibid., 253 and 269. Interestingly, he does not refer to the visibility of grammatical patterns nor to the possibility that "visual language" may influence people's thinking, and their verbal language as well. I discuss the identification of words versus images as causes in history in the "Epilogue."

[24] In this study, the term "semiotic" relates to signs "or anything else that in the broadest sense 'has meaning'." The term "semantic" relates to the meaning of the sign at the lexical level, as well as in relation to contexts such as syntax or grammar. See "Semiotics" and "Semantic." Both "semiotic" and "semantic" are used here to discuss verbal and visual expressions.

The concept "multiformity" resonates with the concept "multimodality," not only in the way it looks and sounds, but also the broad social and cultural contexts from which it develops and to which it is addressed. Both concepts allow us to explore forms of communication that mix what we apprehend as distinct channels of transmitting information: written and spoken words; still and moving visual images; sound; gestures and so on. Both concepts ponder the great influence new technologies have on human interaction, and their implications in the arts and education, especially in the digital era. Therefore, it is important to clarify the main difference between the "multiformity" that I offer here and Gunther Kress's "multimodality."[25] The difference between the two concepts or approaches lies in the weight the two ascribe to social versus biological factors in human communication, and consequently the approaches' use of the concepts "mode" versus "form." "Mode," according to Kress, is a semiotic resource for making meaning; its potential is in the affordance of the material it is made of (i.e., sound in speech or graphic stuff in writing), while its realization is the practical use of materialistic potentials by members of a given society. Further, modes differ in their underlying "semiotic logic;" the organizing principle under which they are conveyed. Kress claims, for example, that the logic of words is to follow each other in temporal sequence, and the logic of images is to display their elements simultaneously in space.[26]

Kress's approach to multimodality is social; it sees the sign-makers' use of signs as the mechanism that generates potential semantic meanings, rather than grammar, that can be thought of as an abstract and fixed system of rules originating in the brain. According to the social approach, the process that refashions lingual resources and practices is humans' motivation to

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[25] Kress, *Multimodality*.
[26] Ibid., 81-82.

frame meanings in social context; this enables lingual interactions to reflect the present, with its

instability: its social and technological transformations.[27] "Form," on the other hand, relates to

the most fundamental level that one can explore in relation to verbal and visual, or any other type

of communication, while the level itself is defined according to the question in hand. For

example, while exploring written language, we may focus on forms such as a graphic element in

a letter, a letter, a sentence, a shape of a paragraph, etc. Forms in spoken language can be a

phoneme, a word, a whole speech, and even a sound in the background of the speech. Forms in

visual (non-verbal) communication can be a brush stroke, an artwork, a garden or building, but

also a graphic element within a letter or a gesture of a speaker, during their speech. Thus, the use

of the concepts "form" and "multiform" attempts to open a theoretical framework to immediate

and direct semiotic phenomena of any type and scale, so that they can shape and convey

meanings synergistically, before any established logic interferes between them. It implies that

"forms" function in high velocity; they do not have time to distinguish between temporal

sequence, on the one hand, and simultaneous display in space, on the other, nor between "time"

and "space." The reason why they are fast is that they function on both the social and biological

levels. The body's reaction to any kind of stimuli and processing them into meanings, given

probable social conditioning and contexts, cannot rule out survival mechanisms.

　　　Over the last several years, I have analyzed MFAs from the historiographical discourse

on the discovery of the individual or the development of individualism in the late Middle Ages

and the early modern era in Europe (ca. 1050-1600). In this study, I present my examination of

one chapter or MFA from each of the five following books. The first chapter I explore is "The

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[27] Ibid.; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*.

Perfecting of the Individual" in Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.[28]

Civilization was written by Burckhardt as a non-illustrated text. Entitled *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, it was first published in Basel in 1860, by Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. The first illustrations appeared in the fifteenth edition, published in Leipzig in 1926, three decades after the author's death. Johannes Jahn, who at the time was an art assistant in the Art Historical Institute at the University of Leipzig, collected the illustrations. These illustrations also accompanied the new 1929 edition of S. G. C. Middlemore's English translation from 1878, published by Harper & Brothers in New York.[29] My study uses the Harper & Row 1958 edition, published in New York and edited by Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus. On the front matter of the 1958 edition, in the "Translator's Note," Middlemore writes that "[i]t is hoped that the illustrations will be found to be a valuable adjunct to the text."

The second chapter that I analyze here is "From Epic to Romance," in R. W. Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages*. *Making* was first published in 1953 by Yale University Press, New Haven, and Hutchinson & Co., London (in the series Hutchinson University Library: Senior Series). This study uses the 1965 reprint of the 1953 Yale edition.[30] The third chapter is "The Search for the Self," in Colin Morris' *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*. The first edition of *Discovery* was published by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London in 1972. This study uses the edition that was published by University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America in 1987. The layout is identical in both editions.[31] The fourth chapter that is analyzed here is "The Inquisitors' Questions," in John Jeffries Martin's *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*. The book was published in Basingstoke

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[28] Burckhardt, "The Perfecting of the Individual," 1: 147-50.
[29] Holly, *Past Looking*, 34.
[30] Southern, "From Epic to Romance," 217-59.
[31] Morris, "The Search for the Self," 64-95.

by Palgrave Macmillan in 2004, in the series "Early Modern History: Society and Culture,"

edited by Rab Houston and Edward Muir.[32] The fifth chapter is "Facing the Day: Reflections on

a Sudden Change in Fashion and the Magisterial Beard," in Douglas Biow's *On the Importance*

of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy: Men, Their Profession and Their Beards. The book

was published in Philadelphia by University of Pennsylvania Press in 2015, in the Haney

Foundation Series.[33]

I chose to focus on these chapters because they discuss, more or less, the same historical

phenomenon, assuming that the study of MFAs will benefit from making the historiographical

topic the "independent variable," and the different combinations of words and images within it

the "dependent" one. Furthermore, the discourse on individualism in pre-modern Europe is still

in progress; I hypothesized that this will allow me to discern several issues: first, whether the

historians mentioned above refer to each other's work, and more specifically, to the use of visual

evidence or MFAs (without applying this concept); second, whether with the course of time,

factors such as technology and theories from other fields and disciplines affect this discourse,

and its use of MFAs, in particular.

I approach the discourse on pre-modern individualism in Europe as a case study through

which I attempt to develop new terminology, methodological tools and directions for future

research, regardless of the discourse's subject matter, its era, and the historical discipline. It is

important to note, however, that historians' endeavor to shed light on what happened in the past,

explain it and draw threads from the past to the present and even the future, have made

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[32] Martin, "The Inquisitors' Questions," 21-40.

[33] Biow, "Facing the Day," 181-206. The sizes of the books, measuring a single page from each book (height x width, in cm) are: *Civilization*: 19.5 x 13; *Making*: 20.4 x 12.4; *Discovery*: 22.3 x 4.7; *Myths*: 21.7 x 13.7; *Importance*: 25.4 x 18.

historiography - that is, illustrated historiography - an ideal material to analyze. First, historical

notions are the basis of any kind of knowledge, since any observation about the world and its

communication require this observation to describe a process that occurs over time. Even an

abstract utterance such as mathematical equation narrates a process that begins and ends in a

certain way. Our assessment of its success looks at how its author maintains a coherent narrative

over time. Therefore, any statement about the world is, in fact, a historical argument.

Furthermore, any such statement is built on previous work done by others, whether on the

phenomenon examined or on other phenomena. Thus, any such statement is a historical element

within a broader historical narrative. This nature of the historical knowledge, its being

fundamental - almost a synonym to "knowledge" - allows me to develop the framework that I

introduce here further, making it relevant to other disciplines.

I chose to analyze historiography on pre-modern Europe since it is one of my fields of

expertise; nevertheless, I have analyzed the materials while focusing on features that are relevant

to any illustrated-scholarly text, and to do so systematically. The analysis of MFAs in the

illustrated historiography of pre-modern individualism has exposed me to the complexity

embedded in historicizing phenomena such as the self, psyche and identity. The fact that

historians who work on the history of the self possess a self too, raises questions about our ability

to explore this aspect of the past without making it a "self-exploration;" a process that might

suffer from various biases, and that some of the publications analyzed here have addressed.

Obviously, I have asked myself if analyzing MFAs within that discourse implies that I might

study myself under the disguise of studying hybrid epistemology. I will return to this question in

the "Epilogue."

The probable weaknesses of the historiography of pre-modern individualism and the analysis of its MFAs are their strengths. There are two noticeable advantages of studying MFAs in this particular discourse. The first results from the fact that the history of individualism or the self touches upon issues such as the possibility of possessing a self; its spiritual and corporeal qualities; its interaction and relationship with what we identify as "internal" and "external" environments; the processes involved with it; and the nature of its presence and duration. These - allegedly "a-historical" - issues nurture questions about MFAs, since like the self, MFAs are a complex and dynamic entity. The attempt to define MFAs as a category and only then historicize them (developing in a discourse) or define a single MFA and historicize it (developing in a chapter or publication) is a challenging task. To track an MFA's "body" and evolvement, we have to a have sense of what words, images and their possible relations are, as well as what argument is, and what word and image relation could be and do within it, as within a chapter, publication and, finally, a discourse.

Another advantage in studying MFAs in the historiography of individualism results from the examination of historians' awareness of their own self as a tool to study the historical self, and their expression of this awareness in their writing. The acknowledgment of the inherent complexity of historicizing the self is a recent tendency in this discourse. Among the five historians whose work I analyze here, only the last two, John Jeffries Martin and Douglas Biow, reflect upon this intricate matter. Both historians express sensitivity to two central methodological and epistemological challenges that arise in this context; the first relates to the conceptualization of the historical self, and the second to the motivation to explore it. When historians conceptualize the historical self by using terms from their own era, their discussion may lead to anachronism that distances the historical account from the past it tries to reconstruct.

A possible solution for this problem, as historians often suggest, is to use contemporary terms, drawn from primary sources, that can indicate past notions and emotions.[34]

The problem with the motivation to explore the historical self manifests in historians' projection of their own and their contemporaries' psychology onto the historical self. This psychological projection is another kind of anachronism, slightly different from the conceptual one as it is based on an emotional need, that can be found, for example, in adopting or rejecting a certain type of "ancestors." The motivation to explore the historical self to better understand the historian's own self might render the historical account an autobiographical or genealogical inquiry, subtly harnessing the readership to the historian's needs, rather than to the psychology of the past.[35] Given the conceptual and motivational aspects of researching the historical self, this subject matter fosters historians' consciousness of themselves and of the methodological and epistemological challenges their research entails. This study benefits from the historians' accounts of possible pitfalls and solutions in exploring the historical self, as they increase my awareness of two issues: the first is the possibility that there might be multiform - conceptual and motivational - anachronism in illustrated historiography; the second is the possibility that study of the use of MFAs in illustrated historiography might, too, suffer from varied biases.

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[34] In his analysis of twelfth-century portraits, Colin Morris comments that the expectation to see in portraits that depict individuals "the actual appearance of the person concerned" might be based on an assumption that characterizes "our own age." *The Discovery of the Individual*, 91. He does not, however, develop a full discussion on this possible bias as Martin and Biow do.

[35] Martin, for example, blames Burckhardt and Stephen Greenblatt, in *Renaissance Self Fashioning*, for searching for ancestors, thus producing genealogy or "myths," rather than history. He elaborates on Burckhardt's nineteenth-century Basel, from and in which he developed his concepts of the Italian Renaissance; their conservative, nostalgic and romantic emphasis, and the overall whiggish and powerful narrative Burckhardt created. *Myths*, 124-26. For the Hegelianism reflected in Burckhardt's cultural history and its biases, see Gombrich, *In Search of Cultural History*. For the political and social circumstances under which Burckhardt wrote *Civilization*, see Gossman, "Cultural History and Crisis."

The question about the development of the individual or rise of individualism is central in the field of pre-modern Europe. Historians of late medieval and early modern Europe have identified changes in the way contemporaries saw, addressed and represented their and others' selves, and have related those changes to contemporary developments such as: political turmoil on the international and local levels; courtly culture; religious reformations; changes in social organizations and movements such despotism, monasticism, urbanism and mercantilism; technological advances that improved people's mobility and the dissemination of ideas; the humanistic movement and revival of the classic tradition; and new literary and artistic forms. I would like to argue that one of the reasons why "pre-modern individualism" has become a prominent historiographical subject in the pre-modern field is that its core, the self, is an abstract, invisible concept, and as such it enables "individualism" to manifest in many, varied forms, and subsequently to be easily associated with other phenomena, especially through cause and effect relation. Historians, thus, have managed to establish a broad historiographical nexus between "individualism" and other developments, which, in turn, has allowed them to continue suggesting where and when pre-modern individualism started, how it functioned as a catalyst or outcome in different contexts, and how it has evolved into later periods. Thus, historians can easily adapt existing arguments that link between "individualism" and other historical phenomena to an earlier or later point in time, or to a different geographical location, generating a new insight about the subject. It follows that the modern and postmodern historiography on pre-modern individualism has a potential to linger for a long time. If scholars of historiography will, too, return to this subject, the effect would be the same. How, then, have the historians whose MFAs I analyze here positioned the pre-modern self and its tendency to individualization

in specific historical contexts? And how have they done so, using verbal and visual evidence and means?

Jacob Burckhardt wrote *Civilization* in Basel, in 1860. As mentioned above, the illustrated edition of *Civilization* that I use here was published in two volumes by Harper & Row in New York, in 1958. In this famous "essay," Burckhardt argues that fifteenth-century Italians became conscious of themselves, others, the world and history in quite a revolutionary way. It was the discovery of subjectivity, on the one hand, and the capacity to approach things objectively, on the other, that allowed them to strive to be "all-sided men" (*l'uomo universal*); individuals who are familiar with and creative in various fields of knowledge and the arts.[36] According to Burckhardt, the reason for that change is that during the late thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries, the despotic and republican states utilized individuals' knowledge and inwardness as a resource for the states' and their leaderships' advantage, and cultivated enjoyment of life nourished by power and influence. The frequent political changes, along with the governmental structure and operation, enhanced individuality by creating opportunities for leaders and statemen to seize and enjoy power.[37] Although this mental "breakthrough" was new, according to Burckhardt, it renewed the ancient-Greek mind-set, and thus marked the medieval mentality as interim, childish and illusion-ridden, in which people identified themselves as part of a group or community more than as independent, self-contained units.[38] Interestingly, this awakening, which brought forth "the first-born among the sons of modern Europe," demonstrates

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[36] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 143.
[37] Ibid., 144-45.
[38] Ibid., 143-45. For critical reading of the dichotomization of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and subsequently the marking of the Middle Ages as the Other in the grand Western narrative, see Patterson, "On the Margin." For the misleading story about the Renaissance as the "rebirth" of ancient humanism, its false image as a break from the Middle Ages and as the foundation of secular, modern liberalism in Europe, see Larry Siedentop, "Dispensing with the Renaissance."

that the "Renaissance mind" is superior over the modern one as well; an example is the

Renaissance humanist who learned philology, rhetoric, geography and history for practical

reasons, while the nineteenth-century scholar acquired such knowledge for theoretical purposes

alone.[39] At any rate, Burckhardt points out that in daily life, Renaissance individualism

manifested in people's unique dress and fashion, lack of fear of singularity, abandonment of false

modesty and hypocrisy, and adoption of cosmopolitanism.[40]

There are seven plates and 234 illustrations in both volumes of *Civilization*. The chapter

"The Perfecting of the Individual" includes two reproductions of fifteenth-century-Italian

portraits; one of Andrea Mantegna, and the other of Leon Battista Alberti. We know that

Alberti's work is a self-portrait and assume that this is also the case regarding Mantegna's

portrait. Both artworks will be addressed in more detail in the "Technical Introduction." The

analyzed MFA focuses on the development of the individual into "many" or "all-sided man,"

using Leon Battista Alberti as an example. Since Burckhardt did not write *Civilization* as an

illustrated book, the 1958 Harper & Row edition is a hybrid creation by several authors: First is

Burckhardt (1817-1897), who wrote the text; second is Middlemore (1848-1890) who translated

the text from German into English; and third is Jahn (1892-1976), who chose the illustrations,

according to the text in German. The captions were probably provided - at least in their initial

form - by Jahn as well, since the information they convey addresses the images directly. In

addition to Burckhardt, Middlemore and Jahn, Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus, the

editors of the 1958 edition, probably had some influence on the overall arrangement of the book.

The editors, nevertheless, do not address the illustrations or the captions in their introduction.[41]

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[39] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 143 and 148.
[40] Ibid., 145.
[41] Ibid., 3-19.

And, finally, there had to be someone who designed the layout of the book, bringing the words and the images together into the printed space. In this case, as in relation to the other books I analyze here, I do not know who this was, and how exactly to conceptualize their influence on and contribution to the "content" of the book. I leave this question open for future inquiry taken either by me or someone else. At any rate, the individuals who were working on the book had particular responsibilities and privileges, based on their profession and the stage in which they participated in its creation. Throughout my analysis, I use different approaches to the multiple and layered authorship of the illustrated *Civilization*. On the one hand, I address the MFA from the chapter "The Perfecting of the Individual" as if it were composed by a single author; this allows us to focus on the structure of the given-illustrated text, and subsequently its possible consumption by the readers. On the other hand, I look at Jahn's work as a later stage in the creation of that illustrated text; this deepens our understating of the epistemological impact the images have on the text, and of the power relations that are embedded in illustrating a text without the historian's permission.

R. W. Southern addressed the question about the pre-modern individual as well. According to him, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the "period of discovery," when individuals' quest for salvation, security and love, in religious and secular contexts, drew their attention towards their inner world and private psychology; this inward movement resulted in the emergence of individuals from their "common background."[42] The Christianization of Europe and the extension and elaboration of corporate-monastic organizations created new opportunities for individuals to express emotional and spiritual impulses in varied new ways that spread among the larger society. For example, Southern argues, between the sixth and the eleventh centuries

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[42] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 221.

the predominant view of life in Europe was mostly heroic, emphasizing individuals' struggle against greater forces and fate, leaving a personal and intimate tie with God out.[43] Within that framework, the Rule of St. Benedict created a static and disciplined routine for individuals to live within the monastic walls, where they could practice resistance against the powers of evil. However, within that severe lifestyle, there came also to be room for freedom and individual growth that was expressed forcefully in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[44] In the writings of Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux, for instance, we find principles of self-intimate knowledge and disclosure of one's own mind as tools for reaching spiritual ascendance and union with God.[45] During the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Cistercian school, which strove for a greater and more acute spiritual life, had consciously made self-love and knowledge a condition for the knowledge of God.[46] According to Southern, this doctrine introduced warmth and intimacy, which the twelfth-century audience looked for.[47] Comparison between twelfth-century epic and romance shows that individualization took place in the political context as well. In the late-eleventh or early-twelfth-century epic, the *Song of Roland*, knights are represented as obliged to their lord, fellow barons, and ancient holy places in France, more than to their private beloveds.[48] In the late-twelfth century romantic work of Chrétien of Troyes, on the other hand, the knight is preoccupied by love and aspires to unite with his desired object. His sentiments draw him to his inner world, moving his community to the background of his mind. Thus, we move from epic's group with "a common action against a common enemy" to romance's knights who "seek the enemy in solitude," who, alas, might be one of their fellows.[49] The shift from epic

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[43] Ibid., 224.
[44] Ibid., 223.
[45] Ibid., 222 and 227.
[46] Ibid., 230.
[47] Ibid., 228.
[48] Ibid., 242.
[49] Ibid., 244.

to romance indicates individualization in the knights' psychology of combat and etiquette; unlike the knight of the preceding century, the knight of the late-twelfth century endures his pain on his own.

There are seven illustrations in *Making*, five of which are discussed in the chapter "From Epic to Romance." Among them only four are displayed in the chapter itself and one is the frontispiece of the book. Southern's comparison between the visual and verbal sources, and between the different visual sources, posits that the social and cultural developments he recognizes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are foundational, and that as such they continue into later centuries. For example, he points out that in both contemporary verbal and visual depictions of Christ on the Cross, the emphasis shifted from his divinity to his humanity. Until the eleventh century, the convention was to portray the dying figure of Christ as remote and majestic; however, from then on, the theme was treated with "moving realism," stressing Christ's corporality and extreme pain and suffering.[50] According to Southern, this compassionate and empathetic approach to Christ kept developing, and was exploited by artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[51] The MFA I analyze from "Epic to Romance" discusses those changes in the representations of the figure of Christ on the Cross. My own analysis examines how Southern juxtaposes verbal and visual sources, especially Anselm's eleventh-century *Cur Deus Homo*, the contemporary English illustration *Crucifixion from the Gospel of Countess Judith*, and two Danish artworks: the eleventh-century *The Aaby Crucifix*, and the twelfth-century *Tristrup Crucifix*.

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[50] Ibid., 237-38.
[51] Ibid., 238.

In *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200*, Colin Morris, like Southern, detects "the discovery" in Western Europe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to him, the recovery of Latinity, by the expanding humanistic movement, enabled medieval writers to express observations "from life," and share immediate and subtle reflections on the self and the universe. The growth of self-awareness enhanced the appreciation of the freedom to voice and represent oneself, the belief in the individual's potential to reach glory, and the delight in mankind.[52] With the expansion of the Church in the mid-eleventh century, the system of discipline evolved from communal forgiveness of individuals' sins to individuals' self-examination through private confession and priestly absolution. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Abelard emphasized the importance of intentions and "true inner sorrow," instead of external acts and penance, basing these new rituals on ideals of self-examination and sincerity, which spread widely in Western Europe.[53] Furthermore, Abelard and his school conceptualized the meaning of the Cross as the individual's response to it in love and compassion; this, according to Morris, "took contemporary individualism to an extreme."[54] In preaching, Bernard and Guibert of Nogent turned to their personal, spiritual experiences as a tool by which they interpreted the gospels to their audience, exemplifying how self-knowledge is "the path to God."[55] In literature, poets used new lyrical forms of expression that are close to the vernacular, and adequate for simple, direct and sincere self-declaration.[56] In addition, the popularity of autobiographies and letter-collection grew rapidly during the late-eleventh century, as both genres allowed individuals to present themselves, their lives and opinions.[57] Finally, Morris points out a paradox within the

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[52] Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200*, 7-9.
[53] Ibid., 73-75
[54] Ibid., 143-44.
[55] Ibid., 66-67.
[56] Ibid., 68.
[57] Ibid., 79.

feudalistic system that fostered individualism; on the one hand, feudalism enhanced rigidity and formalism in social life, but on the other, it relied on conventional, mutual obligations that were highly personal. Since feudalism built itself on personal loyalty, individuals' character stood out and stirred emotions.[58]

Morris uses eight illustrations in *Discovery*; four of them in the chapter "The Search for the Self." While his discussion about the artworks is in that chapter, the illustrations themselves are clustered between pages 126-127, in the following chapter, "The Self and Other Selves." After the beginning of the eleventh century, Morris argues, artists introduced a new style of representation that draws its content and appearance "from life," making the artistic work an imitation of its model. For instance, representation of individuals shifted from displaying their symbols of rank and status to recording of their personal, unique look. This effect could only be achieved through careful observation and attention to particular, especially facial, details. Indeed, Morris distinguishes between "portrait" and "personal portrait;" the former had prevailed since antiquity, while the latter expresses the new-medieval interest in the specificity of the individual.[59] Thus, he argues, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, both writing and the fine arts were applied to capture and convey personal - mental and physical - characteristics. This new "naturalism," according to Morris, resulted from a transformation in contemporaries' vision, that started to display a "modern way of seeing the human form."[60] Like Southern, Morris equates

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[58] Ibid., 33-34.

[59] Ibid., 87-88.

[60] Ibid., 87-90. According to Lynn White in the mid-twelfth century, the art of Western Europe showed interest in "concrete experience" and "physical actualities." White argues that these new tendencies were "the symptom and expression of the forces then remolding European culture and laying the foundations of modern science." "Natural Science and Naturalistic Art in the Middle Ages," 425-26. For the convergence of the histories of science, vision and the perception of the self, between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, see Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*. Baxandall's concept of "the period-eye" emphasizes the social and cultural contexts of the visual experience. See *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*.

this development with the new Christian spirit, that attempted to strengthen individuals' belief through their identification with Christ and his personal experience. To be sure, until the late-tenth century, artists depicted the figure of Christ on the Cross as an alive man to symbolize his triumph and divinity, but from that point on they moved to express his humanity, especially through signs of pain, suffering and mortality.[61] The MFA from "The Search for the Self" explores those "naturalistic" developments in four artworks from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia (Merseburg Cathedral); enamel plaque of Count Geoffrey of Anjou (Museum at Le Mans); head of Frederick of Barbarossa (Cappenberg); and the tombs of Henri II and Eleanor of Aquitaine (Abbey Church of Fontevrault). This MFA, presented in the subchapter "The Portrait," juxtaposes some of those artworks with verbal sources, such as memorials and descriptions of the physical appearances of the depicted figures. In my analysis, I focus on Morris's rhetoric; his use of and shifts between verbal and visual sources and means to support his observation of twelfth-century "naturalism."

Throughout *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, John Jeffries Martin states that his goal is to understand the Renaissance self "on its own terms," as an attempt to avoid approaching the historical self or identities as if they were "mirrors to ourselves," which may result in a view that "depends almost entirely on where we stand."[62] Focusing on North Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and using sources such as records of inquisitors' interrogations and manuals, literature and the fine arts, Martin argues that the constant element in contemporaries' experience of their identity was the varied ways in which they thought about the relation of the internal to

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[61] Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*, 23 and 140.
[62] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 7.

the external self.[63] Martin constitutes this understanding on two main assumptions: first, that the

cover of the body, the skin, is porous, making the body permeable to external entities and forces;

and second, that there are multiple, overlapping modalities of identity that enable dynamism and

complexity within the self. Martin offers five different modalities of the Renaissance-layered

self: the social or conforming self; prudential self; performative self; porous self; and sincere

self.[64] The contexts in which these selves operated were individuals' social roles and specific

circumstances. For example, under Counter-Reformative oppression, Catholics typically

experienced the conforming self, while heretics the prudent self. The latter could also partake in

courtly culture, among courtiers and artists, while overlapping with the performative self. The

different selves operated in places such as courtrooms, streets, public squares, churches and

private spaces. The conceptualization of the Renaissance-self as porous, Martin suggests, can

free historians who explore it and individualism from projecting their own self and era onto their

subject of inquiry. The account of contemporaries' experience would be better if we saw the

historical self in relation to and with its historical context, than search for the "birth" of later

kinds of self.[65]

Martin uses five illustrations in *Myths*, one of which is in the chapter "The Inquisitors'

Questions." Like Southern and Morris, he implements a comparative study between verbal and

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[63] Martin stresses, however, that the dichotomy between "internal" and "external" self is provisional, signifying the perceived differences between emotions, beliefs, thoughts, etc., versus society, culture, politics, and so forth. *Myth*, 7.

[64] For the five modalities of the Renaissance self, and contemporary cases that demonstrate each, see ibid., 30-39. Martin points out Freud's conceptualization of the ego, id and superego as "most influential formulation of the relational self," as well as the work of psychoanalytical theories on object relations. Ibid., 15 and 137n36. In the context of the historiography of early modern Europe, Martin points out Natalie Davis's examination of the perception of the self as porous, in sixteenth century popular culture. Ibid., 37. Indeed, Davis claims that "the line drawn around the self was not firmly closed," physically and mentally open to others, within a relational field. This perception of the self is different from the nineteenth-century one, which halted Burckhardt, according to Davis, to see the true nature of the Renaissance self. "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth Century-France," 53-56.

[65] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 7.

visual sources and conveys his understanding through both media. For example, in "The Inquisitors' Questions," Martin interprets Lorenzo Lotto's 1530s portrait of the Venetian jeweler Bartolomeo Carpan as a representation of at once the social, prudent and performative selves. To support his interpretation, he decodes the symbolic meaning of the details in the portrait, as well as compares the portrait with the records of Carpan's late 1560s trial for heresy, and the "verbal portrait" they produced. Unlike Southern and Morris, Martin offers a meaning for the portrait without comparing it with other artworks that depict neither Carpan himself nor other people, before or after the 1530s. His analysis, in other words, does not include a development of an artistic theme or technique over time, and that development's possible meaning regarding the pre-modern self.[66] The methodological difference between Southern's and Morris's approach, on the one hand, and Martin's approach, on the other, helps us realize several factors that influence the use of artworks as historical evidence, and their cross reference with written sources. The figure of Christ on the Cross, for instance, is a major theme in Western culture; the numerous versions of its verbal and visual depictions allow a comparative study of that theme over time, in various places, and in different media. Since the number of visual and verbal depictions of the jeweler Carpan is much smaller, their use as historical evidence has to draw on their non-thematical qualities; these may be, for example, their generic, rhetorical or technical features. The representations of Christ and Carpan, however, reflect contemporary psychological and social issues, as both, Christ and Carpan, relate to the concept "individual." In my analysis, I explore how Martin uses Carpan's portrait and the records of his trial, to support the model of the

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[66] Martin does, however, comment on Lotto's work, beyond Carpan's portrait: "But this painting is not a portrait of an individual isolated from the larger social context. To perceive it in such a manner is to miss many of the social dimensions evoked in this representation, to overlook the social framework into which the artist went out of his way, as he always did in his portraits, to place his subject." Ibid., 21.

Renaissance self that Martin offers in "Questions." This analysis also elucidates how varied

sources about an ordinary man can tell us about his individual, nevertheless common,

experience.

In *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, Douglas Biow defines

"individual" as "someone with a mysterious, inimitable quality, a signature style, and/or a

particular, identifying mode of addressing the world."[67] Focusing on sixteenth century Italy, and

using sources such as literature, treatises, painting and fashion, he explores this notion of the

individual and its role among elite men. The contexts in which Biow sees an intense use of this

notion are: the rise of courtly culture and increased concern with etiquette; a new patronage

system and educational programs; new work opportunities and professionalism; technological

developments; the changing status of artisans; and new dominant fashion among men.[68] In the

professional context, he finds that elite men deliberately mystified their success to create an

impression that their skills and mastery resulted, first and foremost, from an innate, inimitable

quality possessed by a privileged group. They achieved this effect by practicing an "aggressive,

personalized voice," that stood out within professional and urban collectives, signaling its

admirable nature, and utilizing fashion and the male body to highlight their particularity.[69] In the

chapter "Facing the Day: Reflections on a Sudden Change in Fashion and the Magisterial

Beard," Biow discusses a large-scale shift in fashion, in which sixteenth-century Italian men

started to cultivate beards. According to Biow, this new practice resulted from socio-political

conditions, in which Italian elite men were expected to subordinate themselves to their lords,

following the late-fifteenth century invasion of Italy by France, and the 1527 invasion by

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[67] Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual*, ix.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., 3-4.

German and Spanish imperial forces, as well as from the courtly culture and its restricting etiquette.[70] Within these conditions, elite men perceived their social role as dominated and effeminate; as a response, they grew beards to display maleness and conceal anxieties associated with loss of power. Paradoxically, wearing beards also signified their adoption of new French and Spanish codes of fashion, which aligned them with the dominant, authoritative new power.[71] Furthermore, while beards signified their collective identity, they also enabled them to point out and promote their individuality.

Biow uses fifty-five illustrations in *Importance*, of which twenty-four illustrations are discussed in "Facing the Day." Sixteen of the twenty-four illustrations are printed in the chapter and eight are displayed in other chapters, though discussed in "Facing the Day." Biow, like his predecessors in the illustrated discourse on the pre-modern self, juxtaposes verbal and visual sources as an argumentative strategy. Interestingly, in "Facing the Day," Biow uses visual representations of the authors whose texts he uses as verbal sources. This method evolves through several stages: first, Biow compares visual representations of men before and after 1500, showing how after the first few decades of the sixteenth century, beards were "suddenly all over the place;"[72] second, narrowing the scope, he compares different styles of beards as seen in sixteenth-century portraits, demonstrating that once Italian elite men stared to wear beards, this fashion became an obsession;[73] third, he uses advice from Castiglione's *The Courtier* and Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo*, in conjunction with the portraits of the two authors, showing them wearing beards. This method allows Biow to foster Castiglione's and della Casa's authority on fashion and civilized behavior, as if both "practice what they preach." In addition, the

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[70] Ibid., 189.
[71] Ibid., 190-91.
[72] Ibid., 181.
[73] Ibid., 194.

conjunction of the authors' words and visual representations enables Biow to shift the discussion

from wearing a beard as an expression of conformism to a performance of individualism

(Castiglione's portrait is on page 95; della Casa's on page 195; the discussion on both portraits is

between pages 194-95). In the context of courtly and civic self fashioning, both Renaissance

authors emphasize the importance of adhering to local norms, and balancing between the

different elements of one's attire, including their beard;[74] however, their visual depictions show

two individuals who have a unique, bearded look. This juxtaposition of words and images serves

to illustrate the fine line between the social and individual aspects of wearing a beard in

sixteenth-century Italy. My analysis of this MFA concentrates on using authoritative figures;

their words and appearance as an indicator of a broad, yet personal, phenomenon among elite

men.

Noticeably, the five historians whose work I examine here are all men. My decision to

analyze illustrated books on a particular subject somehow led to this. In "Boundaries and the

Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," Natalie Davis wrote about the self in relation to both

collective institutions and strategies of women for self-expression and autonomy. Her text,

however, is not illustrated, and it is an article in the edited book, *Reconstructing Individualism*,

rather than a monograph. Neither did Caroline Bynum illustrate her article "Did the Twelfth

Century Discover the Individual?" that was first published in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical

History* and was reprinted and expanded in a collection of her articles *Jesus as Mother*.[75]

Obviously, gender is not only an identity of the authors whose work I examine here, but also an

identity of the people whose experiences the five historians explore. In this sense, gender is an

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[74] Ibid., 191-94.
[75] Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth Century-France." Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?"

identity in which the five historians and their subjects of inquiry meet. My study does not examine how gender and women's experiences of their and others' selves are approached by the five historians, although I have explored this issue thoroughly. In fact, I wrote about this matter quite extensively and decided to leave my insights out of this study, and perhaps to return to them in the future. This decision is based on my desire to focus on the conceptual framework offered here first. As you will see, gender will be addressed in my analysis of Biow's MFA, since Biow himself uses "gender" as a category through which he understands the notion of the individual in sixteenth-century Italy. Finally, I have not addressed the fact that I am a woman who analyzes illustrated historiography made by men. This is something I think about, but would prefer to discuss on a different occasion, if at all.

As mentioned above, the exploration of MFAs through the study of the illustrated discourse on pre-modern individualism benefits from two main aspects. The first is the discourse's continuity, evident in: references to earlier publications on the topic; references to MFAs in earlier publications; and the influence of other fields of knowledge and technology on the discourse. The second aspect is the historians' awareness of their selves examining the historical self, and the epistemological and ethical challenges this situation entails, including its implications for MFAs. I claim that among the five historians whose work I examine here only Martin and Biow acknowledge and cope with the second aspect, the problematic of the self-historicizing the self. However, as we will see, the methods that both develop to solve the problem - while they are debating against their predecessors - do not touch upon the multiformity of their and the earlier publications, subsequently making the continuity of the discourse overtly verbal. This implies a cause and effect relation between both aspects of the illustrated discourse: the self-awareness that historians develop through historicizing the self (verbal) determines the

nature of the continuity of the discourse (verbal), and vice versa; the nature of the discourse's

continuity (verbal) determines the kind of self-awareness historians develop, while historicizing

the self (verbal). Still, I would like to argue, the continuity of the illustrated discourse is not

solely verbal; visual threads cross its five publications too, and they do so through MFAs.

Historians' awareness of the problematic of the self historicizing the self, nevertheless, has not

yet developed through multiform, hybrid communication. While this study does not attempt to

answer why multiform self-awareness develops in a certain pace, and how advanced is its current

potentiality, it does explore how an illustrated discourse develops a multiform continuity, and

offers ways to increase multiform self-awareness.[76]

Discursive continuity thrives through the survival of its tangible aspect, and the longevity

and volume of its readership and authorship. The practical mechanisms that maintain its

continuity over time and space are the references within, to and from the discourse. For instance,

looking retrospectively, in *Importance*, the most recent publication analyzed here, there are

refences to *Myths*, *Discovery* and *Civilization*. In *Myth*, there are references to *Discovery*,

Making and *Civilization*, as well as a reference to Biow's *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries:*

Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy (2002) that discusses the Renaissance self.[77] In

Discovery, there is no reference to *Making*, but rather to Southern's *Medieval Humanism and*

Other Studies (1970) that discusses twelfth-century humanism, and there is no reference to

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[76] Mieke Bal discusses how self-awareness develops through the interpretation of signs whose meaning is indecisive. She claims that this process is compulsive, and that it illuminates the "sense of 'text'" and its ability to contain "a plurality of possible meanings." *Reading "Rembrandt,"* 223. I hope that the concept "multiformity" will raise awareness to signs that are open to multiple meanings and to the self, at the same time.
[77] In 2006, two years after the publication of *Myths*, Martin published an article about his experience of reading *The Making of the Middle Ages* as a young man, as well as his personal meetings with Southern. Interestingly, Martin pays special attention to the last chapter in *Making*, "From Epic to Romance," that is examined here. While this study analyzes Southern's juxtaposition of words and images in that chapter, Martin does not relate to Southern's use of art as visual evidence in it. See Martin, "Obscure, Significant Events: R. W. Southern and the Meaning of Scholarship."

Civilization. Finally, in *Making*, there is no reference to *Civilization*. Another mechanism that maintains discursive continuity are references from several publications to the same publication. For example, both *Importance* and *Discovery* refer to Walter Ullman's *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (1966); in both, *Importance* and *Myths*, there are references to *Civilization*, Caroline Bynum's "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual," from *Importance* it is to the publication of the article in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1980) and from *Myths* it is to its publication in her book *Jesus as Mother* (1982); and both refer to Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self Fashioning* (1983); these references are in addition to the reference from *Importance* to *Myths*. When references to other publications are done explicitly it is easy to track them, especially when one can use devices such as the bibliographical list, index, notes and bibliometric analysis. In some cases, however, we identify what seems to be a reference to another publication, although the title of the publication or the name of its author are not mentioned explicitly; in these cases, we rather identify ideas that we have already encountered in a different publication. Indirect or implicit references between different publications may occur in varied levels of consciousness among the readers and the authors; we cannot assume that all the readers are able to identify implicit references in any given moment, since their identification depends on the readers' experience and task in hand. As well, we cannot assume that the authors are always conscious of all the other publications that have expressed the same or similar ideas as their own publication does.

Both *Making* and *Discovery* do not refer explicitly to *Civilization*, yet they give the impression that they refer to Burckhardt's argument according which the "individual" was "discovered" in the Italian Renaissance. In *Civilization*, in the chapter "The Discovery of Man – Spiritual Description in Poetry," Burckhardt writes: "On the discovery of the outward world the

Renaissance added a still greater achievement by first discerning and bringing to light the full, whole nature of man. This period, […] first gave the highest development to individuality, and then led the individual to the most zealous and thorough study of himself in all forms and under all conditions."[78] In *Making*, Southern claims that to grasp the great changes that took place during the Middle Ages, we should see them "from within, in their effects on individuals;"[79] when we do so "we find less talk of life as an exercise in endurance, and of death in a hopeless cause; and we hear more of life as a seeking and journeying," adding that while the main locus of those spiritual journeys was monasteries, "[t]he critical period of discovery was the century from about 1050 to 1150."[80] As we can see, both Burckhardt and Southern link - within a few steps - the terms "individual" and "discovery" to describe a major new development, which according to both authors, happened in different places and times.

As mentioned above, there is no explicit reference from *Discovery* to either *Making* nor *Civilization*; however, when Morris discusses the main characteristics and development of pre-modern individualism, he seems to debate with Burckhardt. According to Morris, if we focus "on the development of self-awareness and self-expression, on the freedom of man to declare himself without paying excessive attention to the demands of convention or the dictates of authority, then we may well find that the twelfth century was in this respect a peculiarly creative age." Citing R. R. Bolgar, he claims that in the twelfth century we discern "for the first time the lineaments of modern man."[81] Moreover, Morris argues that "[t]he very idea of the 'Renaissance' itself was a late medieval one, rooted […] long before 1500. The idea of a sudden rebirth of humanism in the

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[78] Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 303. At the end of the first sentence in the quote above, Burckhardt refers to the "Introduction" of the seventh volume of Michelet's *Historie de France*, published in 1855, as the source of these "striking expressions." Ibid., 303n1.
[79] Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, 219.
[80] Ibid., 222.
[81] Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*, 7.

last fifteenth century rested, moreover, on a very simple-minded view of the Middle Ages. In practice it was certainly not a pure 'age of faith', free from the challenge of a secular view of man and uncomplicated by the use of human reason."[82] Finally, the title of Morris's book, *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200*, brings the combination of the terms "discovery" and "individual" to the front, echoing Burckhardt's use of "The Discovery of Man" in the title of aforementioned chapter.

Although there are no explicit references from both *Making* and *Discovery* to *Civilization* or Burckhardt, we may assume that the two later publications continue a discussion that takes place in the earlier one. Moreover, without explicit references from *Discovery* to *Civilization*, we may assume that this discussion is polemic not only regarding where and when Western individualism developed, but also where, in the historiographical discourse, the umbrella-concept "Renaissance" can be adequately used; as long as it signifies an era that encourages "individuals" to "discover" themselves through civilized - sometimes retrospective and yet "modern" - methods. The assumption that Southern and Morris debate with Burckhardt is based on the varied terms and concepts that all three publications use, especially the conjunction of the two terms "discovery" and "individual," and their positioning in local-argumentative sequences.[83] Therefore, since *Making* and *Discovery* juxtapose two terms, which have already been juxtaposed in *Civilization*, they implicitly refer to it, whether Southern and Morris intended to do

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[82] Ibid., 5-6.
[83] Clearly, Bynum's article "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" juxtaposes the terms "individual" and "discovery," as well as Martin's article "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe." Both articles do so already in their titles. What we see here is a group of studies in which each study signifies itself as part of that group, that ongoing discourse. The signification of belonging to that discourse is made by the repetition of a specific intersection of "key terms." In the digital era, when search for data is mainly done through terms, and the results of such search are given so fast, it is relatively easy to grasp "the discourse." From a terminological point of view, my study seems to join the discourse about the "discovery" of the "individual," although it focuses on the discourse's use of MFAs.

so or not. From the readers' point of view, once the meanings of the terms "discovery" and "individual" have been used in a single argumentative sequence, the two terms enclose a concept, idea or subject matter; something that the readers can visualize as a process that embodies movement within stages, rather than a still image. This argumentative sequence also signifies space, since its utterances expand in the space of the book. Therefore, the conjunction of "individual" and "discovery" is a core of a conceptual as well as physical body, that can be explored, interpreted and debated. The repetition of juxtaposing a certain group of terms generates subtle references to the earlier cases in which this juxtaposition has taken a metaphorical and literal place. These references are implicit, and along with the explicit ones, they allow the discourse to continue.

How does an illustrated discourse develop and maintain a multiform continuity? We saw that conjunction of terms and its repetition can make a group of terms part of a cohesive utterance and coherent argument, which can be referred to and debated (as happens with "discovery" and "individual"). We also saw that both explicit references between various publications, which clearly mention titles and authors, and implicit references, which repeat specific combinations of terms, integrate publications and ideas into a continuing discourse. In an illustrated discourse, there are similar explicit and implicit referential mechanisms which are a necessary device to shift readers' attention between various publications through their own MFAs; they work the same way between different MFAs within the same publication, and between the words and images within an MFA.

These mechanisms are "multiform references" (hereafter MFRs); their integration of the verbal and visual components of an MFA into a cohesive utterance and coherent idea and various MFAs into a discourse is possible by juxtaposing and entangling the semantic and visual aspects

of words and images. This is feasible since printed words and printed images have the capacity

to be both meaningful and visible at the same time. Further, their visibility and meaningfulness

can very well exist while the other medium is in the same condition or has the same properties.[84]

Since MFRs are a kind of reference, they have a potential to influence the readers to shift their

attention from words to images and vice versa; however, there is nothing intrinsic in MFRs that

guarantees a change in readers' behavior. Thus, when we discuss MFRs, we relate to a rhetorical

device that has a potential to change readers' mode of reading and observing the text. The actual

power of MFRs to change readers' behavior will be clearer after we track readers' eye

movements while they consume MFAs.[85] Tracking readers' eye movements will help us reveal

the varied patterns involved in reading illustrated texts, among them the elements that drive

readers to shift their attention between the verbal and visual components; the velocity of readers'

reaction to visual and semantic stimuli (that is manifested in rapid eye movements, i.e., saccades,

that are measured in milliseconds); and the duration in which their gaze rests upon the different

components. Until we conduct such experiments, the question of multiformity would benefit

from hypothesizing and conceptualizing the nature of MFRs. Finally, tracking readers' eye

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[84] Peter Burke argues that when historians use images in their publications, they tend to treat them as means to illustrate conclusions they reach by other means. This is reflected in the absence of comments about the images, as well as new questions that the images evoke. *Eyewitnessing*, 10. This problem, he claims, emanates from the difficulty to translate visual testimony into words, which might be (at least partially) solved if historians are trained in using visual evidence as they are in using written documents. Ibid., 14. In similar spirit, Jacques Derrida criticizes the perception of the written word as secondary to the spoken one, especially in Saussure's semiology. Derrida writes: "Either writing was never a simple 'supplement,' or it is urgently necessary to construct a new logic of the 'supplement'." *On Grammatology*, 7. Both Burke and Derrida point out "legitimate signifiers," in discourses that have institutionalized hierarchies among forms of expression, as well as the need to change this condition. In this study, the concepts "MFA" and "MFR" refer to the semantic meaning and visibility of words and images; however, I have already started to work on the phonetic aspect of multiform utterances, and intend to expand my work on multiformity to include additional media.

[85] Eye movements are commonly held as an overt proxy for cognitive activity; thus, tracking eye movements has become a common method in neurocognitive studies. The scholarship that employs this method is vast as well as the range of its questions and conclusions. A classic study in the field of eye movements is Yarbus, *Eye Movements and Vision*. For a neurocognitive study of language and reading, see Deheane, *Reading in the Brain*. For approaching art history, employing methods and insights from brain studies, see Onians *Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle to Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki*.

movements will also allow us to understand better the "compelling" element that thinkers have ascribed to word and image relation.

Saussure, Wittgenstein and Bal have pointed out the power embedded in word and image relation to forcefully evoke thoughts in one's mind, and Charles Sanders Peirce's classification of signs into three modes: symbolic, iconic and indexical, may be considered as a framework to think about the compelling or involuntary effect word and image relation has upon readers. According to Peirce, indexical signs are connected with the things or objects they represent by a physical, organic connection.[86] Therefore, the direct and contiguous connection between indexical signs and the things they represent enables indices to "direct the attention to their objects by blind compulsion."[87] Peirce also argues that indices can be thought of "as a fragment torn away from the object, the two in their existence being one whole or a part of such whole."[88] If words and images have pushing and pulling forces between them, that can shift individuals' attention from the words to the images and vice versa, across the MFA's space, it implies that words and images may be physical parts of a whole. This conceptual framework suits well my understanding of MFAs and especially MFRs, that might be a whole whose verbal and visual poles are "torn" from its body.

On the semantic level, MFRs associate the MFA's verbal and visual components through semantic relations such as synonymy, antonymy, meronymy (part or a member in relation to a whole), holonymy (whole in relation to a part or member), and so on. These kinds of semantic relations traditionally describe affiliations between terms, but we can use them to characterize relations between words and images too. In this study, we focus on terms and images that denote

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[86] Peirce, *Collected Papers,* 2.229.
[87] Ibid., 2.306.
[88] Ibid., 2.230.

a similar meaning, that is, represent - each in its own way - a similar thing, or that maintain a meronym-holonym relatedness. For example, an MFR can link the word "dog" and an image of "a dog," when both are printed on the same page, based on the similar meaning both representations denote. An MFR can also link the term "tail" with an image of a "dog," since they maintain a meronym-holonym relatedness. MFRs' own semiotic and semantic qualities are "multiform," since they combine what the verbal and visual components in their ends denote.

On the visual level, MFRs associate words and images according to their visual salience, determined by the degree of their visual prominence in relation to each other and their shared visual surrounding, as well as the readers' experience and task in hand. MFRs own visual quality is "multiform," since - as happens with their semiotic and semantic qualities - they are composed of the words and images which they associate. Since both MFRs' "verbal" and "visual" qualities are multiform, MFRs embody "pure multiformity" or "total hybridity;" they are neither "verbal" nor "visual," but both. As we can see, the number of factors that determine if and how MFRs

operate is relatively high; they include the semantic and visual features of the MFA's verbal and visual components, and the readers' background and goals, and even, perhaps, personality.[89]

MFRs are classified into three main types: explicit, implicit and indeterminate. Within an MFA, an explicit MFR announces its own juxtaposition of the verbal and visual components, usually through brackets in the main text, and at the beginning of the caption of the illustration.[90] In the brackets, the term "fig. n." - "fig." for "figure" and "n." for "number," that are usually written in Arabic or Roman numerals - comes to signify that these are "the right" time and place, along the consumption of the illustrated text, to direct attention to the illustration, that is displayed above its corresponding caption. It is important to note that "fig. n." is a hybrid sign, as it starts with a verbal anacronym and ends with a number; the "fig." represents the kind of representation to which the author directs the readers (i.e., figure, plate or illustration), while the "n." is the number of the cases in which that kind of representation has been used so far within

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[89] Since human beings have limited capacity to pay attention to things in their environment, studies in the field attempt to point out the factors that influence attention, and how neural mechanisms are involved in the selective processing of information. Attention can be drawn involuntarily by stimuli with certain qualities such as, contrast, novelty, movement, repetition and intensity; however, it can also be directed voluntarily during a certain task. Interestingly, attention is influenced by individuals' past experience, which modifies their perceptual experience. See "Attention." It should be noted that semantic relations between words, and their use as a method to taxonomize images is currently developed. ImageNet is a project that provides an image database that is organized on the basis of semantic relations between the images. The project, that started in 2009, uses semantic groupings of terms arranged by the database WordNet. ImageNet is currently a collaboration between Stanford University and Princeton University, in which WordNet is based since the mid-1980s. While analyzing MFAs, I would like to consider not only the lexical and contextualized meanings of both words and images, but also their visibility (and, thus, visual attention), mutual-physical relations, and the varied factors that readers add to the overall experience of processing MFAs. Combining these factors would produce the algorithm of the verbal-visual or "multiform grammar" (MFG). ImageNet website introduces the project in a historical context: "Ever since the birth of the digital era and the availability of web-scale data exchanges, researches in these fields have been working hard to design more and more sophisticated algorithms to index, retrieve, organize and annotate multimedia data." Stanford Vision Lab, "ImageNet: About." Indeed, technological developments change our ability to extract, organize and synthesize information; this is only one way how they change us; within that change, they allow us to explore how we create and communicate historical knowledge from varied semiotic systems or sources.

[90] Hereafter, we use "main text" for the substantial written part of the publication. "Verbal component," on the other hand, denotes both the main text and the captions, within an MFA. This terminology reflects the notion that the captions are part of the MFA, and that within it, they have a different role from that of the main text. It follows that the main text and captions maintain a reciprocal semantic, spatial and epistemological relation, which has different properties from the relation they have with the "visual component," either as individual elements or as the "verbal component."

the publication. The presence of two identical-hybrid signs, one embedded in the main text and one at the beginning of the caption, establishes an explicit MFR that can generate shifts of attention in a bidirectional way: from words to images and vice versa. When readers encounter "fig. n.," that is, an explicit MFR, they have the freedom to cooperate with the author and shift their attention from the main text to the caption and the illustration or ignore the conventional sign. Explicit MFRs operate between different MFAs within a single publication and between various publications as they operate between words and images within an MFA; their direction of readers' attention somewhere else is done consciously and clearly. Among the five publications this study analyzes, *Making*, *Discovery* and *Importance* use explicit MFRs. As we will see, although explicit MFRs are quite conventional, all three publications have their own style of using them.

Implicit MFRs generate shifts of attention through semantic relatedness between the MFA's verbal and visual components and their visual features, without announcing its operation. For example, the presence of the word "dog" and an image of a "dog" on the same page establishes a point or moment within the consumption of the illustrated text, in which it would make sense to shift the attention between the two. After all, what could be the reason to embed both kinds of representations in proximity if not to discuss the same phenomenon? In *Myths*, for instance, we read on page 21: "a portrait of the jeweler Bartolome Carpan" in the main text, on page 23: "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views*" in the caption, and in the illustration, above the caption, we see a figure of a man in three angles. Since "portrait" in both the main text and caption denotes the same meaning, "jeweler" and "Goldsmith" denote similar meanings, and there is a figure of a man in the illustration, all three elements: the phrase in the main text, caption and image establish a nexus of implicit MFRs, that make the corresponding MFA

cohesive and coherent. The semantic relatedness between the term "dog" and an image of a "dog" is similarity, as well as between the terms "jeweler" and "goldsmith." As mentioned above, in addition to similarity, terms and images within an MFA can relate to each other by being meronyms or holonyms to each other. A meronym is a term that signifies part or a member of whole and therefore can represent it. For example, "tail" and "dog," or "Carpan" and "Venetian men." Holonym is the opposite of meronym; it signifies the whole in relation to its part or member. In addition to linking verbal and visual components of a specific MFA, implicit and indeterminate MFRs may operate between different MFAs within a single publication, as well as between various publications. Their function is always based on the same principles; their direction of readers' attention depends on the semantic and visual features of both the verbal and visual components, and the readers.

The main difference between explicit, implicit and indeterminate MFRs is that while we recognize the first through a well-known convention, we can only hypothesize the last two. Hypothesizing implicit MFRs demonstrates that they can come in varied degrees of semantic similarity. For example, the word "wolf" and an image of a "dog" on the same page may establish an MFR that is perhaps more implicit (or less explicit) than the one between the word "dog" and an image of a "dog," within the same field of vision. When a meronym-holonym relation is considered, the distance between the term "tail" and an image of "dog" (with or without a tail) is arguably shorter than the distance between the terms "pet" or "animal" and an image of a "dog." Throughout the analyses, I use "semantic relatedness" to denote either meronym-holonym relation or both, the latter and semantic similarity. This is possible since

semantic similarity is a kind of semantic relatedness. [91] At any rate, the gradation in implicit MFRs suggests that there could be multiple implicit MFRs within an MFA. It also implies that even if there is an explicit MFR within an MFA, it is highly probable that there are also implicit MFRs within that MFA.

It is important to note that when we hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs, we should be aware of the shifts we may encounter or generate between the linguistic level and the epistemological or ontological level of our hypothesis. We may assume that the relation between certain phenomena in the past resembles the semantic relation between the terms and images that we use in historiography, to signify those phenomena (especially through depicting cause and effect relation). In other words, we may hold, in different degrees of consciousness, that the verbal and visual representations that we use in historiography imitate the structure and occurrences of the past. I think that those cognitive shifts between what we ascribe to representations and what we ascribe to the reality those representations tell about are inevitable; and that the mechanism that blurs the boundaries between representation and reality is what

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[91] The evaluation of semantic relatedness (including similarity) between concepts (terms or words), and the use of effective methods to compute and quantify that relatedness, have been addressed in the fields of psychology, artificial intelligence, information management and knowledge engineering. Without delving into the features of each of the following approaches, these three studies propose different methods to compute semantic similarity between two concepts. The first method counts "distances" (or edges) between concepts (or nodes) in a hierarchical semantic net. The shorter the path from one concept to another, the more similar they are. Rada et al. "Development and Application of a Metric on Semantic Nets." The second method examines semantic similarity between words through their "substitutability" in representation of context. The study shows that "the more often two words can be substituted into the same context the more similar in meaning they are judged to be." Miller and Charles, "Contextual Corelates of Semantic Similarity." The third method uses "information content;" it examines the extent to which two concepts share the same information. Reznik, "Using Information Content to Evaluate Semantic Similarity in a Taxonomy." In addition to semantic similarity between terms, scholars have also explored the computation of semantic similarity between sentences, paragraphs, documents and texts, as well as between different kinds of textual units (such as between a sentence and paragraph). Rus et al. "SEMILAR: The Semantic Similarity Toolkit." For a study that offers a method to measure semantic relatedness, including semantic similarity and other possible semantic relationships, see Gracia and Mena, "Web-Based Measure of Semantic Relatedness."

constitutes our ability to relate to reality, and that this mechanism is where the real interest and play are.[92]

Indeterminate MFRs are terms whose semantic relatedness with terms in the caption or the image is vague and challenging to classify; it is neither a clear semantic similarity, meronym-holonym or any other relatedness; however, they seem to influence the semantic, spatial and epistemological aspects of the MFA. In some cases, a term or the verbal pole of an indeterminate MFR signifies a phenomenon into which the image or visual pole may become and therefore cannot entirely represent that phenomenon (i.e., that is represented by the verbal pole). In such cases, the two poles of the MFR suggest potentially a shift or transgression from one state to another or a limbo. These liminal situations can be relevant to either the historical phenomenon that the MFA explores or the MFA itself, that might change perspectives on the historical phenomenon. In both cases, our attempt to hypothesize MFRs encounters a moment - and point in the space of the MFA - that manifests a "twist" or "gap" in multiform representation. We may hypothesize an indeterminate MFR when we read, for example, the term "outdoors" in the main text and see an image of a "dog" in vicinity to it. What is the semantic relatedness between "outdoors" and "dog"? It can only be determined by the context in which both are used; the way the author sees the surrounding both signs share. At the same time, we should consider that the author's outlook over the relation between "outdoors" and "dog" may change as the MFA

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[92] Hayden White points out aporia and irony as self-conscious tools to cope with the inadequacy of language to describe coherently or logically the course of events without using figures of speech, which are always "external" to the discourse (and thus disturb the "pure" description of reality). He also argues that "metadiscourse," namely, the classification of linguistic modes that predominate discourses, rather than relating to the discourses' "content," is, in fact, a typology of modes of understanding. See *Tropics of Discourse*. Thus, our hypothesis and classification of MFRs can benefit our apprehension of process of reasoning and understating. We should bear in mind, however, that sometimes this classification entails a shift of attention between what the MFAs argue (that is, how reality was) and how they do so.

progresses.[93] Clearly, in some cases, the context plays a central role in clarifying the semantic

relatedness between the MFA's verbal and visual components; this raises our sensitivity to how

authors use MFRs as rhetorical devices. It also makes us aware of the possibility that authors use

implicit and indeterminate MFRs in varied degrees of consciousness, and that MFAs are not

fully under their control.

The multiplicity of MFRs of any kind manifests the multiformity of the text, pointing out

the various ways in which we can associate words and images in an argumentative environment.

Additionally, the gradation in implicit MFRs and the consideration of indeterminate MFRs mean

that MFAs are a complicated scope to analyze, since, according to this logic, terms in the list of

illustrations, bibliographical list and index implicitly refer to the captions and images, which

makes the two lists and the index part of the argument. Thinking about it a bit further, the world

outside of the book is full of implicit and indeterminate MFRs to MFAs in books, and vice versa,

expanding the body of MFAs in a way that is hard to predict and define.[94] This nebular MFA and

a group of such MFAs is nothing else but an illustrated discourse, that has explicit, implicit and

indeterminate ways to maintain its continuity. The question how to narrow down scopes of

construction and analysis of MFAs will be addressed in the body of this study.

Drawing on scholarship on historiography, literature, art, language and psychology, and

using the illustrated discourse on the development of individualism in pre-modern Europe as a

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[93] I would like to thank Professor Elizabeth S. Cohen for her helpful suggestion to use the term "indeterminate" to describe this kind of MFRs.

[94] This image of implicit and indeterminate MFRs filling the world echoes Gérard Genette's vision of the paratext, i.e., the elements that surround the main text in books, expanding boundlessly. He writes: "[O]ne of the methodological hazards attended on a subject multiform and tentacular as the paratext, it seems to me, is the imperialist temptation to annex to this subject everything that comes within its reach or seems possibly to pertain to it." *Paratext*, 407. However, when it comes to multiformity, we might think about it as a more "inclusive" framework rather than "imperialist." At any rate, if Genette feels that he might lose control over his own conceptual framework and its methods, this feeling resonates with me.

case study, this study asks: Can we have a more effective illustrated historiography? Can we develop nomenclature, conventions and standards to improve arguments based on verbal and visual evidence and means? And can we establish a critical discourse on illustrated, multiform scholarship? I argue that all these options are possible, if we approach illustrated historiography afresh. The concept "multiform" stands at the core of the new approach that I offer here, since it signifies the hybridity of illustrated texts, allowing us to delve into their complex nature. "Multiform arguments" and explicit, implicit and indeterminate "multiform references" can enhance our understanding of how combinations of words and images develop and maintain continuity of verbal-visual ideas and discourse, as well as historians' self-awareness, being engaged in such scholarly endeavor.

The next section of this study is the "Technical Introduction;" a second Introduction which is also an analysis; it asks how the five analyzed publications "manage" the visual materials in them, and consequently their own intertextuality. The presumption of the "Technical Introduction" is that the technical aspects of the book and the practices involved in them by both, the makers and readers of the book, are part and parcel of the book's epistemology. To exemplify this presumption, the "Technical Introduction" begins with presenting those aspects and their importance and continues by analyzing them in the five publications. Further, the "Technical Introduction" is organized according to the chronology of the five publications, with five tables, each focusing on an MFA, its chapter and book. Each table is divided into thirteen rubrics or columns, which together constitute a comprehensive overview of the multiformity of the text, approached from a technical perspective. The different columns examine devices such as the list of illustrations, captions, index, the layout and print of the illustrations, and the kind of MFRs used in the analyzed MFA. Each table is also followed by a short essay that draws on the

findings presented in the table, and discusses cases that exemplify how technical aspects of illustrated historiography embed patterns of creation and communication of historical knowledge. Finally, the approach I employ in the "Technical Introduction" resembles some of Gérard Genette's postulations in *Paratext*. In this Introduction, I address those postulations and explain the difference between the "paratext" and "technical" perspectives on books.

Chapter 1, "*l'Uomo Univesale*: Multiform Argument in Jacob Burckhardt's "The Perfecting of the Individual'," hypothesizes implicit and indeterminate MFRs, using scans of double spreads, that compile "Perfecting." In this chapter, I introduce the method by which we hypothesize MFRs, using color coding to highlight terms in the main text and caption, and the image itself. This method is employed in the four following chapters as well. The hypothesis and highlight of MFRs require a thorough analysis of the illustrated text, therefore, I use "hypothesis" and "analysis" interchangeably. Additionally, the hypothesis of MFRs, which is a semantic analysis, in fact, reveals the spatial aspect of the analyzed MFA; along the analyses, I often use the terms "spatial analysis." The use of color coding allows us to see how different terms throughout the analyzed text maintain their semantic relatedness with the image and other terms from different distances across the MFA. Ultimately, this analysis demonstrates the visibility and physicality of the MFA; the topography of historical knowledge. The analysis of "Perfecting" is an exploration of Burckhardt's understanding of the Renaissance "all-sided man," and his elaboration on this concept by telling about Leon Battista Alberti's talents and achievements. The fact that Jahn illustrated this edition of *Civilization*, and that by doing so transformed Burckhardt's argument into an MFA, hovers over its analysis and is addressed, as well as the implications of Jahn's decision to plant Alberti's self-portrait at the center of Burckhardt's discussion about him.

Chapter 2, "Tender Compassion: Multiform Argument in R. W. Southern's 'From Epic to Romance'," employs the same analytical method that is introduced in the first chapter. Since "Epic," unlike "Perfecting," uses explicit MFRs, the second chapter examines how the presence of all three kinds of MFRs: explicit, implicit and indeterminate influences the MFA's epistemology. Southern's use of explicit MFRs without the convention "fig. n.," utilizing the continuity of the body of the book to consolidate the MFA, as well as his harnessing of terms that "neighbor" the referring poles of the explicit MFRs, are examined as well. Additionally, "Epic" is much longer than "Perfecting" and thus requires adaptation of the definition of the analyzed space from "chapter" to "MFA." Subsequently, the second chapter develops principles to identify the body of the MFA, focusing on the use of regular or "conventional" reading of an illustrated text versus zooming out from the referring poles of its explicit MFRs. In "Epic," Southern discusses changes in the sentiments eleventh and twelfth century people had for the suffering Christ, basing his observation on verbal and visual representations of Christ on the Cross, that gradually emphasized his humanity rather than divinity. Thus, the analysis of Southern's MFA brings forth questions about verbal and visual means in the service of specific topics, especially those that touch upon theological and metaphysical issues; all this while considering his contribution to the discourse about pre-modern individualism. Lastly, the second chapter examines how Southern utilizes shifts between contemporary verbal and visual sources to create a narrative for the changes of those sentiments, as they move, according to Southern, from France to England and then to Western Europe. His juxtaposition of verbal and visual sources is done in parallel with his use of micro and macro levels. From an analytical point of view, this is an opportunity to explore how multiformity can merge with other major historiographical categories into sophisticated rhetorical devices.

Chapter 3, "Personal Portrait: Multiform Argument in Colin Morris's 'The Search for the Self'," explores the subchapter "The Portrait," in which Morris develops the concept "personal portrait," to show the twelfth-century's growing interest in individuals' personal traits and their representations. Hypothesizing and highlighting MFRs reveals Morris's attempt to validate his observation of a move towards "naturalism" by intersecting verbal and visual sources, and the challenge this attempt entails due to the scarcity of both verbal and visual sources. The third chapter also examines Morris's division of explicit MFRs into two-stage sequence, as he refers the readers from the main text to a footnote and from there to the image. Terming these footnotes as "middle poles," the chapter looks into how they, along the MFRs' referring and referred poles, push and pull readers' attention across the MFA. Other techno-rhetorical issues such as the effect of locating captions beside the illustrations rather than beneath them, and conveying information about the artworks in the main text, captions and the "Chronological Table" are examined as well.

Chapter 4, "The Relational Self: Multiform Argument in John Jeffries Martin's 'The Inquisitors' Questions'," explores how Martin's juxtaposition of verbal and visual sources and means supports the model of the Renaissance self that he offers in "Questions." The fourth chapter continues hypothesizing and highlighting implicit and indeterminate MFRs, in a chapter without explicit MFRs; however, it also introduces a new method to analyze MFAs, in which six of the paragraphs in "Questions" and its visual component, namely, Lorenzo Lottos' portrait of Carpan from 1530-1535, are positioned side by side. The physical proximity of each of the paragraphs and the image allows us to hypothesize MFRs while spending minimal time on processing its referring verbal or visual poles while looking for their referred counterparts across the MFA. This method imitates a conversation we could have had with Martin, standing in front

of Carpan's portrait and hearing what he is seeing in it that supports his understanding of the Renaissance self. The new method, that is built upon the method employed in the first three analyses, also pays more attention to the details in the illustration. Martin has a different historiographical approach to the question of pre-modern individualism, focusing on the definition and experience of the fifteenth and sixteenth century individual rather than on where and when pre-modern individualism had developed; his detailed analysis of Carpan's portrait and use of inquisitorial records require different emphases and adaptations of the analysis of his MFA.

Chapter 5, "Knowing What to Wear: Multiform Argument in Douglas Biow's 'Facing the Day: A Reflection on a Sudden Change in Fashion and the Magisterial Beard'," looks into how Biow's intersection of two quotations from Castiglione's *The Courtier* (written between 1508-1527) with his portrait by Raphael from 1514-1515, and two quotations from Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* (written between 1552-1555) with his portrait by Pontormo from 1541-1544, supports his understanding of the sixteenth-century growth of beards among Italian-elite men. Biow, like Martin, focuses not on the question where and when pre-modern individualism had developed but on how contemporary men thought of and represented their singularity and collectivity at the same time. His use of verbal and visual sources allows him to show how practicing the same fashion signaled a complex message. To understand his multiform strategy, the fifth chapter hypothesizes implicit and indeterminate MFRs, while positioning Biow's quotations of the two Renaissance authors next to their portraits, leaving Biow's own explicit MFRs outside of the analytical scope. This method imitates a situation in which we could have stood with Biow in front of the two portraits, listening to what the two Renaissance authors have

to say about fashion and etiquette. As happened in the analysis of "Questions," a change in the historiographical approach within an MFA entails an adaptation of its analysis.

I conclude this study with an Epilogue, "Being Effective." In it, I review the analytical methods and concepts that this study offers and how they relate to the five MFAs it explores. I also suggest several directions to continue this study, using those new terminology and analytical methods, as well as methods from neurocognitive science. Some of those directions address the use of multiformity in pedagogy. I hope that the insights I have gained from analyzing MFAs about pre-modern individualism will soon develop into insights about us as readers, observers, thinkers and learners, who constantly create and consume utterances that are composed of verbal and visual components. Moreover, I believe that a thorough research of MFAs and other products that are composed of different semiotic systems will foster new ideas about the essence of agency and freedom. I base this belief on the attempt to answer the question whether my motivation to conceptualize and analyze MFAs in the illustrated discourse on pre-modern individualism is, in fact, studying myself under the disguise of studying hybrid epistemology. Answering this question entails an analogy between MFAs and the self. Indeed, there are several common threads to both phenomena: their presence is noticeable; their boundaries are elusive; they involve mental and physical processes (which are one and the same in this study); they maintain dynamic relations with the "internal" and "external" realms; coordinate varied kinds of input into a unified meaning; and their duration can be thought of in terms of their success in conversing with and convincing others.

This study offers a systematic approach to illustrated books, and a systematic method to classify possible shifts of attention between words and images within an MFA; consequently, it illuminates possible ways in which readers' cognition integrates different kinds of signs into a

unified meaning. This approach considers perceptual and cognitive processes that are involved in the consumption of MFAs as independent of a specific language, layout or reader. Therefore, the scope of this project seems "universal" and its approach "scientific." This impression is enhanced by the study's emphasis on the "effectiveness" of MFAs and on our ability to learn how to increase that effectiveness once we approach multiform argumentation systematically. It should be noted, however, that my understanding of the production and consumption of MFAs as measurable and improvable takes into account political, social and cultural factors in "science" and its promise. As we will see, the paradigm that develops throughout this study contains pragmatic principles based on the realization that the MFA's content, structure and rhetorical style cannot be understood without the adjustments of the analytical tools. It means that the authors and publishers who construct MFAs play a role in the way we study their MFAs, and consequently in how we develop critical tools to approach that consumption. If we add to that role factors such as the experience and the tasks-in hand that individual readers bring into their consumption of MFAs, we are left with "flexible science." My hope is that the terminology and analytical methods that this study offers will increase authors' and readers' sensitivity to invariable elements in multiform argumentation, on the one hand, and the diversity and dynamism that characterize that argumentation, on the other. Methodological flexibility makes the analysis of MFAs a creative endeavor, which like the construction of MFAs, illuminates how a rigorous and pragmatic points of view can work well together.

The main contribution of this study is the new terminology it offers to create, consume and analyze illustrated historiography and scholarship, more broadly. At the core of this terminology, "MFAs" and "MFRs" that enable us to understand better word and image relation in the creation and communication of knowledge. These concepts, that allow the analyses of the

semantical, spatial and epistemological levels of multiform argumentation, are also relevant to cultural and pedagogical settings that use verbal and visual evidence and means. Focusing on the pedagogical context, MFAs and MFRs and ultimately MFG can describe how an arrangement of words and images in the classroom or lecture hall constitutes a certain epistemology. The semantic, spatial and temporal relations between words and images influence learners' understanding of the materials presented to them during the class, and their ability to use them in their own work. For instance, in the classroom, it would be better to discuss cause and effect relation between events while avoiding a visual representation of the earlier event in color and the later event in black and white, either as two consecutive images or by showing the earlier event on the left side of the screen and the later event on the right side (imitating the direction of reading). Our connotation of photography in black and white as a technology that historically precedes photography in color might hinder the apprehension of the "colorful event" as the earlier one. In this case, the semantic level of the words, the aesthetic level of the images and the spatiotemporal relations between both levels - within the teacher's MFA - foster a "self-contradiction." Thus, higher awareness of possible semantic and spatial relations between the MFAs' verbal and visual components while constructing and transmitting knowledge might increase the effectiveness of MFAs as a pedagogical tool. Of course, the concepts "MFAs" and "MFRs" can serve students in their creation of illustrated texts and their teachers' assessment of those texts. Higher consciousness of the mechanisms that integrate signs from different semiotic systems can increase the cohesiveness and coherence of their hybrid utterances.

The multiform approach to illustrated historiography is helpful and far-reaching, if we relinquish the division between mind and body, and time and space. These categorical distinctions limit our perception of ourselves as complicated beings, and reality just as much. It

is no coincidence that this study draws on various kinds of scholarship; its main interest is the conjunction of words and images or semiotic hybridity, more generally, and as such it finds tools and inspiration in multiple realms. The course this study takes can serve as an example (successful or not) of a chain of questions and answers in the attempt to clarify an intricate linguistic and aesthetic phenomenon. As this chain evolves around and crosses through the illustrated discourse on pre-modern individualism, it puts forth another opportunity to think about Western civilization: the way it has been historicized, the issues that are still debated, the technologies and discourses that change the way we look at the past, ourselves and our connection to it. The plan to implement neurocognitive science to continue this study strives to conceptualize the MFG; it signifies how much the past, present and future are, too, intertwined.

Technical Introduction

The "Technical Introduction" aims to point out what MFAs are composed of, holding that there is a positive correlation between the awareness of the MFAs' components and the ability to construct MFAs sophisticatedly, creatively and effectively, as well as to approach them critically. The awareness that this "Introduction" aspires to raise is among the various professionals involved in creating scholarly-illustrated books, and among their consumers. The focus on the book's "technical" properties and practices, such as the layout, list of illustrations, captions and index, resembles Gérard Genette's exploration of the paratext; the zone or threshold that presents the text to the public or "enables a text to become a book."[95] Both approaches value apparatuses in books that we tend to pay less attention to, while they constitute what we tend to make a great deal of. Both approaches assess the functionality of textual devices in terms of their effectiveness (emphasizing the author's purpose and responsibility), and assume that "effectiveness" often occurs in the readers' subconscious, which is why it would be beneficial for all parties involved in books to raise their awareness of textual devices. At the same time, while Genette consciously leaves apparatuses around visual materials out of his analysis, this study - and especially the "Technical Introduction" - delves into them. This examination's focus on the multiform aspects of illustrated texts, on the one hand, and Genette's work on verbal materials, on the other, have convinced me that it makes more sense to term the following analysis as "technical" rather than "paratextual." Lastly, terming an "Introduction" and analysis as "technical" recalls the term "artistic technique," which is used in captions of illustrations and

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[95] Genette, *Paratext*, 1.

labels of artworks. It suggests and calls for a perception of illustrated books as artworks, just like those that illustrated books show us.

To identify MFAs' components, we ask: How do the illustrated books "manage" the visual evidence and means displayed in them? "Managing," in this context, means the way in which the images are arranged in the book, the information that is conveyed about them, and other practices that influence how they function in the book.[96] These arranging practices will be inferred by analyzing the book's structure, since this structure results from these practices, and it is the only material we have access to. The decision to focus primarily on the management of the book's "visual" rather than its "verbal" or "multiform" component is merely an analytical strategy that serves the analysis by providing it with a starting point; we could equally have analyzed how the "verbal" component is structured and how it functions and reach the same insights regarding the "visual" and "multiform" components, since any systematic analysis of either "verbal" or "visual" in an illustrated book would lead to the analysis of the other component, and ultimately to the multiformity of the book. Additionally, focusing on the management of the visual material is more convenient since, in illustrated books, there are usually fewer illustrations than words. Lastly, we know that the way images "function" results from processes that are not completely under the author's control, and that it depends not only on how they are "managed," but also on factors such as the readers' experience and task. Therefore, in this context, I prefer to ascribe the management of the visual material in the book to the book itself rather than to its creators, namely, the author, editor and publisher; the category "book"

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[96] The "Technical Introduction," at least in this study, does not examine the covers of the analyzed books.

leaves conceptual (and practical) room for the readers and other factors to participate in the

managing process, and ultimately in the way the images function.[97]

The central presumption of the "Technical Introduction" is that the technical aspects of

the illustrated book and the practices involved in them are inherent to the book's epistemology;

that *techne* and *episteme* are almost if not totally the same. To exemplify this presumption, the

"Technical Introduction" details those practices and their importance for multiform

argumentation in printed historiography. It then analyzes those practices in five tables; each table

concentrates on one of the five publications. Each table is also followed by a discussion about

the findings of the analysis, focusing on one or two practices, which are written in red to

facilitate their identification within the table. The practices that we discuss, after each table,

stand out among other practices that are implemented in the analyzed publication; the practices

that we do not discuss could have equally begun an investigation into the creation and

communication of historical knowledge by verbal and visual means. The tables and the

discussions are arranged according to the chronology of the five publications; from the earliest to

the most recent one.

How do illustrated books manage the visual evidence and means that are used in them? In

illustrated books, we identify three main categories of management; each category defines a

group of practices in relation to the visual material: first, the arrangement of the illustrations in

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[97] Barthes describes the author's authorship of their text as "myth," and "the author" as a fictitious-modern
phenomenon that attempts to confine and explain the text by an "origin," a "human person." According to Barthes,
this modern, positivist view on literature reflects a capitalist ideology, which attaches "the great importance to the
'person' of the author," making their combination a commodity in the cultural and historical market. However, he
claims, once the act of narrating is performed, the "birth of the reader" and the "death of the author" begin. Further,
not the author but the reader - who is "without history" and whose "identity is lost" - is where language and its
multiple, overlapping levels create the text, in the "here and now." See *The Death of the Author*. I share this view
with Barthes, thus leaving the management of the visual material to the "book." At the same time, like Genette, I
acknowledge the author's responsibility for the paratextual elements of their work. See *Paratext*, 408-409.

the book; second, the information the book conveys about the illustrations, and the artworks reproduced in them; and, third, additional patterns.[98] The three categories consist of thirteen practices all together, which we organize in a table that implements the technical analysis on diverse textual units: the book; the chapter; the captions in the chapter and in the analyzed MFA; the MFA itself; and the illustration and artwork in the analyzed MFA. The from-left-to-right order of the columns reflects the division of the practices into the three main categories only partially, since it also attempts to follow the "ideal" order of consuming a book, namely, from its beginning to its end. The relatively high number of practices that are examined in a single table, their diversity, and their interconnectedness make the impression that the order that the columns manifests moves within and between the analyzed units, making shifts between verbal and visual signs, forward and backward, and zoom-in and zoom-out. As you will see, in addition to the columns, the tables are also divided horizontally: the row at the top describes the practices that we look into; the row beneath it explores either the book or the analyzed chapter; and any row beneath it explores either the MFA, illustration, artwork or their corresponding caption; this depends on the practice in question. The conjunction of the vertical practices (described in the columns) and the horizontal analyzed units (described in the rows) indicates whether the examined practice is implemented on those units, and in some cases, shows how this implementation in done.

The first category of practices that we examine is the arrangement of the visual material in the book, which relates to the design or layout of the MFAs. The examination is based on the

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[98] "Artworks" here is a generic term for any object, view or scene that can be reproduced through photography and print in books. Since this study analyzes the use of visual evidence typical to the pre-modern era, I prefer to relate to the reproduced material as "artwork," although, methodologically, the analysis can serve a broader range of visual materials. For the historical and technological contexts, and consequences of reproducing artworks in the modern era, see Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility.*

presumption that there is no distinction between the look and the content of MFAs on the one hand, and the sensorial and cognitive processes involved in consuming them on the other. Thus, the design of MFAs, chapters and books, is a rhetorical and argumentative device that can emphasize certain points that the arguments set forth. The arrangement of the visual material in illustrated historiography is a mechanism for creating and communicating historical knowledge; the awareness and understanding of how it works in time of reading - and the impact it creates thereafter - can only benefit the effectiveness of our MFAs. In the following tables, two columns explore this category: column 2 (arrangement of ills. in book) asks whether the illustrations are clustered or scattered throughout the book; printed on the left or right page within a double spread; what their size is in relation to the size of the page, defined as "small," "medium" or "large;" whether their orientation is vertical or horizontal; as well as what their location on the page is, defined as "aligned to the right," "aligned to the left" or "centered." Column 11 (CLR./ B&W print) asks whether the illustrations are printed in color or black and white, throughout the book and in the analyzed MFAs. Exploring the arrangement of the visual material, in the book, is important, since it is a crucial factor in readers' engagement with the text and the meaning they obtain from it. A thoughtful design of MFAs can encourage readers to shift their attention between the MFA's verbal and visual components, flip pages, and turn the book to find relevant information.

The second category is the information the book conveys about the illustrations and the artworks that are reproduced in them. This information is conveyed through the list of illustrations, numbers of illustrated pages, numbers of illustrations, and index. The list of illustrations, numbers of illustrated pages and numbers of illustrations are complementary devices which help readers navigate to the illustrations in the book. The list of illustrations

indicates the location of the illustrations in the book by pointing out their consecutive number, and the number of the page on which they are printed. As the sole device in the book that is meant to collect and convey these data, it also indicates the number of images in the book, their sequence and frequency and consequently, whether there are chapters which are more illustrated than others. The list also gives a sense of the book's use of visual evidence from a very initial stage of the reading, especially when information such as artists' names, time of the artistic production and the artworks' location are indicated as well. Column 1 (list of ills.) points out whether there is a list of illustrations in the book; if there is, it cites the items on the list.

Numbers of illustrated pages are helpful when they are indicated in the list of illustrations, of course, but also when explicit MFRs begin far from the illustration, within or outside of the book; in this case, the combination of the number of the illustration and the number of the illustrated page can ease the search for the illustration or MFA. Column 3 (p. of ills. numbered) indicates if pages that display illustrations are numbered; if yes, it specifies the page-numbers. Numbering illustrations at the beginning of the captions is the most common convention to shift readers' attention from the main text to the illustration. Interestingly, the convention "fig. n." is a hybrid sign in its own right, since it is composed of signs from two semiotic systems; a verbal abbreviation and a number. The presence of the same "fig. n.," in the main text and the caption under the image, establishes a "bridge" between the main text and the image: a classic, explicit MFR. Since numbering illustrations also counts the illustrations in the book, each number indicates where and when each illustration (or visual evidence) is situated within the overall visual aspect of the book. Column 4 (ills. numbered) indicates whether the illustrations in the book are numbered; if so, it specifies their numbers.

Indexation, like the list of illustrations, is a method that directs readers to artists, artworks and related terms in the book; it makes these data accessible, searchable and consequently more available for further study and discussion. When entries in the index point out conjunction of terms, the index provides the readers with historical contexts, since associations between terms reflect historical connections between different phenomena. These indexed conjunctions have the ability not only to indicate but also to create and foster the linkage between visual culture and other cultural and social domains. Any indexation of names of artists and titles of artworks, and their intersection with other terms is a representation of their representation in the book, and an invitation to continue looking for multiformity in the historical discourse. Column 12 (indexed artist and artwork) points out whether artists and artworks that are written in the main text and captions are indexed; if so, it quotes their appearance in the index.

Captioning illustrations plays a key role in informing the readers about the illustrations and reproduced artworks. The caption's vicinity to the illustration, the convention to begin it with "fig. n." and, in many cases, its description of the image (through the title of the artwork), on the one hand, and its detachment from any paragraph, smaller font, and different style of prose, on the other, makes it the verbal counterpart of the illustration and artwork. As such, it helps readers find the visual material in the book, using devices that the book provides, which are mostly verbal and numerical. For example, the list of illustrations refers to titles of artworks, illustration-numbers and numbers of illustrated pages. The duplication of the title of the artwork in the list of illustrations and caption allows readers to find a specific reproduction in the book. To a certain extent, the caption also positions the visual material in a historical context, by the information it provides on both the illustration and the artwork. Such information can be the name of the artist who produced the artwork and the year of the artistic production. Column 6

(photo credit in caption) has two functions in relation to captioning: first, it examines whether

photographers and photo-archives receive credit in the caption, at the chapter level; and second,

it cites full captions at the specific-MFA level.

Tracking photo crediting in captions helps us study the relation between the artwork and

its reproduction in illustrated historiography, as photo crediting in captions allows us to think

about the connection between artistic, recording, preserving and disseminating techniques, as

well as about the practitioners who are engaged in culture and its heritage. The inclusion of this

"industrial" aspect of the visual evidence, in captions, reflects - to some degree - the complex

relation between the historical evidence and the ownership of its images, or rather between

historians and the owners of those images, in the context of publishing. This aspect is inherent to

creating and communicating historical knowledge by using MFAs.[99] Column 6 fully cites

captions; this is meant to examine different styles and conventions of captioning. It enables us to

compare the captions with the entries in the list of illustrations (column 1), and the index

(column 12), and ask if and how these devices affect the discourse.[100]

Captions that indicate who created the artwork acknowledge the intimate connection

between artists and their art, and their retroactive contribution to the illustrated-historiographical

discourse. Artists' names in captions associate the visual evidence to a real-human experience:

an individual's life, artistic development, career, milieu and reaction to and participation in

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[99] In their analysis of erroneous modern captions of 14th-15th century images of diseases, Lori Jones and Richard Nevell draw attention to the effect of mislabeling visual evidence. They track two series of images that represent different diseases that were captioned and catalogued as showing "the plague" although this is not the case. The discrepancy between what the images show and what the captions say they show results from cropping and stripping the images from their original context and ignoring their internal artistic evidence. Further, Jones and Nevell demonstrate that in the digital era, it is impossible to turn the wheel back; their attempt to convince the disseminators of these images to relabel them only met with partial success. Inaccurate captions, the authors claim, become and would probably stay the images' identity. See "Plagued by Doubt and Viral Misinformation."
[100] Jordanova discusses the importance of the information included (or omitted) in captions and titles, and the "technical language" that is used in them, to describe artworks. See *The Look of the Past*, 24-30.

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cultural and intellectual trends. Since artists' names introduce personal, professional, social and cultural aspects into the captions, in vicinity to the image, they have a potential to develop MFAs in various directions. Since in most books the illustrations are scattered, we see artists' names sporadically; however, if the illustrations are clustered, and the list of illustrations displays artists' names, we can see the artists as a group (as if we look at an invitation for a group exhibition). The list of artists inspires us to think about them as a group of individuals who had the ability to express themselves artistically, and whose work has been found interesting or useful by historians. Column 7 (name of artist in caption) points out whether artists' names are included in the analyzed captions at the chapter and the specific-MFA levels.

Indicating the time of artistic production in captions situates the artwork in history, as it connects between the artwork and the occurrences that took place before, at time of, and after its creation. Furthermore, it contextualizes the artwork by positioning its various aspects in the history of those aspects. For example, its body in material history, its ideas in intellectual history, and its psychological aspect in the biography of the artist and the history of emotions. All these histories endow the artwork with meaning and value, consequently making it an entity through which we can study those histories. At the same time, the artwork pours meaning into its era and its diverse aspects, making them a prism through which the artwork itself can be explored. But this reciprocal nourishment, and utilization, between artworks and their eras, do not stop at the "contemporary" level; when we see the year of artistic production in captions, we immediately see the time that has elapsed between that year and the year of publishing the book, and of our own reading of that publication. Therefore, time in captions establishes temporal relations between the visual evidence and all the people who have been involved in the illustrated discourse; it furnishes MFAs with a lingering and rich context and pushes us for further

investigation. Column 8 (year of production in caption) points out if the analyzed captions indicate the time of artistic production at both the chapter and MFA levels, and details exceptions.

Indication of artistic technique in captions usually points out the main materials from which the artwork has been made, and its measurements. When this information is conveyed, we can infer, to a certain extent, the operations involved in creating the artwork. Since different materials and sizes of artworks require varied modes of working, their indication, in captions, can raise questions about the use of specific tools and media, collaboration with other people and institutions, and interaction with local and international markets. Moreover, artistic techniques suggest artistic traditions, schools and discourses that can be associated with the artwork; which the artist may consciously address in the artwork.[101] Therefore, captions that communicate the artistic technique foster additional directions for analyzing the artwork and its function as visual evidence; they allow the image to testify not only what is seen on the printed page, but also the varied processes without which the artwork could not have been created. Thus, rich data about artworks supports rich MFAs. Column 9 (technique in caption) indicates whether the analyzed captions point out artistic techniques and specifies cases that provide partial information.

Captions that specify the location of artworks emphasize their physicality; their existence beyond the printed image, somewhere in the world. From the readers' point of view, identifying a name of a place or site in vicinity to the image, in addition to the date of production, is to perceive the visual evidence as part of a cultural and social momentum that lingers throughout history through the body of the work. Whether the artwork has changed places since it was

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[101] Panofsky argues that "[a] really exhaustive interpretation of the intrinsic content might even show that the technical procedures characteristic of a certain country, period, or artists […], are symptomatic of the same basic attitude that is discernible in all the other specific qualities of his style." "Iconology and Iconography," 30.

produced or not, its physical body continues accumulating experiences that have happened to and around it; therefore, as long as it survives, we can have a direct dialogue with it regarding past events. The body of the artwork, therefore, carries on the time in which it was created into the time through which it has survived, up to the moment in which the caption is written; it becomes a tool to access the spaces and times in which it has been. As such, it builds connections between the artists, their audience, the creators of the book and their readership. Finally, the artwork's location in captions implicitly invites readers to visit both the artwork and its location, consequently leading the readers' own body into a historical exploration, and thus encouraging further development of a discourse that uses visual evidence. Column 10 (location of artwork in caption) points out whether the analyzed captions include locations of artworks, as well as variations in those indications.

The third category of practices is the additional patterns; it includes the kind of MFRs used in the analyzed chapters and MFAs, and any other noticeable patterns that are not addressed in the other twelve columns. In the "Conceptual Introduction," we argued that even if there is an explicit MFR in an MFA, there might be multiple implicit MFRs within that MFA. Column 5 (MFR verbal to visual) indicates if there is an explicit MFR from the MFA's verbal to the visual component, in the analyzed chapters and MFAs. If there is, it indicates the page from which the explicit MFR is made. In this examination, once we find an explicit MFR, we do not continue searching for implicit (or indeterminate) MFRs, although we assume, by default, that they are there - to maintain the cohesiveness and coherence of the MFA. In case there is no explicit MFR in the analyzed units, column 5 indicates that there is an implicit MFR there, instead. Since column 5 indicates the page number from which the explicit MFR is made, it allows us to see the number of pages between that page and the page on which the illustration is printed (shown in

column 3), and to know whether the illustration is printed before or after the referring pole of the explicit MFR. The distance and order of the referring and referred poles reflect the spatial relation between the MFAs' verbal and visual components. It implies that the spatial or physical aspect of the MFA bears epistemological meaning, since it determines how we process the different components of the MFA in spacetime. Our assumption is that the order and time that are embedded in MFAs are part of their epistemology, since the cohesiveness and coherence of arguments of any kind depend on the order of their postulations and their vicinity in time.[102]

Finally, the category of additional patterns investigates patterns that are neither addressed nor fully processed in the twelve columns that we have described thus far. These patterns can become apparent from: further research that is conducted on specific artworks, following the data accumulated by the analysis; questions that arise from the data; and the comparison between different elements within a single table and between the five tables. Column 13 (Other) provides some room for brief comments and questions that emerge shortly after the implementation of the technical analysis.

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[102] The assessment of the spatial aspect of explicit MFRs reveals that we can relate to them, as well as to implicit and indeterminate MFRs, as "two dimensional" and "three dimensional." If an MFR associates words and images that are printed on a single page or double spread and the consumption of the whole MFR can be completed by gaze-shifting only, it is a two-dimensional or 2D-MFR. If, on the other hand, this process requires flipping pages, opening another book, searching the internet, or any physical action that is not solely gaze-shifting, it is a three-dimensional or 3D-MFR. As I argued in the "Conceptual Introduction," the new approach that this study offers can benefit the analysis and construction of multiform utterances in various contexts. The concepts of 2D- and 3D-MFR allow us to implement this approach in spaces of various kinds, as well as upon various objects. This study does not delve into the analysis of 2D- and 3D-MFRs. Some of my initial insights on this subject have been presented in the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference 2016 Annual Meeting in Bruges, in the paper "Visual Literacy in History: Two and Three Dimensional Multiform Arguments in Historiography of Early Modern Europe." I intend to continue investigating this aspect in future research.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	List of ills.	Arrangement of ills. in book	P. of ills. numbered	Ills. numbered	MFR verbal to visual	Photo credit in caption	Name of artist in caption	Year of production in caption	Technique in caption	Location of artwork in caption	CLR./B&W print	Indexed artist and artwork	Other
Book/Ch.	Yes	Scattered	Yes, with exceptions, indicated in list of ills.	Yes	(Ch.) Implicit	(Ch.) Yes, Fig. 67 No, Fig. 68	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) Yes	B&W	No, with exceptions. If indexed, it is in relation to the main text	Ills. and captions after writing and translating the book
MFA/Ill./Artw. 1	"67. Andrea Mantegna 148"	Left p., medium, vertical, aligned to left	148	67	Implicit	"FIG. 67. ANDREA MANEGNA *Mantua, S. Andrea* Photo Anderson, Rome"	No	No	No	Yes	B&W	No	Name of artists in caption do not follow the book's convention
MFA/Ill./Artw. 2	"68. Leon Battista Alberti 149"	Right p., small, vertical, aligned to right	149	68	Implicit	"FIG. 68. LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI *Paris, Dreyfus Collection*"	No	No	No	Yes	B&W	"Alberti, Leon Battista, 149, 150"	Location of artwork outdated

Table 1 Technical Analysis of Burckhardt's *Civilization*.

The aim of the following discussion is to illuminate the connection between the technical

features and practices shown in the table of *Civilization* and the epistemology of the MFA, that

this study analyzes. Looking at column 6, which cites captions, the caption of Fig. 67 writes

"ANDREA MANTEGNA" and the caption of Fig. 68 "LEON BATISTA ALBERTI;" however,

column 7, which examines artists' names in captions, indicates that the chapter, in general, and

the two captions, in particular, do not indicate names of artists (Table 1). How is this possible?

First, Mantegna and Alberti are well known for their involvement and achievements in the arts.

Second, while Burckhardt's text says nothing about Mantegna, it clearly speaks of Alberti as an

"artist."[103] On the other hand, Burckhardt did not write *Civilization* as an illustrated book; it was

Jahn who illustrated it in 1926, and probably captioned it as well. Therefore, it is no surprise that

there is some discrepancy between what the chapter discusses, what it shows, and what it writes

in the captions. At any rate, a comparison between the two captions and other captions in the

book reveals that the way the two names are written follows the book's convention for titles of

artworks, rather than names of artists (Fig. 1.1). It implies that the artworks that we see in Fig. 67

and Fig. 68 represent the persons whose names we read in the captions; so, who were the artists?

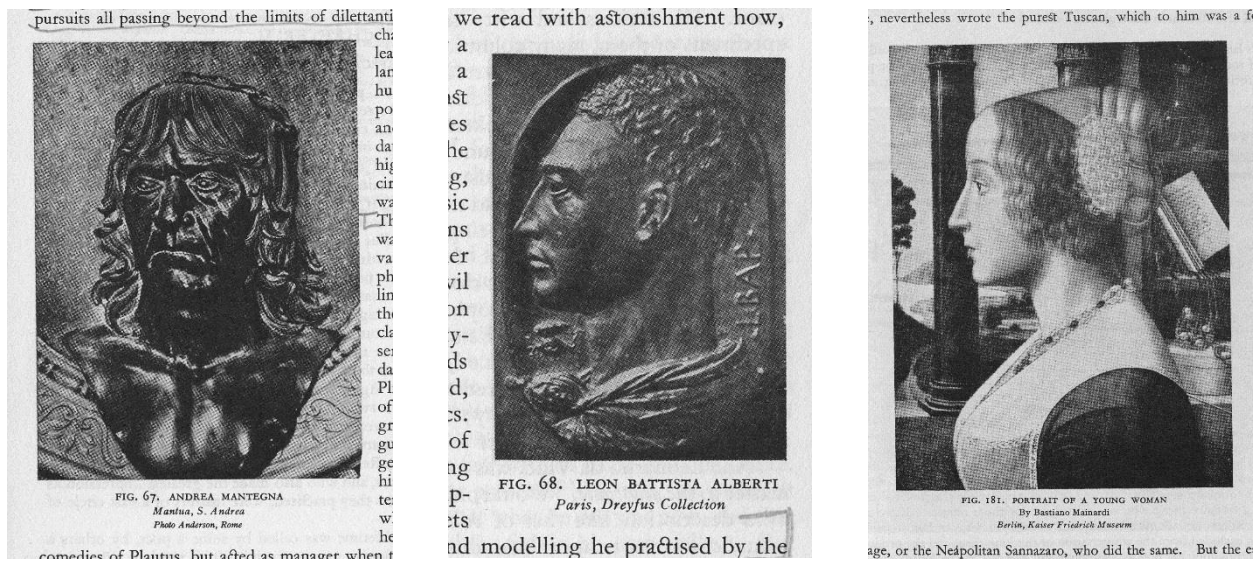[103] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 149.

FIG. 67. ANDREA MANTEGNA
Mantua, S. Andrea
Photo Anderson, Rome

FIG. 68. LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI
Paris, Dreyfus Collection

FIG. 181. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN
By Bastiano Mainardi
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

comedies of Plautus, but acted as manager when t

nd modelling he praſtised by the

age, or the Neapolitan Sannazaro, who did the same. But the e

Fig. 1.1 Captions, Burckhardt's *Civilization*.

It has been claimed that either Andrea Mantegna or his colleague Gian Marco Cavalli

created the bust we see in Fig. 67, that was installed in 1516 in Mantegna's funerary monument

in Chapel of San Giovanni Battista, in the church of S. Andrea in Mantua. The monument was

undoubtedly designed by Mantegna. It has also been argued that the oval relief we see in Fig. 68

was created by Alberti in 1435 as a self-portrait.[104] Therefore, we may hold the artworks in

"Perfecting" as self-portraits of both artists, although the question regarding the work-division

between Mantegna and Cavalli is still open. To conclude, the titles of the artworks, in the two

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[104] For Mantegna's work, see Italian Renaissance Learning Resources, "Artists and Patrons." For Alberti's self-portrait, see National Gallery of Art, "Leon Battista Alberti." According to Italian Renaissance Learning Resources, Alberti planned the building of the church of S. Andrea. Was Jahn aware of the fact that Mantegna's bust and Alberti's architectural work share the same space? If we assume that Jahn was the one who decided which reproduction to print on which page of *Civilization*, we may draw a possible scenario. While illustrating page 149 with Alberti's self-portrait can be understood as Jahn's response to Burckhardt's discussion about Alberti on that page, Jahn could have chosen to illustrate page 148 with any image that "fits" the subject of the chapter, or not to illustrate it at all. By illustrating page 148 with *Andrea Mantegna*, Jahn created a historiographical space that Mantegna and Alberti (as persons and artworks) share. For Jahn, illustrating pages 148 and 149 was to transform the two pages into pages "148-49," since the space that is opened in-between both pages, the double spread they create together, is Jahn's multiform space, to enrich Burckhardt's argument about the perfecting of the individual.

captions, signify an additional, hidden meaning: the identity of the artists who created the artworks. This conflation of two different pieces of information - the title of the artwork and the name of the artist - into one, within a convention that regularly signifies only one meaning - the title - has an epistemological effect: it diminishes our sight of how individuals in the Renaissance found ways to commemorate, one could even argue "perfect," themselves.

Another practice that stands out in the table of "Perfecting" is how the captions indicate the artworks' location. Looking at column 10, that examines this matter, the caption of Fig. 67 indicates that Mantegna's bust is in Mantua, and the caption of Fig. 68 indicates that Alberti's oval relief is in "Paris, Dreyfus Collection" (both written in red, in the table). However, according to the website of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, during the nineteenth century, Alberti's oval relief was held in Paris by Vicomte de Janzé, Charles Timbal and Gustave Dreyfus. In 1930, Duveen Brothers Inc. purchased it from Gustave Dreyfus's estate, probably moved the artwork from Paris to London and then to New York, where Samuel H. Kress Foundation purchased it in 1944. The latter gave it as a gift to the National Gallery in 1957.[105] The artwork, therefore, changed three collections between 1930, when the Dreyfus Collection sold it, and 1958, when the Harper & Row edition was published. Hence, we may assume that when Jahn illustrated the text in 1926, he probably wrote in the caption that the artwork is in the Dreyfus Collection, since at that time, this is where it was. The question is: Should translations and new editions of illustrated historiography revise captions, taking into consideration contingent factors? The main advantage in revising captions is that it maintains the captions' status and function as a historiographical device, that is meant to convey information about the illustrations and artworks. Another advantage in revising captions is the creation of the

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[105] National Gallery of Art, "Leon Battista Alberti."

possibility to compare captions of the same illustration in different editions; this allows us to see that the visual evidence and its surrounding have a dynamic history; that this history is part of illustrated historiography, and that illustrated historiography is part of this history. This dynamism can add another cultural layer to the history that the illustrated book accounts, and takes part in. The disadvantage of updating captions is that it entails work by the creators of the book (who may also change over time).[106]

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[106] Genette argues that unlike the text, paratext can be modified over time, and that it is the author's responsibility to attend to that modification during their lifetime, and after their death, it is the editors' responsibility. *Paratext*, 406-408.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	List of Ills.	Arrangement of ills. in book	P. of ills. numbered	Ills. numbered	MFR verbal to visual	Photo credit in caption	Name of artist in caption	Year of production in caption	Technique in caption	Location of artwork in caption	CLR./ B&W print	Indexed artist and artwork	Other
Book/ Ch.	Yes	Clustered and scattered	No. Yes, two scattered	Yes. No, three scattered	(Ch.) Explicit	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) Yes	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) No. Yes, Plate IV indicates place	B&W	No. Yes, Plate II.	List of ills. partially annotated
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 1	"Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Morgan M. S. 709, f. 16. Frontispiece"	Right p., large, vertical, centered	No. Frontispiece	No	Explicit "Frontispiece" from p. 237	"Crucifixion from the Gospels of Countess Judith (English, prob. 1050-65)"	No	Yes	No	No	B&W	No	
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 2	"The Aaby Crucifix (Copenhagen, National Museum, II, No. D. 629). between pages 240 and 241"	Left p., large, vertical, centered	No. Between pp. 240-41	PLATE II	Explicit "Plate II" from p. 238	"PLATE II The Aaby Crucifix (Danish, c.1050-1100)"	No	Yes	No	No	B&W	"Aaby, 238"	
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 3	"The Tristrup Crucifix (Copenhagen, National Museum, II, No. D. 5100).	Right p., large, vertical, centered	No. Between pp. 240-41	PLATE III	Explicit "Plate III" from p. 238	"PLATE III The Tristrup Crucifix (detail; Danish, c. 1150)"	No	Yes	No	No	B&W	No	.

between pages 240 and 241"												

Table 2 Technical Analysis of Southern's *Making*.

How does the style of explicit MFRs take part in the epistemology of the book? The three MFRs in "From Epic to Romance" do not follow the convention according to which the referring pole of an explicit MFR is "fig. n.," written in brackets in the main text, and the referred pole is "fig. n.," written at the beginning of the caption. In "Epic," the explicit MFRs begin with the terms "frontispiece," "Plate II" and "Plate III," that are integrated organically in sentences in the main text. In the case of the two plates, the terms "Plate II" and "Plate III" open the captions. Thus, we can consider the MFRs of the two plates as "explicit," since they link between the MFA's main text and the images, through the captions, by duplicating the same signs. As column 6 shows, the term "frontispiece" is, as expected, missing from the caption of the frontispiece (Table 2). Without duplicating signs in the MFA's verbal and visual components, what kind is the MFR of the frontispiece? Explicit, implicit or indeterminate?

The MFR to the frontispiece begins with this sentence: "The frontispiece of this book represents the high point of this compassionate tenderness for the suffering of Christ in pre-Conquest England."[107] The phrase "this book" leaves no doubt regarding which illustration the readers are directed to; there is only one "this book" and that book, obviously, has only one frontispiece. The articulation of the singularity of the book and the frontispiece, and the belonging of the frontispiece to that book, is a rhetorical device that clarifies when within the reading, and between which points, within the space of the book, it is right to shift attention. The MFR that links Southern's argument regarding Christ's suffering and the reaction to it, on the one hand, and the visual representation of that suffering (that embeds and promotes a compassionate reaction), on the other, is built through the body of the book. "This book" is the book that the readers are holding, or at least, focusing their attention on, while they are reading

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[107] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 237.

the phrase: "The frontispiece of this book." The unmediated connection between the readers and the book is what endows the phrase "this book" a meaning, which, in turn, enables the phrase "the frontispiece" to begin an MFR. This MFR is explicit, because it utilizes the continuity of the book's body, like a "conventional" explicit MFR uses the semantic and visual continuity between two identical signs linking the MFA's verbal and visual components.

The two poles of explicit MFR stand out in their surroundings, leaving readers (who cooperate) only one place to go to, namely, the other pole, to the work of art; this is the referential mechanism that constructs the MFR of the MFA about the frontispiece. After identifying two styles of explicit MFR, we can argue that both rely on the readers' familiarity with literary conventions; while the use of "fig. n.," in the two poles of a "conventional" explicit MFR, relies on the assumption that the readers know how to respond when they see this sign, the style we have just analyzed (how would we term it?) is based on the supposition that the readers know what "frontispiece" means. The explicit MFRs' style is, therefore, the book's special way to harness readers' pre-knowledge to make them know more. Finally, we may think of the style of explicit MFRs as reflecting the degree of compulsion, in the reactions that they aspire to evoke among readers. It would make sense to assume that the degree of the similarity between the referring and referred poles and their physical vicinity play a role in how compulsive is the readers' reaction to MFRs.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	List of ills.	Arrangement of ills. in book	P. of ills. numbered	Ills. numbered	MFR verbal to visual	Photo credit in caption	Name of artist in caption	Year of production in caption	Technique in caption	Location of artwork in caption	CLR./ B&W print	Indexed artist and artwork	Other
Book/ Ch.	Yes	Clustered in two groups	No	Yes	(Ch.) Explicit	(Ch.) No Yes in list of ills.	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) Yes, Fig. 3 Figs. 1, 2, 4 indicate year of death of depicted persons.	(Ch.) No Fig. 1: "Tomb-slab." Fig. 2: "Enamel plaque." Fig. 7: "Codex"	(Ch.) Yes. Fig. 3 indicates place. Figs. 1, 2, 4 indicate sites	B&W	Yes	Some technique in caption
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 1	"1 Tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia (d. 1080). Merseburg Cathedral 126 (*Bildarchiv Foto-Marburg*)"	Right p., medium, vertical, aligned to left, rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise	Between pp. 126-27	Yes	From p. 91	"1. Tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia (d. 1080) Merseburg Cathedral"	No	No	No	Yes	B&W	"Rudolf of Suabia, anti-king xv, 91-3; pl. 1"	
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 2	"Enamel plaque of Count Geoffrey of Anjou (d. 1151). Museum at Le Mans 126 (*Archives Photographiques, Paris*)"	Right p., medium, vertical, aligned to right, rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise	Between pp. 126-27	Yes	From p. 91	"2. Enamel plaque of Count Geoffrey of Anjou (d. 1151) Museum at Le Mans"	No	No	No	Yes	B&W	"Geoffrey, c. of Anjou xvii, 91; pl. 2"	

MFA/Ill./Artw. 3	"3 Head of Frederick Barbarossa. Made 1155/71. Cappenberg 127 (*The Author*)"	Left p., medium, vertical, aligned to left, rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise	Between pp. 126-27	Yes	From p. 93	"3. Head of Frederick Barbarossa Made 1155/71. Cappenberg"	No	Yes	No	Yes	B&W	"Frederick I 'Barbarossa', emp. xvii, 54, 93-5, 131; pl. 3"	Photo credit to author in list of ills.
MFA/Ill./Artw. 4	"Tombs of Henry II (d. 1189) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204). Abbey church of Fontevrault (*Archives Photographiques, Paris*)"	Left p., medium, horizontal, aligned to right, rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise	Between pp. 126-27	Yes	From p. 91	"Tombs of Henry II (d. 1189) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) Abbey Church of Fontevrault"	No	No	No	Yes	B&W	"Henry II, k. of England, c. of Anjou xvii-xviii, 44, 46-7, 91, 107n, 125-6; pl. 4" "Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine xvi-xvii, 44, 91, 111, 113; pl. 4"	

Table 3 Technical Analysis of Morris's *Discovery*.

The visual material in illustrated historiography usually results from a chain of practices, most noticeable of which are the artistic creation, the photographing of the artwork, and the printing of that photograph in the book. This chain of practices is the industry and market of creating and communicating historical knowledge. Within that sphere, is there any epistemological significance to visual evidence that was photographed by the historian who writes about it? Column 1, in the tables, examines entries in the list of illustrations. As we can see in the table of *Discovery*, the author, Colin Morris photographed the *Head of Frederick Barbarossa* (Table 3). When we see the historian receiving the credit for the photo, whether it is in the caption or the list of illustrations (as happens in *Discovery*), we assume that they were permitted to photograph the artwork by its owner; went to the place in which the artwork was, to photograph it; observed the artwork directly; operated a camera to photograph the artwork; gave the recording data to the publisher to print it in the book; informed the publisher that they are the creators and owners of the recording material; and, finally, observed the reproduction of the artwork in their book as part of their MFA. Each of these practices is an opportunity to compare the production of the artwork and the production of its reproduction. For example, the attempt to produce a high-quality photograph of an artwork requires the photographer to explore the lighting conditions of the artwork. This exploration can evoke empathy with the creator and contemporary observers of the artwork, since they, like the photographer, needed light to see it, let alone its details.

When historians are involved in the production of the MFA's visual component, they become more aware of the epistemological challenge of using visual evidence to claim for a broader cultural and social phenomenon. The unmediated experience with the artwork, which can only happen when the historian and the artwork are in the same space, demonstrates to the

historian that the contexts in which the artwork has been created, displayed or seen, in fact, construct the artwork. There is nothing essential in the artwork that cannot be influenced by the conditions around it. This is exactly why we can explore the past through analyzing specific artworks, and this is also why we need to remember that those artworks are limited sources, since they - like anything else, including ourselves - change according to circumstances, over time. Multiform argumentation can benefit from this insight since it positions artworks in a context that includes, among other parameters, the ever-changing technologies of recording and disseminating visual data. Historians who photograph or use other means to (re)produce their visual evidence ought to be more aware of the epistemological relativity that this dynamic or flowing context entails; the practical participation in (re)producing visual evidence shows that the status of the evidence as such depends on plenty of factors which are not inherent to the artwork. Whether historians use this notion as part of their own work is another question. We do know that it can advance our understanding of the complexity of studying the past, and the visual material it is constantly leaving behind.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	List of Ills.	Arrangement of ills. in book	P. of ills. numbered	Ills. numbered	MFR verbal to visual	Photo credit in caption	Name of artist in caption	Year of production in caption	Technique in caption	Location of artwork in caption	CLR./ B&W print	Indexed artist and artwork	Other
Book/ Ch.	No	Scattered	Yes	No	(Ch.) Implicit	(Ch.) Yes	(Ch.) Yes	(Ch.) Yes	(Ch.) No	(Ch.) No	B&W	Yes	
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 1		Right p., medium, horizontal, centered	23		Implicit	"*Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530-1535.* Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY."	Yes	Yes	No	No	B&W	"Lotto, Lorenzo 21-2, 40, 50" "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views* (Lotto) 21-2, 23"	"Carpan, Bartolome 21-2, 22-3, 26-7, 30, 40"

Table 4 Technical Analysis of Martin's *Myths.*

The question of context also arises when we use the index of the book. One of the things that the index refers the readers to is pages on which historical phenomena are linked in the book; it does so by juxtaposing particular terms - that stand for particular phenomena - under the same entry. Column 12 in the table examines whether names of artists and titles of artworks, that are used in the main text and captions, are indexed; if they are, it quotes their entries in the index. As we can see, column 12 in the table of *Myths* indicates that the indexation of "Lotto, Lorenzo" does not juxtapose him with his artwork "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*." This contrasts with the indexation of the painter Titian, that links him and his artworks *Allegory of Prudence* and *Flaying of Marsyas* and refers to the pages on which both artworks are printed in *Myths*.[108] Does the index in *Myths* link Lotto and his artwork under the entry "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*"? As column 12 shows, it does. Interestingly, the indexation of the portrait refers to the pages: "21-2, 23,"[109] while the indexation of Lotto refers to the pages: "21-2, 40, 50."[110] Both entries refer to pages "21-2," where, indeed, the discussion about Lotto and the portrait takes place; however, only the entry of the portrait refers to page 23, where the reproduction is printed (indicated in column 3). At the same time, as column 6 shows, "Lotto, Lorenzo" is written in the caption of the reproduction; both are on page 23 (Table 4). What does it mean? Could have the indexation of "Lotto, Lorenzo" skipped the caption of his reproduced artwork? So it seems. The question is whether ignoring captions while indexing has any epistemological effect for the MFA; before we answer this question, let us examine one more indexed entry and then draw a general conclusion.

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[108] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism,* 186.
[109] Ibid., 185.
[110] Ibid., 184.

"Questions" opens with telling the readers that in 1529 or 1530, Lotto completed a portrait of the Venetian jeweler Bartolome Carpan.[111] This opening sentence - rather than the title of the artwork (in the captain of the illustration) - identifies the figure in the portrait as Carpan. It also links the painter, model and artwork, associating them within the same historical context. If we look at the indexation of "Carpan, Bartolomeo," shown in column 13 in the table, the entry writes: "21-2, 22-3, 26-7, 30, 40."[112] As we can see, this entry does not mention the portrait, nor the painter Lotto. Further, Carpan is not mentioned under the entries of either the portrait or Lotto. Focusing on this case, does the indexation in *Myths* influence the epistemology of the MFA? Or does it have any impact on how its readers acquire historical knowledge about the multiform phenomenon that *Myths* itself discusses? I think that it does, whether the readers look for information about each of the three historical phenomena - the painter, model and artwork - their intersection, or nothing in relation to these subjects. It is clear why readers' acquisition of knowledge is affected by the indexation, if the latter does not link Lotto, for example, and his artwork under Lotto's entry. The fact that the indexation does link Titian and his artworks under Titian's entry indicates that the makers of *Myths* acknowledge the possibility that readers who might be interested in Titian might be interested in his artworks as well. This principle is relevant to Lotto and his artworks too. Some of the readers may be interested in finding where the reproduction of the portrait or "Carpan's portrait" is, forgetting that the portrait is entitled "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*." If they look at Carpan's indexation, they can only know where he is verbally discussed, since there is no clear reference under his name to

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[111] Ibid., 21.
[112] Ibid., 182.

his visual representation. As column 1 in the table indicates, in *Myth*, there is no list of illustrations; therefore, the readers cannot be assisted by this device as well.

The index in *Myths* does not italicize page numbers to indicate where illustrations are printed (as *Importance* does); this device can be used under entries without writing titles of artworks; it suits well references to portraits that are often entitled after the figure they depict. Readers who do not have a special interest in either the painter, model, artwork or their intersection may develop an interest from skimming the index and finding something that piques their curiosity. The fact that there is no list of illustrations in *Myths*; its index is not systematic and "generous" with juxtaposing the book's verbal and visual evidence and means; and it does not use explicit MFRs has an epistemological implication for the MFA we analyze here. This implication is what the readers are invited to do with what the MFA claims - verbally and visually - about Carpan, Lotto, the portrait and the early-modern self. Conscious and clear bridging between words and images within the book furnishes it with historical contexts, that - in turn - reflect the unbreakable connection between individual phenomena and their various aspects, whether these phenomena are a person, culture or society.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		List of Ills.	Arrangement of ills. in book	P. of ills. numbered	Ills. numbered	MFR verbal to visual	Photo credit in caption	Name of artist in caption	Year of production in caption	Technique in caption	Location of artwork in caption	CLR./ B&W print	Indexed artist and artwork	Other
Book/ Ch.		No	Scattered	Yes, except for pp. 118 and 198	Yes	(Ch.) Explicit	(Ch.) Yes	(Ch.) Yes, except for Fig. 18	(Ch.) Yes	(Ch.) No Fig. 15: "frescoed image"	(Ch.) Yes	B&W	Yes	
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 1			Left p., medium, vertical, centered	58	14	From p. 57 From p. 188	"Figure 14. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483-1520), *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, 1514-1515. Louvre, Paris. Reproduced by permission of Scala/Art Resource, NY."	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	B&W	"Castiglione, Baldassare, Il cortegiano (on the art of courtship), 6, 43, 50, 55, 57-72, 58, 84,96,97, 100-101, 189-94; and beards of would-be courtiers, 188, 194; and Castiglione's beard, *58*, 188, 194; […] on why fashion changes, 255n24" "Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio), 50, 54, 62, 188; […]; *Portrait*	Two references to ill.

												of Baldassare Castiglione, *58*, 188; […]"	
MFA/ Ill./ Artw. 2		Right p., medium, vertical, centered	195	44	From p. 194 From p. 195	"FIGURE 44. Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci, 1494-1557), *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa*, 1541-1544. Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Art. Detail of face."	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	B&W	"della Casa, Giovanni, 84; beard of, 194, 195, *195*: *Il Galateo overo de' costumi*, 50-51, 192-94" "Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci), *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa*, 195, 195-96"	Two references to ill.

Table 5 Technical Analysis of Biow's *Importance*.

In "Facing the Day," there are two illustrations to which multiple explicit MFRs direct the readers' attention; this device exemplifies the epistemological effect of the physicality of the book, the MFA and the MFRs. As column 3 in the table of *Importance* indicates, the number of the page on which the portrait of Castiglione is displayed is 58. As column 5 shows, two explicit MFRs direct the readers' attention to the portrait; one from page 57 and another from page 188. The portrait of Giovanni della Casa is also referred to by two MFRs; one from page 194 and another from page 195 (Table 5). What could be the epistemological effect of having two explicit MFRs to the same illustration, and is there any weight to the various distances between the referring and referred poles to the same illustration? Obviously, the fact that there is more than one explicit MFR to the same illustration implies that the illustration is relevant to at least two points that the author makes; that a single artwork - perhaps through different details or approaches - serves as visual evidence of more than one broader phenomenon.

Those points that the author makes are not only discursive, abstract points but also points in the space of the book and its pages. The distances between the referring and referred poles of the explicit MFRs are measured by the number of pages between them, while considering whether the readers are directed backward or forward throughout the book. Looking at columns 3 and 5 can help us assess the MFRs' physicality; the first explicit MFR that directs the readers to Castiglione's portrait invites them to shift their attention from page 57 to page 58, i.e., forward across one page, while the second explicit MFR invites them to shift their attention from page 188 to page 57, i.e., backward across 130 pages. The first explicit MFR that directs the readers to the portrait of della Casa invites them to shift their attention from page 194 to page 195 (both constitute a double spread), i.e., forward across one page, while the second explicit MFR invites

them to shift their attention within the same page, since both the referring and the referred poles are on page 195.

Assuming that the four explicit MFRs are part of a single MFA, the question is if and how they affect the epistemology of the MFA. First, two or more explicit MFRs to the same illustration enclose a clear physical and argumentative form or body, within the book. However, the MFA's idea is not confined to this body, since the readers are free to perform and process the MFA as they can and wish; therefore, their body (that is, mind) influences the shape of the MFA's idea as well. Additionally, implicit and indeterminate MFRs are another rhetorical device that molds the MFA's idea within an argumentative body. At the same time, the explicit body of the MFA - that expends between the explicit referring and referred poles - enables us to describe that body clearly in geometrical terms. In addition to the number of pages that embed the distance between the two kinds of poles, we can also point out the location of the poles on their pages and double spreads; consequently, we can assess the body of the MFA within the larger body of the book.

Another way in which the four explicit MFRs affect the epistemology of the MFA emanates from the assumption that shorter explicit MFRs between the referring and referred poles - especially when those poles are in the same field of vision (on a single page or double spread) - increase the chances that the readers will consume the whole MFA, since this consumption demands less from the readers, and it activates involuntary rather than voluntary

mechanisms among them.[113] The consumption of the whole MFA - in turn - increases the chances that the readers will be convinced - or at least provoked - by the MFA, and thus will incline to remember it. Therefore, the design of the MFA through its MFRs can bear varied degrees of effectiveness, when the goal is to sink into the readers' long-term memory, and to provoke a durable-discursive reaction and practical change. The two MFRs to Castiglione's portrait and the two MFRs to della Casa's portrait invite the readers to change their behavior; to step out of their reading of the text and step in into observing the images. The short distances between the referring and referred poles of the MFRs to della Casa's portrait; their direction of the readers forward towards the image; and the presence of all three poles on a double spread make those MFRs more compelling and effective. This is how the physicality of the book, MFA and MFRs influence their epistemology.

The "Technical Introduction" intends to shed light on MFAs' verbal and visual components, to advance their use in illustrated historiography. These components construct the MFA's body throughout the book and along the process of its consumption; therefore, they have presence in spacetime. The MFA's cohesiveness and coherence depend on how the book manages its visual material in those temporal and spatial aspects, as well as on patterns in the readers' own consumption of the MFA. Unfolding practices such as: indicating names of artists and artworks' location in captions; using the continuity of the book to construct explicit MFRs; authors' photographing the visual evidence; and juxtaposing the verbal and visual components

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[113] Peirce, as mentioned above, argues that indices can be thought of "as a fragment torn away from the object, the two in their existence being one whole or a part of such whole." *Collected Writings*, 2.230. Thus, if the MFR is the whole and the referring and referred poles are torn away from it, perhaps their pushing and pulling forces are stronger if they are closer to the core of the whole. It implies that shorter MFRs, within the same field of vision, contribute more to the sense of the MFA (or to the readers' understanding).

by indexation of terms, and multiplication of MFRs, shows how those practices function as epistemological apparatuses. The columns in the tables provide us with systematic and comprehensive overview on the book's management of its visual material. These columns can be adjusted to analyze publications that use MFAs in different and new ways. Journals and illustrated digital books, for example, offer various devices and practices not covered in these tables. Therefore, the tables can give us an idea how to break down the creation and consumption of illustrated historiography into detailed technical and epistemological nexus. The next chapters continue what the "Technical Introduction" has started; to show that although MFAs develop in unpredictable ways, they manifest principles that systematic analysis can point out.

Chapter 1 *l'Uomo Univesale*: Multiform Argument in Jacob Burckhardt's "The Perfecting of the Individual"

The first chapter of this study introduces the analytical method employed in the next four chapters, although, as we will see, this method will adjust and develop according to the multiformity of the analyzed publications. In this chapter, nevertheless, we explore systematically how word and image relation, in the chapter "The Perfecting of the Individual," communicates concepts such as "complete men," "many-sided men," "all-sided men" and "*l'Uomo Universale*," that were offered by Jacob Burckhardt in *Civilization* in 1860. As explained in the "Conceptual Introduction," and further discussed in the "Technical Introduction," Burckhardt did not illustrate *Civilization*, but rather it was Johannes Jahn in Leipzig, in 1926; the Harper & Row 1958 edition displays Jahn's work, which has accompanied Middlemore's 1878 translation of *Civilization* into English since 1929. In this chapter - through a systematic analysis (that will be described shortly) - we will continue asking questions about Jahn's authorial intention as he "planted" illustrations within Burckhardt's text, and its possible impact on the image of the era. The analysis of the illustrated "Perfecting" approaches *Civilization* as a multi-authored, accumulative artifact; it is an object that has been "enriched" with MFAs and MFRs by the authority and creativity of different people in the publishing industry of the twentieth century, in Europe and the Untied States. Here, the given and printed manifestation of this historical and textual phenomenon is analyzed, implementing a method that suits varied stages of diachronic and synchronic inquiries, as well as physical and argumentative structures.

In the following pages, we will hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs, using

scans of double spreads that compile "Perfecting." The hypothesis will be done by highlighting

elements in the chapter: terms in the main text and one of the two captions; and one of the two

images. The highlighting uses color coding; this method elucidates how semantic relatedness

within and between the MFA's verbal and visual components draws physical - and literally,

meaningful - distances across the MFA. The semantic and spatial analysis of "Perfecting" is an

examination of Burckhardt's use of Leon Battista Alberti as an example of "*l'Uomo Universale*"

or the Renaissance "all-sided man." Jahn's placing a reproduction of Alberti's self-portrait (c.

1435) in the midst of Burckhardt's verbal description of Alberti influences not only the readers'

aesthetic experience, while consuming "Perfecting," but also their cognitive activity, as they

create representations and notions of the Italian Renaissance.

While illustrating "Perfecting," Jahn did not plant explicit MFRs in the main text of the

chapter; nonetheless, the semantic and spatial analysis of the chapter shows that he utilized the

structure of Burckhardt's argument about the "Renaissance man" and Alberti to create an

"organic" MFA. Two aspects of what would be an illustrated text allow Jahn to draw implicit

MFRs from the main text to the image, "naturalizing" Alberti's self-portrait in its verbal

environment: the first is the semantic level of Burckhardt's terms; and the second is the physical

distance between those terms and what would be the location of Alberti's image. We are about to

hypothesize these implicit MFRs.[114] We know that hypothesizing implicit MFRs based on

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[114] As I stated in the "Conceptual Introduction," we do not know who designed the layout of the illustrated
Civilization, and, in case it was not Jahn, whether and however Jahn and the designer may have collaborated. For
analytical proposes, I attribute the design of the layout to Jahn, in addition to the decision which images to embed in
the text and what information the captions convey.

semantic relatedness introduces a theoretical problem: every term or image might have some

semantic relatedness with all the other terms and images, which leaves us with too many options.

Therefore, starting the hypothesis from terms in the captions, which are the counterpart of the

illustrations, and setting them as standards limit this plethora – at least to a certain extent.[115]

In "Perfecting," there are two reproductions of fifteenth-century-Italian portraits; one of

Andrea Mantegna, and the other of Leon Battista Alberti. In the "Technical Introduction," we

have pointed out three issues: first, that Alberti's artwork is a self-portrait and that scholars

assume that this is also the case regarding Mantegna's artwork; second, that the captions of Fig.

67 (under the reproduction of Mantegna's work) and of Fig. 68 (under the reproduction of

Alberti's work) do not indicate who the artists of the two artworks are; third, that while the

caption of Fig. 67 titles the artwork as "Andrea Mantegna," the main text does not use this name

(or term) - this is in contrast to "Leon Battista Alberti," that is used in both, the main text and the

caption of Fig. 68. This fact makes Fig. 67 and its caption less relevant for hypothesizing implicit

MFRs, that link between the MFA's verbal and visual components. Further, when we read the

chapter, we see that Burckhardt points out "Lorenzo the Magnificent," "Ariosto" and "Dante" as

"complete men."[116] He elaborates on Dante's poetic and artistic accomplishments more than on

those of the other two individuals, however there is no image of Dante in the chapter (nor of the

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[115] Semantic relatedness and similarity are measured statistically and thus challenge a clear definition of what and how much terms or images are relevant to semantic and spatial analysis of MFAs although such definition can be determined arbitrarily or intuitively. Adding data about readers' eye movements and their comprehension and retention of the MFAs would clarify the relevancy of MFA's verbal and visual elements as well.

[116] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 147-48.

other two).[117] Therefore, the only Renaissance man who is both discussed by Burckhardt and displayed by Jahn is Alberti;[118] thus, it would make sense to look for implicit MFRs by focusing on the connection between the text's use of the term "Alberti" and the artwork that is titled just the same.

Let us start the hypothesis by highlighting in blue the title of the artwork, "Leon Batista Alberti," and the illustration. In this case, the title "Leon Batista Alberti" names and describes all these elements that are right above it: the illustration; artwork; and what we see in the artwork (i.e., the image, its iconographic content or what it represents). Further, since the terms "Leon Battista Alberti" and "Leon Battista" are also written on page 149, in the main text, let us highlight them in blue as well (Fig. 1.2). The high semantic similarity between the various forms of the term "Alberti" in the caption and the main text, on the one hand, and the visual representation of "Alberti," on the other, implies that they all signify the same historical phenomenon, the person "Alberti." Verbal and visual forms that signify the same meaning (or phenomenon) and are physically close to each other entail an epistemological implication: anything that is attributed to or argued about the term "Alberti," in the text, is also relevant to the depicted person in the illustration. For example, if the text indicates that "Alberti" was an "artist," then the depicted person is an "artist" as well. Does it also go the other way around? Since Burckhardt does not develop multiform argumentation in *Civilization*, there is no voice in the text that refers directly to the illustrations; to what the Renaissance artworks indicate about

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[117] Dante lived between 1265-1321. Burckhardt does not explain how Dante influenced the fifteenth-century individualism that he recognizes, nor what were the factors that influenced Dante to flourish as a creative individual, in his time.
[118] Ibid., 148-49.

their contemporary culture and era. Thus, it would make more sense to examine this matter in the analyses of the other four books. At the same time, since the image "Alberti" is in our field of vision, and consequently mind, while we read about "Alberti," we are compelled to imagine the "Alberti" whom we read about looking like "Alberti" whose image we see, whether we focus our attention on it or not. For example, when we read that "[i]n his twenty-fourth year, finding his memory for words weakened, but his sense of fact unimpaired, he set to work at physics and mathematics,"[119] we imagine him studying sciences with a short haircut rather than with a long hair or shaved head. The availability of "Alberti" with a certain haircut in our field of vision "merges" with what we read about him. Therefore, we could argue that anything that is visually attributed to the image "Alberti" is also true to the animated Alberti we imagine when we read Burckhardt's argument about him.

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[119] Ibid., 149.

Fig. 1.2 Double spread 148-49, Burckhardt's "Perfecting."

The compulsion entailed in merging verbal and visual signs that are close to each other in spacetime into a single meaning is probably the foundation of the convention to caption images and illustrate concepts. There is no difference between the creation of these multiform constellations and the conventions used in teaching children spoken and written languages; these conventions are based on a performance of an authority that shifts someone's attention between different phenomena, while emphasizing that they are, in fact, different aspects of the same

thing. Is it possible that when Alberti designed his self-portrait, he placed the inscription ".L. BAP." (for "Leo Baptista") next to an image of a head in profile (following a Roman model), to allow contemporaries and posterity to remember and think about him as he desires? Perhaps Jahn's decision to embed this self-portrait (without informing the readers that this is a self-portrait) was his way to cooperate with Alberti; an opportunity to allow Alberti, as the subject of Burckhardt's historical inquiry, to influence the historian's argument about him, leaving no room for Burckhardt to resist this "new reading." Jahn allows Alberti to say to Burckhardt: "Yes, I'm an *uomo univerasale*, but not only because you wrote that I have a 'powerful and varied nature,'[120] but also because I can reshape the representation you create of me, by producing my own multiform representation and having Jahn to embed it in the midst of your speech." On the other hand, what is the point in delivering such a message if the caption does not indicate that this is a self-portrait? At any rate, if this is Jahn's message through Alberti's work, or Alberti's messages through Jahn's work, it might be addressed to Burckhardt, but it surly goes beyond him, to the readers' mind, and to those who are interested in what combinations of words and images can do in illustrated historiography.

The immense force of the spacetime between words and images to validate both - and create a holistic representation of what presumably has taken place - is the same magic that occurs when varied evidence are presented in legal procedures, to prove the existence of an object or event. Our mind cannot refuse identifying truth with having diverse pointers referring to it; our mind seems to be programmed - our brain seems to be wired - to accept that if varied

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[120] Ibid., 147.

media "signal the same message," this message must be true. Looking at historiography, this mental mechanism is utilized as a tool to render effectively what was going on; if we show an image of a human being who (conventionally) looks like a man, and write "Alberti" next or beneath it, then we create and communicate a "historical phenomenon." Having a "historical phenomenon" which can be approached from multiple-different angles promises that when only one of the angles is available, the other one will follow it automatically in people's mind. Ignoring factors such as ideologies, politics, industry, means of production and reproduction, market and marketing strategies and rhetorical devices enhances the success of multiform representations of the past.[121]

We highlighted "Alberti" - in its verbal and visual forms - on the double spread 148-49. How do the other pages in the chapter use that term? Page 147 does not mention "Alberti," while page 150 uses it twice; but, as we read page 150, we realize that there are pronouns there that relate to Alberti as well. The pronouns: "he," "him," "his" and "himself" come to replace Alberti's name, therefore they refer to the same historical phenomenon. So, let us highlight the two "Alberti" on page 150 and his pronouns on both, pages 149 and 150 (Fig. 1.3).[122]

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[121] In his exploration of self-representation in the early modern era, Peter Burke points out three practices that combine words and images. According to Burke, in the sixteenth century, literary works of famous writers were supplemented by both biographies and engraved portraits, usually as frontispieces. During that time, painters' habit to sign their paintings became more common, and in the mid-sixteenth century, titles of printed portraits explicitly claimed for the truthfulness of the images. "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," 25. These examples show the realization of the impact words and images have on the human mind when they are conveyed together. The impact is not only in relation to the veracity of the semantic content, that multiform utterances imbed, but also the authority that such combinations can radiate. Put differently, the ability to match words and images is none but practicing of power.

[122] Displaying scans of double spreads on a Word document diminish their original size quite significantly. Since the scans are in high resolution, zooming in - if reading this study on a screen - helps see the highlighted terms. Additionally, I decided to skip highlighting terms in footnotes since their fonts, in the scans, are too small (even when zooming in). Theoretically, however, the spatial and epistemological role of these terms is not different from that of the terms in the captions and main text.
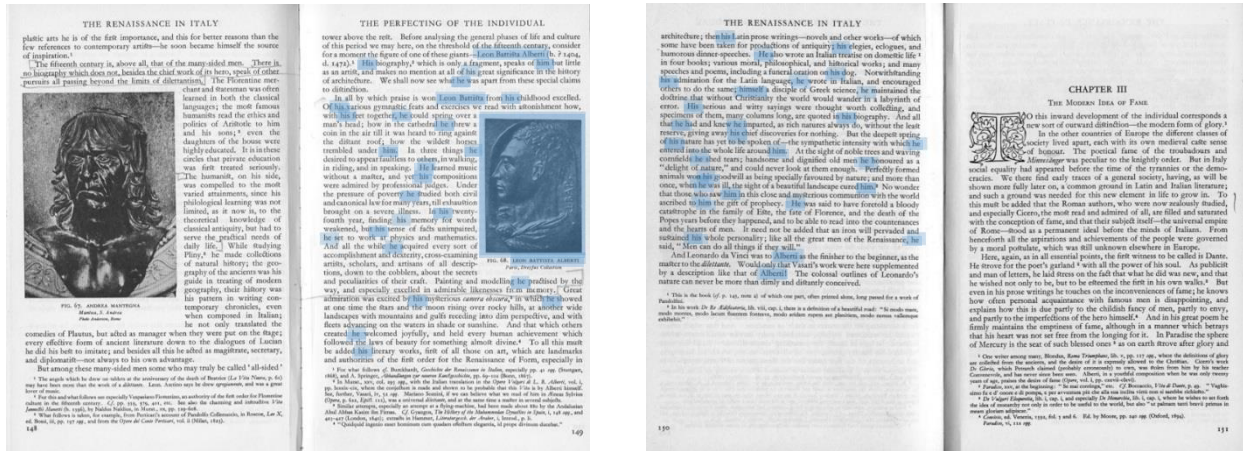
Fig. 1.3 Double spread 148-49 and page 150, Burckhardt's "Perfecting."

Now, the reading of the chapter also reveals that, for Burckhardt, Alberti exemplifies - as an "individual," "figure" and "artist" - fifteenth-century groups or identities such as "complete men," "many-sided men," "all-sided men," "*l'uomo universale*," "universal artists," "giants" as well as "great men of the Renaissance."[123] Since these terms signify groups of which Alberti was a member, they are holonyms to the term "Alberti," as it is a meronym to them, so let us highlight these holonyms in red and their pronouns, in singular and plural as well. Finally, we also highlight in red the terms "plastic arts" and "culture," because "Alberti" is an artwork,

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[123] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 147-50.

which is a meronym to terms such as "plastic arts" and "culture;" thus, epistemologically, it can exemplify them, and - in turn - what is said about them is true about it too (Fig. 1.4).[124]

THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

who has learned everything," says Ghiberti,[1] "is nowhere a stranger; robbed of his fortune and without friends, he is yet the citizen of every country, and can fearlessly despise the changes of fortune." In the same strain an exiled humanist writes: " Wherever a learned man fixes his seat there is home." [2]

CHAPTER II

THE PERFECTING OF THE INDIVIDUAL

AN acute and practised eye might be able to trace, step by step, the increase in the number of complete men during the fifteenth century. Whether they had before them as a conscious object the harmonious development of their spiritual and material existence is hard to say; but several of them attained it, so far as is consistent with the imperfection of all that is earthly. It may be better to renounce the attempt at an estimate of the share which fortune, character, and talent had in the life of Lorenzo the Magnificent. But look at a personality like that of Ariosto, especially as shown in his satires. In what harmony are there expressed the pride of the man and the poet, the irony with which he treats his own enjoyments, the most delicate satire, and the deepest goodwill!

When this impulse to the highest individual development [1] was combined with a powerful and varied nature, which had mastered all the elements of the culture of the age, then arose the "all-sided man"—l' uomo universale—who belonged to Italy alone. Men there were of encyclopædic knowledge in many countries during the Middle Ages, for this knowledge was confined within narrow limits; and even in the twelfth century there were universal artists, but the problems of architecture were comparatively simple and uniform, and in sculpture and painting the matter was of more importance than the form. But in Italy at the time of the Renaissance we find artists who in every branch created new and perfect works, and who made the greatest impression as men. Others, outside the arts they practised, were masters of a vast circle of spiritual interests.

Dante, who even in his lifetime was called by some a poet, by others a philosopher, by others a theologian,[2] pours forth in all his writings a stream of personal force, by which the reader, apart from the interest of the subject, feels himself carried away. What power of will must the steady, unbroken elaboration of the Divine Comedy have required! And if we look at the matter of the poem we find that in the whole spiritual or physical world there is hardly an important subject which the poet has not fathomed, and on which his utterances —often only a few words—are not the most weighty of his time. For the

146   147

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[124] It means that the artwork "Andrea Mantegna" exemplifies "plastic art" and "culture" too. Thus, theoretically, there is a good reason to highlight "Mantegna" the title and the image, since they are part of an implicit MRF in the chapter (that links between "plastic art," "culture" and "Mantegna" - the title and image). Nevertheless, I prefer to stop our hypothesis at this stage, since the connection between these verbal and visual components is based on a top-down or deductive reasoning alone (since nothing specifically is claimed about "Mantegna;" it is not presented as a case that exemplifies a broader phenomenon). At any rate, even if we do not continue our hypothesis, using "Mantegna," this case raises an interesting practical question: if we highlight "Mantegna," which color should we use? If we use blue, it means that we see it as we see the artwork "Alberti;" a meronym to "plastic arts" and "culture." On the other hand, as a historical phenomenon, "Mantegna" is not "Alberti;" he is another, different individual. Perhaps it would be better, epistemologically, to highlight him, his representations, in a different color.
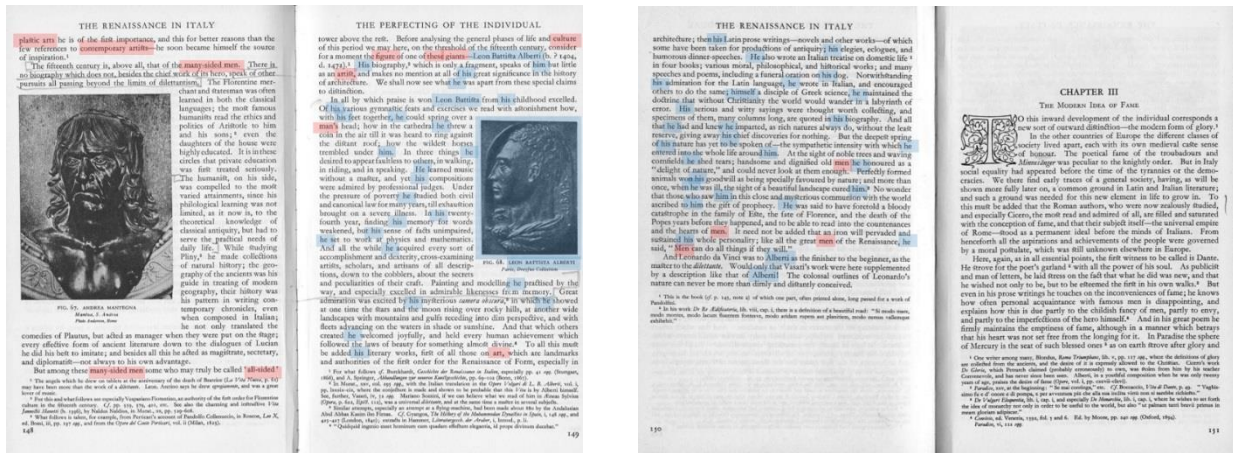
Fig. 1.4 Page 147, double spread 148-49 and page 150, Burckhardt's "Perfecting."

Fig. 1.4 above presents a map of the entire chapter, "The Perfecting of the Individual,"

pointing out potential poles of implicit MFRs. Our assumption is that the semantic relatedness

between the highlighted terms (in blue and red), on the one hand, and the highlighted term and

image "Leon Battista Alberti," on the other, evokes among the readers a potential urge to shift

their attention across the MFA. For example, the highlighted "Leon Battista Alberti" in the

caption may intrigue the readers to shift their attention to the image just above it, and the varied-

highlighted terms in the main text may do the same, referring readers' attention towards the title

and image. We have created this map of implicit MFRs by: first, pointing out the semantic

similarity between the title and the image, as both are "Leon Battista Alberti;" and second,

identifying terms that have semantic relatedness with "Alberti," which we detected through close

reading of the main text. In our reading, we searched for terms with three different kinds of

semantic relatedness to "Alberti;" first, its identical sign, i.e., "Alberti;" second, its pronouns;

and third, its holonyms. In our search, we moved from a tight semantic relatedness to a looser

one. In spatial terms, we moved from a hybrid or multiform space between the title and the artwork towards the periphery of the illustrated chapter.

The color coding of the scanned chapter shows how the semantic and spatial aspects of the hypothetical implicit MFRs are structured and function in tandem; verbal and visual poles that have tighter semantic relatedness are physically closer than those that have looser semantic relatedness, and vice versa. Is it a coincidence? Probably not; the semantic and physical distances between the verbal and visual poles of implicit MFRs are the semantic and physical distances between the MFA's verbal and visual components or premises. Therefore, tighter semantic relatedness embedded in shorter physical distances requires less time to shift the attention between the verbal and visual components; it increases the flow of the alternating reading and observing, and their shared - multiform - sense. This referential mechanism, which helps us navigate within an argumentative, illustrated text, compensates for what is "lost" when the utterances are not entirely verbal or visual. In written texts, the physical distances between letters, words, symbols and paragraphs are usually set. This stability and continuity of the blank spaces between the printed, verbal signs allow us to invest our energy in the printed signs and the content that they convey. Further, in case of an illustrated text, these blank spaces put order into the verbal component, subsequently distinguishing it from the visual one, which has a different order, "texture" or "topography." The blank pattern, that characterizes the verbal component of the illustrated text, stops us from literally continuing our reading into the images, since the images do not possess it. Similarly, when we observe the visual component, in a verbal environment, the continuity and unity of the image's visibility, and the blank space that

surrounds it, help us focus on the content of the image; to collect its details and merge them into a "picture."

When we consume MFAs, our attention shifts between its verbal and visual components, while explicit, implicit and indeterminate MFRs "regulate" these shifts, to maintain the MFAs' cohesiveness and coherence. The color coding of the analyzed scans demonstrates that implicit MFRs are built on meanings of words, and on how the subject matter develops along lines and paragraphs, throughout the space of the pages and the chapter. Equally so, the color coding shows that those implicit MFRs are based on the location of the image within the space of the page and the chapter. Thus, the map of the implicit MFRs illuminates how they combine - within the printed space - the continuity of the blankness between the verbal signs and the continuity of the visibility of the image. This combination is of two kinds of continuities or magnitudes, while each kind has both, a semantic and a visual aspect. The synthesis of the two maintains the MFA's cohesiveness and coherence; this is the MFRs' role in an illustrated text; to create an argumentative body that denotes meaning by both verbal and visual means.

Only a close reading of the chapter, realization of how it utilizes rhetorical devices, and understanding of what the text says and shows about the subject matter allow us to hypothesize the verbal and visual poles of implicit MFRs. For example, Burckhardt claims about Dante that "[f]or the plastic arts he is the first importance, and this is for better reasons than the few references to contemporary artists—he soon became himself the source of inspiration."[125] Regarding Alberti, Burckhardt argues that "[h]is biography, which is only a fragment, speaks of

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[125] Regarding Dante's art, Burckhardt adds in a footnote: "[t]he angels that he drew on tablets at the anniversary of the death of Beatrice (*La Vita Nuova*, p. 61) may have been more than the work of *dilettante*." Ibid., 148n1.

him but little as an artist, and makes no mention at all of his great significance in the history of architecture."[126] We highlighted "plastic arts" in red as holonym of Albert's self-portrait; by doing so we drew a possible cause and effect relation between Burckhardt's statement that Dante is a source of inspiration for the plastic arts and Alberti's own artwork. The cause is Dante and the effect is what we see in Fig. 68, namely, Alberti's artwork. The link between the two is made by an implicit MFR; it suggests that if we like to see, while we are reading the chapter, how an artistic inspiration works, there is an example right in front of our eyes; this is possible effect of an MFA. The semantic relatedness between the terms "plastic arts" and "artwork" (which is how we would describe what the Fig. 68 shows: a plastic object) leads to a spatial relation between two points in the printed space and, ultimately, to their epistemological connection. This is how Jahn intervenes in Burckhardt's argument, pulling it to a certain direction, physically and epistemologically.[127]

The last point I would like to discuss is the three-fold use of the term "artist/s" in the double spread 148-49. Within Burckhardt's argument about Dante, we highlighted "artists" in red (on page 148), and within Burckhardt's argument about Alberti, we highlighted "artist" in red as well (on page 149). I claimed above that both terms are holonyms to "Alberti," since he exemplifies them by being a member of that "artistic-group." Thus, highlighting both, "artists" in Dante's context and "artist" in Alberti's context, implies that the two terms signify the same group of individuals. However, a close reading of the text shows that Burckhardt argues that

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[126] Ibid., 149.
[127] In comparison to the reproduction of *Leon Battista Alberti*, the reproduction of *Andrea Mantegna* is physically closer to the claim that Dante is a source of inspiration to the "plastic arts." We could hypothesize that the attention shifts from "plastic arts" to the reproduced *Mantegna* and from there, perhaps, to the reproduced *Alberti*. This question should be explored by tracking readers' eye movements.

"contemporary artists" to whom Dante refers are, in fact, not the main reason for Dante's influence on the "plastic arts," but rather his own becoming a "source of inspiration."[128] Thus, the "artists" in Dante's context is a contemporary group that Dante knows and refers to; a group that Alberti cannot belong to, since Dante died in 1321, eighty-three years before 1404, the year in which Alberti was born. The term "artist" in Alberti's context is a case of an abstract, nominal group that, according to Burckhardt, does not get full attention as one of Alberti's groups (or identities), in Alberti's biography.[129] What is then the relation between the highlighted "artists" in Dante's context and "artist" in Alberti's context? The answer to this question begins with Burckhardt's third use of "artists" that we have read on page 149 but decided (silently) not to highlight in red. Let us now highlight it in orange, as an indeterminate MFR (Fig. 1.5). This "artists" is used by Burckhardt immediately after he describes Alberti studying physics and mathematics. He writes: "[a]nd all the while he acquired all sorts of accomplishment and dexterity, cross-examining artists, scholars, artisans of all descriptions, down to the cobblers, about the secrets and peculiarities of their crafts."[130] In this context, Alberti acquires knowledge from artists; they are a group that he looks at from the outside, while attempting to gain something that they have and that he does not; something that differentiates them from him. Therefore, in this case, Alberti is not a member of this specific group, although in different contexts he is.

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[128] Ibid., 148.
[129] Burckhardt adds in a footnote that Alberti's biography may be an autobiography, see ibid., 149n2. On Alberti's self representation in his *Vita* and Burckhardt's reading of and writing about that self-representation in *Civilization*, see Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti,* 3-30.
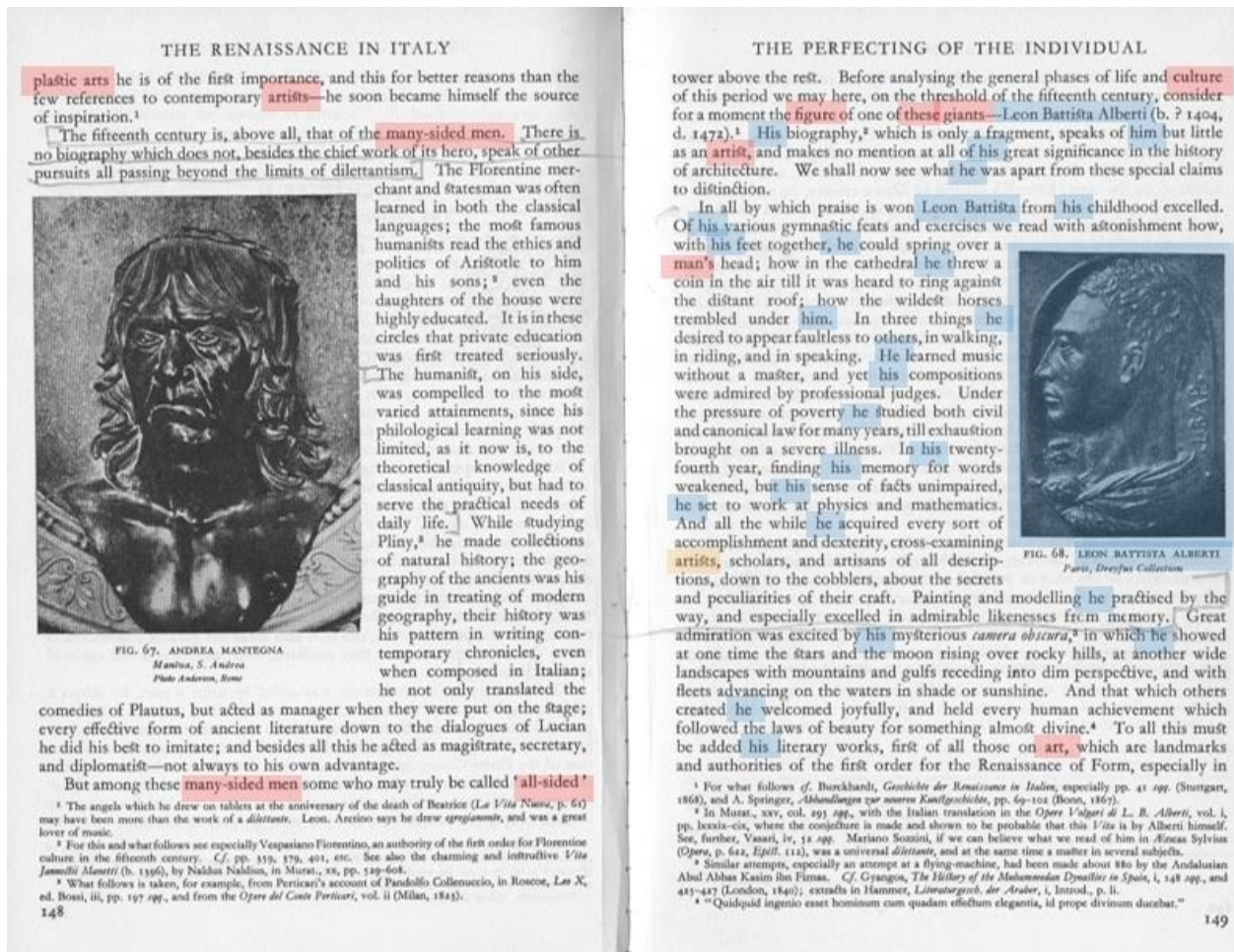[130] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 149.

Fig. 1.5 Double spread 148-49, Burckhardt's "Perfecting."

Back to the relation between "artist" in Dante's context and "artist" in Alberti's context. The fact that Dante could not have referred to Alberti as he referred to his contemporary artists does not exclude Alberti from being a member of that group. How is this possible? In the context of "Perfecting," the "artists" to whom Dante referred come to demonstrate three ideas: first, that Dante - as a "poet," "philosopher," "theologian" and *uomo universale* - is interested in plastic arts; a domain in which he is not a professional (although Burckhardt assumes that his drawings

"have been more that the work of *dilettante*"); second, that he is aware of and probably appreciates artists of his own time, demonstrating that his circles, in addition to his interests, cross professional domains; third, that contemporary artists, just like Dante, were influenced by someone who is not from their own profession. In that sense, "contemporary artists" and "Dante" exemplify the same historical phenomenon, that is, *l'uomo universale*. On page 147, Burckhardt uses the concept "universal artists," a sentence after he uses *l'uomo universale*, which we highlighted in red as well; the vicinity between *l'uomo universale* and "universal artists" associates between the two concepts and further blurs the boundaries between contemporary professions, disciplines and circles.[131]

In fact, Burckhardt's portrayal of *l'uomo universale* and of Dante is along the same lines as his description of Alberti; a person who is involved and excels in various activities and is eager to know (more and a lot) from others. Thus, "Alberti" - the term and image - is a meronym to "contemporary artists," in Dante's context, as he is to the nominal "artist" in his own biographical-context. In both cases, "artist/s" signifies a group of professionals who blend with other groups, be it in the turn of the fourteenth century or during the fifteenth century. The "artists" we highlighted in orange signifies a group of professionals who are a target to blend with, and thus cannot serve - semantically, spatially and epistemologically - as a holonym to "Alberti;" it is not a pole of an implicit, but rather of indeterminate MFR, where the relation between the word and the image is vague or marks a potential or transition. The three-fold use of

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[131] It is important to note that Burckhardt's development of the concept of *l'uomo universale* as a man with a broad and fluid scope of interests and skills, is done through setting boundaries between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. He states that although there were men with "encyclopedic knowledge" and "universal artists" in the Middle Ages, the problems that they were preoccupied with are characterized by "narrow limits," or they were "simple and uniform." Ibid., 147.

the term "artist/s," in the chapter, suggests a holistic picture of Burckhardt's "Renaissance man;" an individual who knows, subjectively and objectively, his limited boundaries and wonders how to expand them. To sum up, our hypothesis of implicit MFRs is based on a careful and repeated reading of the main text; it entails an understanding of the argument that the authors develop and the evidence they use to support their historical understanding. The semantic and spatial analysis of the scans of "Perfecting" reveals not only how Burckhardt conceptualizes the "Renaissance man," but also how Jahn adds another rhetorical layer into the image of the era. The awareness to those verbal, visual and multiform nuances increases our ability to utilize them in creating and communicating historical knowledge.

Chapter 2 Tender Compassion: Multiform Argument in R. W. Southern's "From Epic to Romance"

In this chapter, we continue hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs, using scans of double spreads from the chapter "From Epic to Romance." The hypothesis will be done by focusing on a specific MFA in the chapter, and using color coding to draw connections between its verbal and visual components. Additionally, we will discuss the different kinds of reading involved in consuming MFAs, including their explicit, implicit and indeterminate MFRs. The goal of the following analysis is to understand better how Southern uses word and image relation to describe and explain the mental and emotional changes he recognizes between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and the meaning of those changes in relation to the contemporary rise of individualism.

Analyzing "Epic" after "Perfecting" raises two questions about the principles that we use during the analytical process: first, what is the most effective way to define the space in which we hypothesize implicit MFRs? Second, is there any difference between hypothesizing implicit MFRs in a chapter in which there are explicit MFRs and a chapter in which there are none? Clearly, the fixed boundaries of the analyzed chapters help us limit the delineation of the MFA's body; for example, they halt us from highlighting terms in the list of illustrations, index and outside of the book as referring poles of implicit MFRs, and thus lose sight of the argumentative body. The use of the body of the chapter as the space in which we hypothesize implicit MFRs worked well in the case of "Perfecting:" it is a condensed, four-page chapter; it develops a single concept, *l'uomo universale*; supports the concept with a few examples; and focuses on one of

them, i.e., Alberti. Within that space, we implemented the principle of semantic relatedness to hypothesize implicit MFRs. First, we identified semantic similarity between the title of the artwork and the image in the form of "Alberti," which we highlighted in blue, then we set it as a standard to hypothesize referring poles of implicit MFRs in the main text, which we also highlighted in blue. Second, we looked for terms that have a looser semantic relatedness, i.e., holonyms to "Alberti," to map the chapter with further potential poles of implicit MFRs, which we highlighted in red. The structure of Southern's "Epic," nevertheless, is different from that of Burckhardt's "Perfecting:" first, it is composed of thirty-eight pages; and second, it contains explicit MFRs.

The relatively high number of pages in "Epic" implies that the rhetorical and argumentative style in which its central argument develops is different from that of "Perfecting." Indeed, Southern's scope of social and cultural domains, in "Epic," is wider; unlike Burckhardt, he draws on and quotes diverse primary sources in the main text; discusses the visual material; and compares the verbal and visual components of his arguments. Hypothesizing implicit MFRs in "Epic," therefore, requires us to stay alert to semantic relatedness for a relatively-long time. The careful reading, alas, makes us realize that while the sub-topics or themes change; some of their terms are relevant on the semantic level, but less so on the epistemological level, for they simply refer to a different - albeit related - phenomenon. Therefore, the length of the chapter makes it hard to work "blindly" with semantic relatedness as a principle to hypothesize implicit MFRs.

One way to reduce the space of the analysis is to look for the author's own division of the chapter into smaller sections. It makes sense to find the author explicating the shifts between the themes in a long and multi-thematic chapter. For instance, on page 231, after concluding his discussion about the theme of "self-knowledge," Southern argues that Anselm and Bernard expressed their contemporaries' aspirations most clearly "in their treatment of the central theme of Christian thought: the life of Christ and the meaning of the Crucifixion." On page 238, Southern writes: "[t]he transformation of the theme of the Virgin and Child was a naturally corollary to the transformation of the theme of the Crucifixion." His overt division of his discussion and shifting between the themes would serve us as a principle to define the analyzed space: pages 231-38.[132] Within that space, Southern explores late eleventh- and twelfth-centuries' thought and feeling for Christ's humanity, through his figure on the Cross. Southern argues that contemporaries gradually emphasized Christ's humanity rather than divinity, as they developed tender and compassionate sentiments for him, expressed in verbal and visual representations of his suffering and pain on the Cross. Citations from Bernard's *In Cantica sermo*, an English Cistercian's *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, Anselm's *Orations ad S. Mariam* and *Cur Deus Homo*, and Gilbert Crispin's *Judaei cum Christiano*, on the one hand, and reproductions of the Crucifixion scene from the Gospels of Countess Judith, and two Danish crucifixes, on the other, serve Southern in demonstrating this intellectual and emotional change. Since the medieval conception of God's humanity is, obviously, related to contemporaries' notion of Christ's own humanity,

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[132] Interestingly, the index indicates that the entry "Crucifixion, meaning of the" is discussed on pages "231-40, 251." Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 270. It means that, in the index, the theme Crucifixion includes the theme Virgin and Child, which is not indexed independently. Indeed, on page 232, relatively-long before the discussion on the Virgin and Child begins, Southern states that "The homage to the Virgin for which new and more intense forms of expression were found from a period quite early in the eleventh century was one symptom of the concentration of the humanity of Christ."

within his argument, Southern also provides a summary of relevant doctrines that explain God's motivation to become a man, and how this miraculous move offers a solution to the problem of man's salvation.

Now that we have an argumentative, thematically-focused space to analyze, we can start hypothesizing implicit MFRs. In the analysis of "Perfecting," as mentioned above, we used semantic relatedness (including similarity and meronym-holonym relation) to identify referring and referred poles of implicit MFRs, knowing that there are no explicit MFRs in the MFA, and holding that the illustrator Jahn was the one who created the implicit ones. The MFA in "Epic," nevertheless, contains three explicit MFRs, which Southern embedded in the main text, while giving them an unusual character by integrating them "organically" in the text, rather than using the conventional brackets. Does the presence of those explicit MFRs in his MFA influence our hypothesis of implicit MFRs? Yes, it does. First, explicit MFRs constitute two identical signs in the MFA by doubling "fig. n.;" this mechanism bridges between the main text and the image through the caption. The two identical signs do not offer themselves to the readers' interpretation; their only meaning is to allow the communication to continue and flow, while the argument is shifting between two different semiotic systems. Therefore, the referring pole of the explicit MFR is a spot in the main text where the image, as a whole, could have been placed, had it been technically possible. Had it been possible, the referring sentence and main text would have seemed more similar to the hybrid meaning that the author attempts to covey, and the cognitive, multiform experience they probably create in the readers' mind. At any rate, as the proxy of the image within the verbal component of the MFA, the referring pole of the explicit

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MFR, namely, "fig. n.," allows authors to construct unified syntactic sequences that are composed of both words and images.

Having a proxy of an image within a sentence a-priori tells something about the terminological nature of its immediate verbal surrounding, since the terms that the author uses around the proxy convey something about or in relation to the image, or to its details. For example, neighboring terms could be the title of the artwork, the name of the artist, date of production, artistic technique, and so on. In many cases, "neighboring terms" to the referring pole of an explicit MFR contextualize the image, pointing out the broader, past phenomenon it comes to represent. Thus, terms that neighbor the referring pole often have semantic similarity with terms that neighbor the referred pole, namely, "fig. n." in the caption, and with the image itself. This semantic similarity establishes implicit MFRs. For example, in the first referring sentence in "Epic," while the term "[t]he frontispiece of this book" is the explicit-referring pole - instead of "fig. n." - the term "pre-Conquest England" is one of its neighboring terms. Clearly, it has semantic similarity with "(English prob. 1050-65)" written in the caption of the frontispiece. The apparent semantic similarity between the two terms connects the referring sentence, that indicates the place in which, according to Southern, the sentiment prevailed to the caption, that suggests where the artwork was produced.

In the technical analysis, we asked whether captions indicate the locations in which the artworks are preserved, rather than where they were produced. We should also note that the term "English," in the caption, signifies the place of the artistic production through using an adjective, that characterizes the artwork, rather than conveying a name of the place, i.e., "England."

However, writing "England" in the caption would, according to the convention, signify that the artwork is in England, in time of writing the historiographical text.[133] One could argue that the decision to mention, in the caption, the place of production instead of preservation is a rhetorical device that strengthens the semantic - and ultimately epistemological - connection between the referring sentence and the artwork through the caption. It is a method for creating an implicit MFR between the main text and the frontispiece, through a name of a place, reinforcing the continuity between the verbal and visual components of the widely-spread MFA. Nevertheless, Southern indicates, in the annotated list of illustrations, that the manuscript is at the Morgen Library in New York. All in all, this case exemplifies how explicit and implicit MFRs contribute, side by side, to the cohesiveness and coherence of the MFA.

The second way in which the presence of explicit MFRs influences the hypothesis of implicit MFRs in the same MFA relates to the fact that explicit MFRs indicate the author's awareness of the visual component of their MFA, and their preference to shift the readers' attention to it at a certain moment along the reading. The sign "fig. n." in the main text relates to both the artwork and its reproduction, since the caption, that begins with "fig. n.," is about both. Moreover, "fig. n.," in the main text, relates to the artwork and its reproduction holistically; it holds the two as a single and unified object or sight, rather than an aggregation of practices, pieces of matter or ephemeral visions. As such, "fig. n." allows authors to think and write about

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[133] The indication of a place in the captions of both, "Perfecting" and "Epic," raises questions about how captions and their various components are used in illustrated historiography, and whether there is a need to clarify or offer standards in relation to them. Regarding the caption of the frontispiece, the expectation to find there a name of a place as the location of the artwork, in time of writing the text, is not met. Unlike in "Perfecting," the problem does not emanate from the gap between the time of captioning and publishing, but from the modification of the term "England" from a noun into an adjective. Like any other implementation of rhetorical devices, these practices have an impact on the MFAs epistemology.

artworks and their reproductions as entities that have been created at once, ignoring the processes that have put their elements together in time and space. As a result, it promotes authors' perception of artworks and their reproductions as one, disregarding the specific and inherent work that went into making the one and the other, and that enables the use of MFAs and illustrated historiography in the first place. In contrast, implicit MFRs foster a careful examination of the MFA's visual component, since their referring poles rely on their own semantic relatedness with specific terms in the caption and details in the image. Hence, hypothesizing implicit MFRs, in the presence of explicit ones, is a search for potential shifts between the MFA's verbal and visual components, while the shifts may move between a holistic perspective (that conflates the artwork and its reproduction) and an atomistic perspective (that searches for details in the image).

The semantic nexus that authors develop around poles of explicit MFRs may affect the cohesiveness and coherence of their MFAs, for semantic relatedness between different terms, and between terms and visual forms, can be used throughout the text in varied ways and degrees of explicitness. Authors' and readers' keen awareness of multiform rhetoric is a powerful tool for constructing and analyzing MFAs. A fundamental possibility we should be mindful about is that MFAs can be read from right to left and from top down, as well as by zooming out from referring poles of explicit MFRs. My recognition that the surrounding of those poles has high concentration of implicit MFRs, that strengthen the connection between the MFA's verbal and visual components, led to the idea that reading by zooming out is involved in the consumption of

MFAs. The following analysis will point out this textual phenomenon, while offering the methods by which it does so.[134]

As we have noticed, the three explicit MFRs in "Epic" are embedded in the main text "organically," without the conventional brackets. The first explicit MFR directs the readers' attention to the frontispiece of the book; it does this from within the sentence: "The frontispiece of this book represents the high point of this compassionate tenderness for the suffering Christ in pre-Conquest England."[135] However, as we have observed in the technical analysis, while the term "frontispiece" is found in the main text, it is, of course, missing from the caption of the frontispiece, raising the question what makes this MFR explicit. In the technical analysis, I claimed that this MFR is explicit due to: the specificity expressed in the phrase "[t]he frontispiece of this book;" the fact that the frontispiece is "in" or "of" the book; and the continuity of the body of the book, on which the readers focus, while they are reading this referring phrase. All these factors make the referring phrase an explicit MFR; a rhetorical device that clearly directs the readers to a specific image in the book, at a certain moment during their reading. Let us highlight in green two elements: the phrase "[t]he frontispiece of this book," since this is the referring pole of the MFR, and the frontispiece, since this is the referred pole

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[134] The analysis of this MFA could have progressed through hypothesizing implicit MFRs using Southern's definition of the theme as "the life of Christ and the meaning of the Crucifixion" as a semantic yardstick; this would have entailed a search for terms in the main text, captions and visual forms that have semantic similarity with terms in that definition. For Southern's definition of the theme, see ibid., 231. Had we implemented that course of analysis, we would not have used the explicit MFRs as anchoring semantic and spatial spots in the analyzed-argumentative space. Using Southern's definition of the theme would have also prioritized conventional reading over other alternative readings as a tool to hypothesize implicit MFRs, as well as verbal signs over multiform ones (such as "fig. n."). In any event, it would be interesting to analyze MFAs in different ways and compare the results.
[135] Ibid., 237.

(Fig. 2.1).[136] Please note, this study displays page 237, from which the reference is made, left to the frontispiece, as if the reference physically anticipates the image. Indeed, the referring pole on page 237 precedes the frontispiece, since it refers the readers to the latter, but at the same time, it also follows it, since it is located close to the end of the book, while the frontispiece at its beginning.

The fact that we can articulate the spatial relation between the referring sentence and the frontispiece (or the MFR's two explicit poles) in two ways raises the question how we define the "reading" of an illustrated text. It seems that "reading," as a process of consuming data from top down and from left to right (as English requires), does not adequately describe the actual process taking place in relation to illustrated text. On the one hand, we do implement "conventional reading," that builds up meaning along the vertical lines, and leads us to referring poles of explicit, implicit and indeterminate MFRs; on the other hand, we "read" MFAs according to their particular-physical structures, that are based on the angles and lengths of the MFRs, that link between the MFAs' verbal and visual components. While spatial and logical principles influence the structure and meaning of MFAs the same way, each MFA manifests them differently; therefore, to grasp fully the varied meanings MFAs can convey, it is necessary to use a grammatical system that has the capacity to both coordinate and analyze hybrid epistemology; this system is MFG. The current study focuses on MFRs whose referring poles are verbal (especially in the main text, but also in the captions), and whose referred poles are visual (but also verbal, considering the captions), therefore - in the following figure - the verbal component

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[136] In the spatial analysis, we highlight poles of explicit MFRs in green, and poles of implicit MFRs in blue and red, in accordance to their semantic relatedness (synonyms or meronyms and holonyms).

has been positioned left of the visual one, imitating the course of a "conventional reading."

Nevertheless, once again, my presumption is that in practice both modes of reading work synergistically, mixing verbal and visual data into a multiform meaning. The first explicit MFR in "Epic," as we can see, crosses the boundaries of its own chapter. It shows that we should understand better both how authors utilize the space of the book as a means for argumentation, and how readers' consumption of MFAs uses different and interrelated modes of reading.[137]
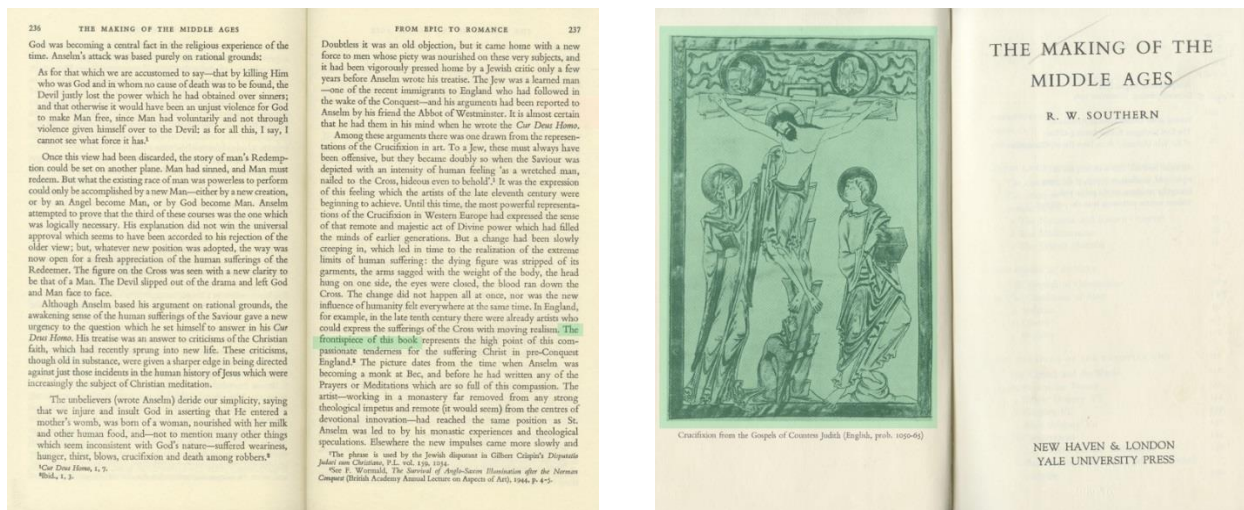
Fig. 2.1 Double spread 236-37 and frontispiece, Southern's "Epic."

We highlighted the MFA's first explicit MFR. Now, let us hypothesize the implicit MFRs around its two poles, based on their semantic similarity. The referring sentence writes: "The

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[137] Zooming out from poles of explicit MFRs to hypothesize implicit MFRs is an example of how we can approach the illustrated text from an unconventional, spatial perspective. It is one among multiple ways to analyze and comprehend how MFAs' spatial and epistemological aspects are interrelated. As I have claimed, tracking readers' eye movements while consuming MFAs, and subsequently examining their comprehension and retention of the arguments, would help us discover this hybridity of MFAs.

frontispiece of this book represents the high point of this compassionate tenderness for the suffering Christ in pre-Conquest England."[138] The caption writes: "Crucifixion from the Gospel of Countess Judith (English, prob. 1050-65)." Let us highlight in blue "suffering Christ" in the referring sentence, as a referring-pole, and "Crucifixion" in the caption, as a referred-pole, based on their semantic similarity. Their meaning, of course, echoes Southern's own definition of the theme of his MFA: once as "the life of Christ and the meaning of the Crucifixion;"[139] and once as "the Crucifixion."[140] We should note that while in "Perfecting" we highlighted both the title of the artwork and the image in blue, in "Epic" we do not highlight the image in blue since we already highlighted it in green as the referred-pole of the explicit MFR. In "Perfecting," as we know, there are no explicit MFRs. The decision not to highlight the image (or its details when needed) in blue results from technical considerations only. Nevertheless, it makes sense to continue processing the semantic role that the image and the referring pole of the explicit MFR have in the overall semantic nexus of the MFA. For example, "[t]he frontispiece of this book" and "suffering Christ," both in the referring sentence, as well as "Crucifixion," in the caption, and the frontispiece itself are all interchangeable; this notion can be clear if we imagine the frontispiece as the visual counterpart (or signified) of all three terms: "[t]he frontispiece of this book;" "suffering Christ;" and "Crucifixion." Thus, the poles of explicit MFRs have semantic relatedness with poles of implicit MFRs, within the overall semantic nexus.

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[138] Ibid., 237.
[139] Ibid., 231.
[140] Ibid., 238.

Now, let us highlight in red the holonyms to "the frontispiece of this book," the frontispiece, "suffering Christ" and "Crucifixion" as poles of implicit MFRs, as we did to the groups which "Alberti" represents or exemplifies. In the referring sentence: "The frontispiece of this book represents the high point of this compassionate tenderness for the suffering Christ in pre-Conquest England," we have highlighted the term "[t]he frontispiece of this book" in green as the referring pole of the explicit MFR. Since it represents "the high point;" "compassionate tenderness;" and "pre-Conquest England," we consider them as its holonyms, and highlight them in red. Since, as mentioned above, the terms: "[t]he frontispiece of this book"; "suffering Christ;" "Crucifixion" and the frontispiece itself are interchangeable, we hold the terms "the high point," "compassionate tenderness," and "pre-Conquest England" as their holonyms as well. The frontispiece is the referred pole of the explicit MFR; its title is "Crucifixion," in the caption: "Crucifixion from the Gospel of Countess Judith (English, prob. 1050-65);" therefore, in the caption, the holonyms to "Crucifixion" would be the terms that indicate where and when it is from and, thus, what it represents; these terms are: "the Gospel of Countess Judith" and "(English, prob. 1050-65)." We highlight the two terms in red. To sum up, the terms that we highlighted in blue - as meronyms - in both the referring sentence and caption (while we remember that the frontispiece and referring pole of explicit MFR could have been highlighted in blue as well) are: "suffering Christ" and "Crucifixion." The terms that we highlighted in red as holonyms are: "the high point," "compassionate tenderness," "pre-Conquest England," "Gospel of Countess Judith" and "(England, prob. 1050-65)" (Fig. 2.2).
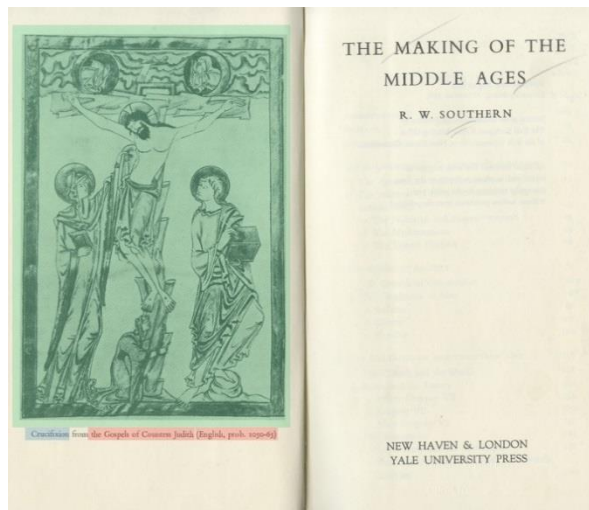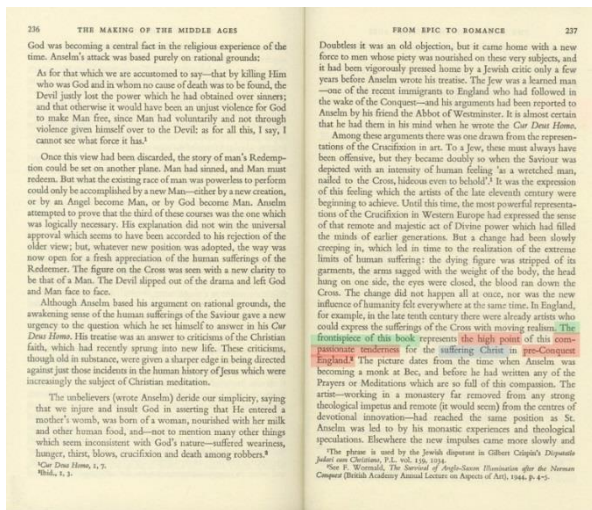
Fig. 2.2 Double spread 236-37 and frontispiece, Southern's "Epic."

Now, let us zoom-out from the two clusters of explicit and implicit MFRs and, as we did with the term and image "Alberti" in "Perfecting," highlight in blue all the terms that have semantic similarity with "suffering Christ" and "Crucifixion" (and the two poles of the explicit MFR), as well as the pronouns of these terms. While we are zooming out and highlighting relevant terms, let us also pay attention to terms which raise a question regarding their semantic relatedness to terms that denote the theme of the MFA, as we did, for example, in relation to "artists" on page 149, in "Perfecting." In that context, we highlighted "artists" in orange, since it signifies a group that Alberti was not a member of, and therefore cannot represent as a "meronym" in the text. In "Epic," the zooming out starts from the referring sentence on page 237 throughout the double-spread 236-37. Within that space, we should note, we implement the two kinds of reading mentioned above; on the one hand, we follow the text "conventionally," to identify relevant terms, and on the other, we look for relevant terms by comparing them to the

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terms we already hypothesized as poles of implicit MFRs, as we zoomed out from the poles of the explicit MFR. On page 236, these are the terms that we highlight in blue: "God" (from "Son of God" that begins on page 235); "Him;" "God;" "whom;" "Redeemer;" "The figure on the Cross;" "Man;" "Savior;" *Deus Homo*;" "Jesus;" "He;" "crucifixion." On page 237, these are: "Cross;" "Devine;" "human suffering;" "dying figure;" "humanity;" "sufferings of the Cross;" "suffering Christ;" and "picture."[141]

Now, let us highlight in red the holonyms to the terms we have just highlighted in blue. On page 236, these terms are: "central fact;" "religious experience;" "the time;" "fresh appreciation;" "awakening sense;" "human suffering;" "Christian faith;" "human history;" and "Christian meditation." On page 237, these are: "these very subjects;" "England;" "Conquest;" "representations;" "art;" "human feeling;" "expression;" "this feeling;" "late eleventh century;" "this time;" "Western Europe;" "late tenth century;" "high point;" "compassionate tenderness;" "pre-Conquest England;" "the time when Anselm was becoming a monk at Bec;" "before he had written any of the Prayers or Meditations;" "this compassion;" "strong theological impetus;" "centers of devotional innovation;" and "new impulses."[142] Finally, let us highlight indeterminate MFRs in orange. These are the terms "Man" and "human suffering," on page 236, and "Elsewhere," on page 237 (Fig. 2.3). Before we move on to analyze additional double-spreads, I would like to explain why the terms "Man" and "human suffering" were hypothesized as implicit

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[141] Terms that are highlighted more than once within the same round of highlighting are not repeated in the lists of the highlighted terms. Further, in the analysis of "Perfecting," we displayed the highlighted meronyms first and then, in separate scans, the highlighted holonyms. Here, I have merged the different rounds of highlighting because: first, they are not new to us; and second, in "Epic," there are more pages to analyze than in "Perfecting."

[142] Southern uses both "Western" and "western" to describe Europe. Throughout this study, I attempt to adhere to the historians' use of uppercase or lowercase letters. As a principle, I use uppercase for "Western."

MFRs but were also hypothesized as indeterminate MFRs, and what makes "Elsewhere" an indeterminate MFR as well.
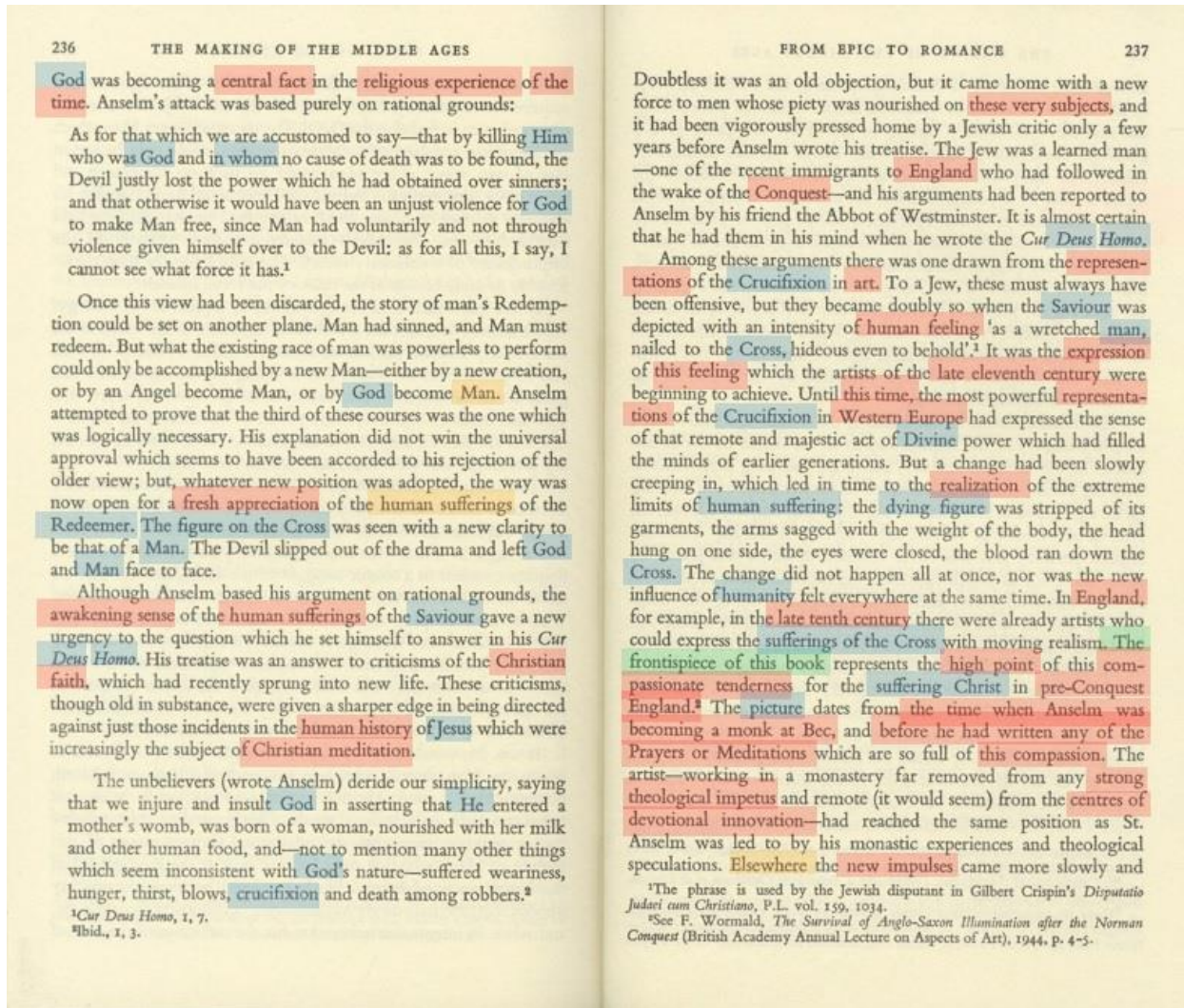
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God was becoming a central fact in the religious experience of the time. Anselm's attack was based purely on rational grounds:

> As for that which we are accustomed to say—that by killing Him who was God and in whom no cause of death was to be found, the Devil justly lost the power which he had obtained over sinners; and that otherwise it would have been an unjust violence for God to make Man free, since Man had voluntarily and not through violence given himself over to the Devil: as for all this, I say, I cannot see what force it has.[1]

Once this view had been discarded, the story of man's Redemption could be set on another plane. Man had sinned, and Man must redeem. But what the existing race of man was powerless to perform could only be accomplished by a new Man—either by a new creation, or by an Angel become Man, or by God become Man. Anselm attempted to prove that the third of these courses was the one which was logically necessary. His explanation did not win the universal approval which seems to have been accorded to his rejection of the older view; but, whatever new position was adopted, the way was now open for a fresh appreciation of the human sufferings of the Redeemer. The figure on the Cross was seen with a new clarity to be that of a Man. The Devil slipped out of the drama and left God and Man face to face.

Although Anselm based his argument on rational grounds, the awakening sense of the human sufferings of the Saviour gave a new urgency to the question which he set himself to answer in his Cur Deus Homo. His treatise was an answer to criticisms of the Christian faith, which had recently sprung into new life. These criticisms, though old in substance, were given a sharper edge in being directed against just those incidents in the human history of Jesus which were increasingly the subject of Christian meditation.

> The unbelievers (wrote Anselm) deride our simplicity, saying that we injure and insult God in asserting that He entered a mother's womb, was born of a woman, nourished with her milk and other human food, and—not to mention many other things which seem inconsistent with God's nature—suffered weariness, hunger, thirst, blows, crucifixion and death among robbers.[2]

[1] Cur Deus Homo, 1, 7.
[2] Ibid., 1, 3.

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Doubtless it was an old objection, but it came home with a new force to men whose piety was nourished on these very subjects, and it had been vigorously pressed home by a Jewish critic only a few years before Anselm wrote his treatise. The Jew was a learned man —one of the recent immigrants to England who had followed in the wake of the Conquest—and his arguments had been reported to Anselm by his friend the Abbot of Westminster. It is almost certain that he had them in his mind when he wrote the Cur Deus Homo.

Among these arguments there was one drawn from the representations of the Crucifixion in art. To a Jew, these must always have been offensive, but they became doubly so when the Saviour was depicted with an intensity of human feeling 'as a wretched man, nailed to the Cross, hideous even to behold'.[1] It was the expression of this feeling which the artists of the late eleventh century were beginning to achieve. Until this time, the most powerful representations of the Crucifixion in Western Europe had expressed the sense of that remote and majestic act of Divine power which had filled the minds of earlier generations. But a change had been slowly creeping in, which led in time to the realization of the extreme limits of human suffering: the dying figure was stripped of its garments, the arms sagged with the weight of the body, the head hung on one side, the eyes were closed, the blood ran down the Cross. The change did not happen all at once, nor was the new influence of humanity felt everywhere at the same time. In England, for example, in the late tenth century there were already artists who could express the sufferings of the Cross with moving realism. The frontispiece of this book represents the high point of this compassionate tenderness for the suffering Christ in pre-Conquest England.[2] The picture dates from the time when Anselm was becoming a monk at Bec, and before he had written any of the Prayers or Meditations which are so full of this compassion. The artist—working in a monastery far removed from any strong theological impetus and remote (it would seem) from the centres of devotional innovation—had reached the same position as St. Anselm was led to by his monastic experiences and theological speculations. Elsewhere the new impulses came more slowly and

[1] The phrase is used by the Jewish disputant in Gilbert Crispin's Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano, P.L. vol. 159, 1034.
[2] See F. Wormald, The Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman Conquest (British Academy Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art), 1944, p. 4-5.

Fig. 2.3 Double spread 236-37, Southern's "Epic."

How is it possible that on a single page the terms "Man" and "human suffering" function as implicit MFRs only in some cases? What is the difference between "Man," that ends the

sentence "[b]ut what the existing race of man was powerless to perform could only be accomplished by a new Man—either by a new creation, or by an angel become Man, or by God become Man," and "Man" that ends the sentence "[t]he figure on the Cross was seen with a new clarity to be that of a Man"?[143] In the first case, "Man" is an available option which God my turn to as a solution for the problem of man's redemption. Although Southern is not absolutely clear about the origin of this theoretical framework, according to him, this option was offered by Anselm, who saw God's becoming a man as a logically necessary solution to that problem. The topic of the MFA is the sentiment for the "suffering Christ," therefore "suffering Christ," "Crucifixion," the frontispiece and terms that have semantic similarity with them represent that sentiment. "Man" as an antithesis to "God" cannot represent the sentiment for the "suffering Christ," since he is "just a man," lacks divinity without which the sentiment has no theological meaning (strictly defined). Thus, we do not highlight it as an implicit MFR.

In the second case, where "Man" ends the sentence "[t]he figure on the Cross was seen with a new clarity to be that of a Man," God's humanity is not a theoretical option, but rather a concrete reality - contemplated, represented and seen by contemporaries. In this case, "Man" can represent the sentiment for the "suffering Christ" as it signifies God after his incarnation or actualization of himself as a man; when the "Cross" and "Crucifixion" symbolize the merge of both the divine and human histories. Hence, we highlight that "Man" as an implicit MFR. The terminological nuance embedded in the use of "Man" within the same paragraph demonstrates that, in this context, the term "Man" is used on a spectrum between God and man; the

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[143] Ibid., 236.

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capitalization of the letter "M" is the punctuative expression of the categorical hybridity that this spectrum enables (although in the analyzed MFA, the use of this technique is not always clear).

Now, what is the difference between "human suffering" in the sentence "[…] but, whatever new position was adopted, the way was now open for a fresh appreciation of the human suffering of the Redeemer," and "human suffering" in the sentence "[a]lthough Anselm based his argument on rational grounds, the awakening sense of the human suffering of the Savior gave a new urgency to the question that he set himself to answer in his *Cur Deus Homo*"?[144] In the first case, "human suffering" is an option whose "fresh appreciation" became more concrete and available; the "appreciation" of the conditions around the "human suffering," according to Southern, have changed. This "human suffering" is in a potential form; it is of the "Redeemer," before he became a Man, as the actualization of this possibility is described only in the succeeding sentence. Thus, we do not hypothesize this "human suffering" as an implicit MFR; as a representation of the sentiment for the "suffering Christ," and as a component in the text, that refers to the "Crucifixion" in the caption and the image.

In the second case, "human suffering" is an existing phenomenon attributed to the "Savior," and of which a sense has been already developed; its existence is solid enough to even give "new urgency" to another phenomenon (the question that Anselm set himself to answer in *Cur Deus Homo*). Thus, in contrast to the first "human suffering," the second "human suffering" makes sense as an implicit MFR, and as such it is highlight in red. Interestingly, the analysis of the semantic and spatial aspects of the MFAs in both "Perfecting" and "Epic" reveals how

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[144] Ibid.

Burckhardt and Southern use dialectical schemes to argue for historical changes, as they pose antithetical categories to the categories with which they describe their protagonists; these antithetical categories "pull" the protagonists to make or experience changes over time. In "Perfecting," we highlighted "artists" as both implicit and indeterminate MFRs, since we understood that Alberti's ability to represent "artists" depends on the context in which the conjunction of the terms "Alberti" and "artists" arises. At the same time, we noticed that Burckhardt's conceptualization of *l'uomo universale* posits "artists" as a contemporary profession and an identity that mingles with that of other groups, and whose individual members may have characteristics that we tend to ascribe to other professional communities. Thus, even if Alberti does not represent the "artists" we highlighted in orange as an indeterminate MFR, he may be one of them (as the highlighting of "artists" in red demonstrates). In "Epic," we identify a similar pattern; God is not a man, but he can be a man, and we know it since he became a man. According to Southern, the change in the depictions of the Crucifixion shows - especially through signs of the suffering Christ - how God gradually acquires his humanity, in the eyes of contemporaries. Both Alberti and God are portrayed as figures who transgress conventional - metaphysical and disciplinary - boundaries, while they are aware of the potential-antithetical option they have, on a certain spectrum. Their external outlook on that option and transition into it is reflected in the semantical level of the MFAs about them.

Finally, what makes "Elsewhere" an indeterminate MFR in the MFA we are currently exploring? The last sentence on page 237 states that "[e]lsewhere the new impulses came more slowly" which means that, as we are flipping from page 237 to 238, we are probably moving towards a comparison between different paces of the same historical phenomenon, that occurred

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in varied places. Therefore, "[e]lsewhere," in this context, seems to signal a shift to a different argumentative phase, through geographical terms, especially due to the centrality of "England," in both the referring sentence and caption. Since it signifies a limbo, it has been highlighted in orange.

We hypothesized implicit MFRs on the double-spread 236-37; how do we continue? Are we going to 238-39 or 234-35? If we follow conventional reading, we should flip the page to 238-39; beyond that, we are already curious regarding the nature of the new impulses "elsewhere," outside of England. From reading "Epic" and analyzing its technical features, we know that the next two explicit MFRs are on page 238. This is a sufficient reason to continue the hypothesis there instead of in 234-35; we are in an analytical momentum that helps us move forward and gain insights from the process, and there is no reason to choose to analyze material that requires unnecessary adjustments.

Which of the terms on 238-39 seems to be a pole of an implicit MFR? Let us start by highlighting the poles of the second and third explicit MFRs in green. These are: the two referring poles, "Plate II" and "Plate III," on page 238; and the referred poles, "Plate II" and "Plate III," in the captions, and the second and third plates, between pages 240-41. The terms "Plate II" and "Plate III" in the captions are referred to by the same terms in the main text; at the same time, they refer to the plates above them. I consider them more as referred than referring poles, since there is more distance to cross from the referring poles in the main text to those in the caption than from those in the caption to the plates. In other words, there is more "pushing force" in the referring poles in the main text that in those in the captions. At the same time,

"Plate II" and "Plate III," in the captions, contribute their "pulling force" to shift the readers' attention towards the image. At any rate, as we can see, unlike the first explicit MFR, that entails flipping the pages backwards, the second and third explicit MFRs align with conventional reading (Fig. 2.4).
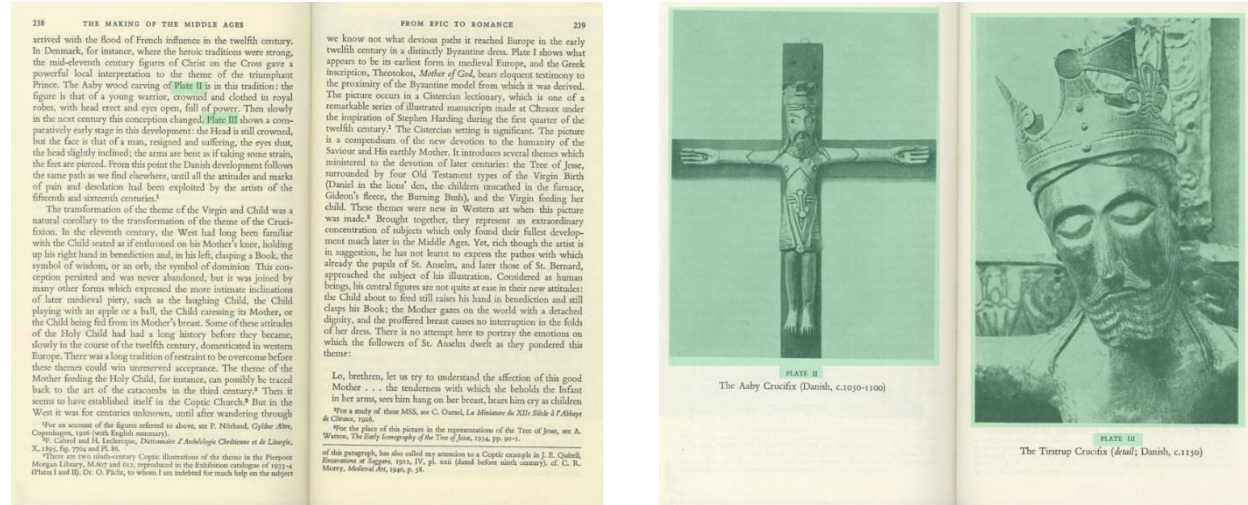
Fig. 2.4 Double spread 238-39, Plate II and Plate III, Southern's "Epic."

Now, we like to hypothesize implicit MFRs among neighboring terms to the referring and referred poles of the second and third explicit MFRs. Once again, some neighboring terms to verbal and visual poles of explicit MFRs have semantic similarity, which - in turn - makes them a pair of poles of a single implicit MFR. Let us start by analyzing the sentences of the referring and referred explicit poles of Plate II. The referring sentence to Plate II writes: "The Aaby wood carving of Plate II is in this tradition: the figure is that of a young warrior, crowned and clothed in royal robes, with head erect and eyes open, full of power." Excluding the term "Plate II," the

caption writes: "The Aaby Crucifix (Danish, c.1050-1100)." Which terms in both phrases have semantic similarity? "Aaby wood carving," in the referring sentence, and "Aaby Crucifix," in the caption, signify the same meaning (and historical phenomenon), thus, we highlight them in blue. The terms: "figure;" "crowned;" "clothed in royal robes;" "head erect;" and "eyes open," in the referring sentence, have semantic similarity with visual details in Plate II, therefore we consider them as referring poles of implicit MFRs, and highlight them in blue. We could have highlighted the details in the image in blue as well, as the referred poles of the MFRs, but they are already highlighted in green as parts of the visual-referred pole of the explicit MFR.[145] We do not highlight "full of power" that is in the referring sentence, since it expresses Southern's interpretation of the image rather than an observational - somewhat self-evidential - finding.

Now, let us highlight in red the holonyms of these terms, in both the referring sentence and caption. In the referring sentence, these terms are: "this tradition" and "young warrior." In the caption: "Danish" and "c.1050-1100." We identify these terms as holonyms due to their signification of groups or concepts, that the terms highlighted in blue and details in the image represent. For example, according to Southern, the "figure" in Plate II, is part of a "tradition," in which Christ is depicted as "a young warrior." Southern does not claim that Christ was simply "a young warrior," or that the tradition attempted to present him as such, but rather that in the Aaby

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[145] Another option is to highlight those details in blue, within the green area, but it would imply that we have to open the visual material to highlighting in red and orange as well. I prefer not to develop the analysis in that direction as part of this study, since the analysis is complicated enough. That said, there is a good reason to continue exploring the use of color coding to identify semantic relatedness between the MFAs' verbal and visual components, and I think that it would be more beneficial when readers' consumption of MFAs will be examined neurocognitively and empirically. Nevertheless, computer scientists use color coding to link terms in captions and details in images, while coloring both verbal and visual signs. Many of them use "bounding boxes" to signify relevant areas in images. As an example, see Lazebnik, "Research Highlights."

Crucifix, Christ carries attributes that conventionally characterize - at that time and place - young warriors. This mid-eleventh-century representation of Christ, that signifies him as "a young warrior," enables him, in turn, to represent "young warriors."

Our decision to continue the analysis in double-spread 238-39 rather than 234-35 results from a pragmatic consideration, according to which we should follow and utilize the analytical momentum. For the same reason, let us analyze the sentence that follows the sentence referring to Plate II, as it leads us directly to the sentence referring to Plate III. This sentence writes: "Then slowly in the next century this conception changed." Is there any term, in this sentence, that has semantic similarity with "Aaby wood carving" or "Aaby Crucifix," that we have highlighted in blue in the preceding sentence and the caption of Plate II, or with details in Plate II? No; however, this sentence is read after the caption of Plate II, that indicates that the artwork was created between "c.1050-1100." It implies that the term "next century" in the main text signifies a century after the time that is indicated in the caption, i.e., around the twelfth century. Now, we like to know what happened "around the twelfth century," to realize the role of the term "next century" in this MFA. "[T]his conception," from the same sentence, resembles "this tradition," which has been used in the preceding, referring sentence; without any new information between the two uses of the term "this," the second use of the term seems to signify what the first use does, namely, the ideas and sentiments represented in Plate II. So, let us highlight "this conception" in red. Since the change of "this conception" (that the Aaby Crucifix represents) took place in the "next century," and thus, can represent that period, we highlight "next century" in red as well; although, we still do not have a full and clear picture of that change (Fig. 2.5).
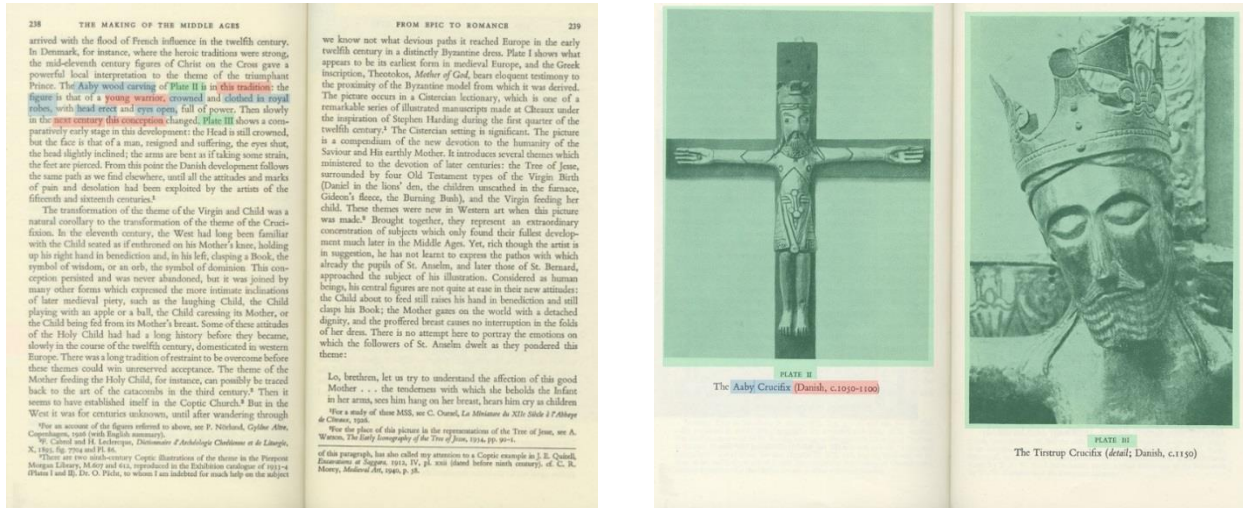
Fig. 2.5 Double spread 238-39, Plate II and Plate III, Southern's "Epic."

The next step is the analysis of the third explicit MFR. Let us identify neighboring terms

to the referring and referred poles of it. The referring sentence writes: "Plate III shows a

comparatively early stage in this development: the Head is still crowned, but the face is that of a

man, resigned and suffering, the eyes shut, the head slightly inclined: the arms are bent as if

taking some strain, the feet are pierced."[146] Excluding the term "Plate III," the caption writes:

"The Tirstrup Crucifix (detail; Danish, c.1150)." Which terms in both phrases have semantic

similarity? It is noticeable that in the referring sentence to Plate III, Southern relates to the

artwork as if it does not have a title or identity; this is in contrast to his reference to the previous

artwork, using "[t]he Aaby wood carving of Plate II." Referring to Plate III without using the

title of the artwork relinquishes an opportunity to create an implicit MFR in the referring

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[146] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 238.

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sentence and in any other sentence in the main text, for that matter. Let us look for terms, in the referring sentence, caption and details, in the image, that have semantic similarity. In the referring sentence, let us highlight in blue these terms: "Head;" "crowned;" "face;" "man;" "eyes shut;" and "head slightly inclined," since they have semantic similarity with details in the image. As in Plate II, we could have highlighted the corresponding details in the image, but they are already highlighted in green. What about the caption? Is there any term there that has semantic similarity with terms in the referring sentence?

Before we answer this question, it is important to explain why we do not highlight "arms are bent" and "feet are pierced" as meronyms, in the referring sentence, but in orange as indeterminate MFRs. The reason is that the terms "arms" and "feet" have no semantic similarity with any visible detail in Plate III. Indeed, the caption indicates that Plate III is a "detail," which only means that the full artwork features components that are external to the image in the book. Southern's reference to Christ's "arms" and "feet," while the readers cannot see them, raises a question regarding his awareness of the actual image that would be printed in the book. Like the other terms we highlighted in orange, "arms" and "feet" may signal: a transition of the historical phenomenon to a different category (as happens with God and Man), that fosters a challenge in representation and its analysis; or a beginning of a comparison between varied aspects of the same historical phenomenon, within the same MFA (as "elsewhere" signifies). In the case of "arms" and "feet," the dissonance between the MFA's verbal and visual components seems to indicate a shift between what the author meant to argue and what he practically does; therefore, the two terms signify a shift from the potential form of the MFA to its actual one. At the same time, the gap between the verbal and visual components emphasizes the fact that what we see in

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Plate III is only part of the artwork; hence, in the caption "The Tirstrup Crucifix (detail; Danish, c.1150)," we can highlight the term "detail" in blue, as it represents "Tirstrup Crucifix," which we consequently highlight in red.

Now, is there any term in the caption of Plate III that has semantic similarity with terms in the referring sentence? I do not think so, as "detail" refers to the image as a whole and the other terms seem to be holonyms. So, let us continue highlighting the holonyms in the referring sentence and caption. In the referring sentence, these are: "early stage" and "this development." In the caption, in addition to "Tirstrup Crucifix," we highlight: "Danish;" and "c.1150." The sentence that succeeds the referring sentence to Plate III is the closing sentence of the paragraph; it writes: "From this point the Danish development follows the same path as we find elsewhere, until all the attitudes and marks of pain and desolation had been exploited by the artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." Let us highlight "Danish development" in red, since the Danish crucifixes represent it, as it also signifies what "this development" from the preceding sentence signifies. I find it difficult to classify the rest of the terms, in this sentence, into meronyms and holonyms, according to their semantic relatedness to the caption and image. This difficulty emanates from Southern's use of the terms "elsewhere" and "all the attitudes and marks of pain and desolation." I would highlight this second "elsewhere" in orange as it signals a transition into a different MFA (whether is it practically written or not). It can also signal the end of the part that started with "[e]lsewhere," on the page 237. As for "all the attitudes and marks of pain and desolation," I do not see them in the image. To my eyes, they do not function as implicit MFRs to details in Plate III (Fig. 2.6).
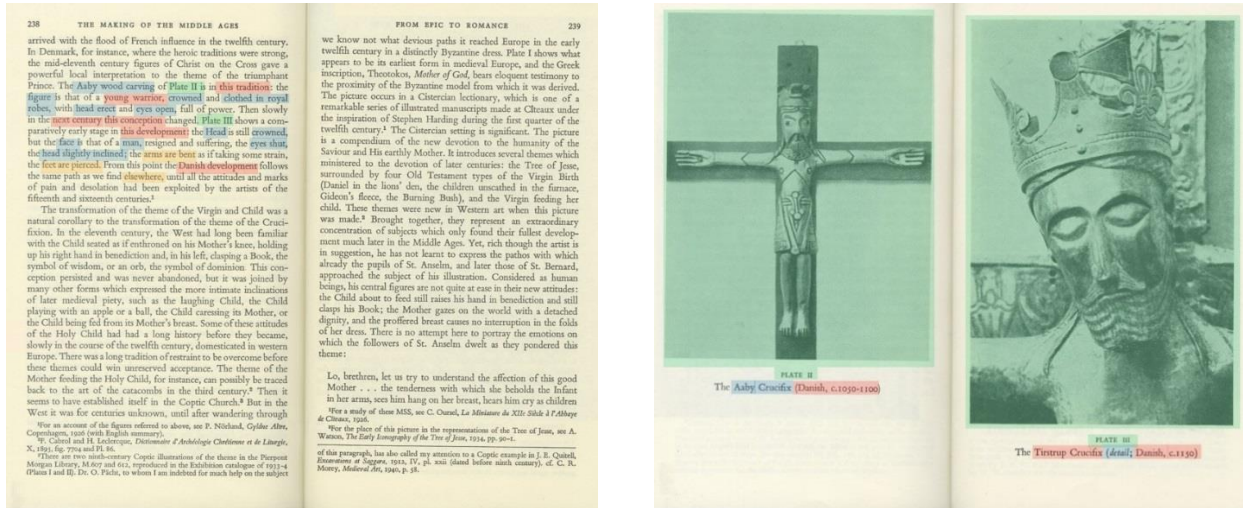
Fig. 2.6 Double spread 238-39, Plate II and Plate III, Southern's "Epic."

Since the next paragraph on page 238 discusses the theme of the Virgin and Child, we have reached the end of the current MFA. How do we proceed from here? First, let us return to "[e]lsewhere" on page 237 and continue hypothesizing implicit MFRs until we reach the explicit MFR of Plate II on page 238. We should remember that the spatial analysis is based on two kinds of reading: first, zooming out from the referring poles of explicit MFRs (to hypothesize implicit MFRs, among their neighboring terms); and second, implementing conventional reading from left to right and from top to bottom - within the scans - to realize how MFAs develop through the sequence of their MFRs. In this case, we return to "[e]lswhere" because this is the last term we highlighted on 236-37; we do so since the hypothesis of 238-39 started by zooming out from the first explicit MFR on that double-spread, namely, the explicit MFR of Plate II. The two sentences between "[e]lsewhere" and the second explicit MFR write: "Elsewhere, the new impulses came more slowly, and arrived with the flood of the French influence in the twelfth

century. In Denmark, for instance, where the heroic traditions were strong, the mid-eleventh century figures of Christ on the Cross gave a powerful local interpretation to the theme of the triumphant Prince."[147] When we analyzed 236-37, we highlighted "new impulses" in red; these are the theme, the changing sentiments for Christ's humanity, concretely represented in the primary sources. We know that eras and places are represented by both concrete representations and their themes, since eras and places are the broader contexts in which historical phenomena, such as texts and artworks, ideas and sentiments take place. What is, then, the status of "twelfth century," that ends the first of the two sentences? Could the "twelfth century" be represented by the "new impulses," while we do not know the place in which those impulses occurred, and what their concrete expression is?

The virtue of representation of one phenomenon by another depends on the specificity of the time and place in which the representing phenomenon occurs, and the clarity of its own traits. The concreteness of the representing phenomenon is necessary to establish it as a predicate or evidence of another phenomenon; otherwise, the historical argument is open to an infinite-regressive or tautological sequence of references from a representing phenomenon to a represented one, which simultaneously represents another phenomenon and so on. This condition explains why zooming out from explicit MFRs, by semantic relatedness, ensures that a concrete case (the body of the artwork and what we see in the image) is part of the epistemological process, through which we grasp a broader historical phenomenon; it also explains the importance of the detailed information that captions convey. Let us look for an intersection of

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[147] Ibid., 237-38.

concrete examples of the "new impulses," on the one hand, and a name of a place, on the other, to clarify how "twelfth century" functions, semantically and epistemologically, in this argumentative structure. The second sentence out of the two writes: "In Denmark, for instance, where the heroic traditions were strong, the mid-eleventh century figures of Christ on the Cross gave a powerful local interpretation to the theme of the triumphant Prince."[148] This sentence does not illuminate the status of "twelfth century," since although it provides us with a name of a place, i.e., "Denmark," it does not point out concrete examples of the expressions of the "new impulse." The term "figures of Christ on the Cross" is not a concrete example (or evidence), since it does not show any actual case. Finally, the sentence focuses on the "mid-eleventh century." However, the term "figures of Christ on the Cross" establishes a thematic continuity between Anselm's *Orations ad S. Mariam* and *Cur Deus Homo Cur Deus Homo*, and the frontispiece, on the one hand, and the "triumphant Prince," on the other. Would that justify the highlighting of "figures of Christ on the Cross" in blue, as an implicit MFR, as we did with similar terms on pages 236-37 and 238? I would wait for concrete examples, since - at this point - we still do not know what Southern sees in those representations, that (for him) represent a broader phenomenon, such as "heroic traditions."

The next sentence is the referring sentence to Plate II, that we have already analyzed. It writes: "The Aaby wood carving of Plate II is in this tradition: the figure is that of a young warrior, crowned and clothed in royal robes, with head erect and eyes open, full of power."[149] The caption of Plate II writes: "The Aaby Crucifix (Danish, c.1050-1100)." Thus, if the Aaby

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[148] Ibid., 238.
[149] Ibid.

Crucifix, that is shown in Plate II, is a concrete case of mid-eleventh Danish "figures of Christ on the Cross," and its "tradition" is in the "heroic traditions," that have been mentioned a sentence before, then we can consider "figures of Christ on the Cross" as an implicit MFR to Plate II, and highlight it in blue.[150] Consequently, we can highlight in red, within the same sentence, what those "figures" come to represent: "Denmark;" "heroic traditions;" "mid-eleventh century;" "local interpretation;" "triumphant Prince." Do these terms help us figure out the status of "twelfth century" from the top of page 238? They do not seem to, since the temporal framework of these terms is still the "mid-eleventh century."

Let us continue. The next sentence writes: "[t]hen slowly in the next century this conception changed."[151] In it, we have already highlighted "this conception" in red, based on its semantic similarity with "this tradition," which Aaby Crucifix represents; we also highlighted "next century" as a holonym, since it follows "c.1050-1100" from the caption of the Aaby Crucifix, and thus signifies - by being a later period - the meaning "around the twelfth century," and it also signifies the time in which the "conception" changed. Do these terms help us figure out the status of "twelfth century"? No, since to assess what the "twelfth century" contributes to the MFA, we still need to know its relation to a concrete case in a specific place. Let us continue. The referring sentence to Plate III writes: "Plate III shows a comparatively early stage in this development: the Head is still crowned, but the face is that of a man, resigned and suffering, the

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[150] We could have highlighted "figures of Christ on the Cross" in red, as a holonym to "Aaby Crucifix," but, in this context, I prefer to keep it as a meronym, since it is much closer to the theme of the whole discussion - the sentiments for Christ' humanity - than to broader contexts, such as contemporaries' self-perception or individualism, and the time and place in which those phenomena have evolved. Since referring poles of implicit MFRs can function as both meronyms and holonyms, it would be good to keep the analytical tools and practices flexible and classify the MFRs according to their context.
[151] Ibid.

eyes shut, the head slightly inclined: the arms are bent as if taking some strain, the feet are pierced."[152] The caption indicates that the artwork is "Danish" from "c.1150;" therefore, now when we have a concrete case and a place, we can finally highlight "twelfth century" as a holonym to the Tristrup Crucifix. We should add that, indirectly, the concreteness of the artwork and place also allows "twelfth century" to function as a holonym to its neighboring "new impulses" (Fig. 2.7).
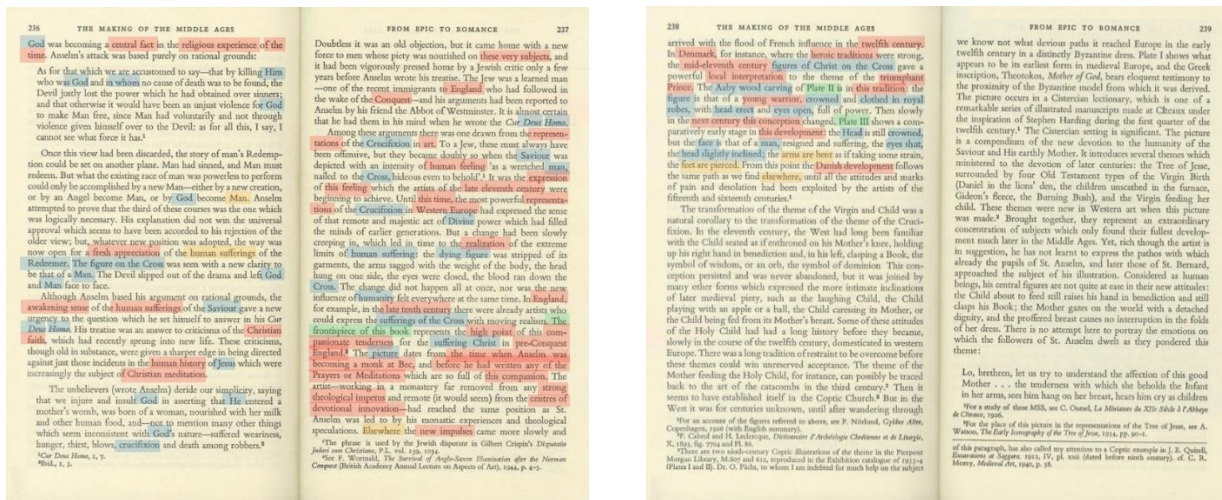
Fig. 2.7 Double spread 236-37 and page 238, Southern's "Epic."

We started the spatial analysis of "Epic" by zooming out from its first explicit MFR, since we found the entire chapter too long and diverse - thematically and terminologically - for such an analysis. We zoomed out from the first explicit MFR, hypothesizing implicit MFRs among its neighboring terms, until we covered the double-spread 236-37; then we continued by

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[152] Ibid.

analyzing the next two explicit MFRs on 238-39, until we encountered a shift to another theme, and subsequently the end of the MFA, following Southern's thematical definitions and divisions. Now, let us analyze the pages that precede 237-38. We will begin with 234-35, implementing a two-direction reading: a conventional reading for tracking implicit MFRs in their sentential and narrated context, and zooming out from the cluster of the three explicit MFRs, using the implicit MFRs as a semantic yardstick. In this case, the zoom out considers all three explicit MFRs, since the assumption is that authors construct their MFAs in a way that primes the readers to accept the MFA as cohesive and coherent by using rhetorical devices in different phases of the MFA.

Southern probably knew what the readers will read and see throughout the entire MFA at any stage of its writing and designing, or at least before its publishing (with some exceptions, of course). Therefore, it makes sense to hypothesize implicit MFRs in the main text that "anticipates" any explicit MFR in the MFA, as they are potential references to shift the readers' attention to the visual components of the MFA, even if they only give impetus to that shift, whose chances to actualize are higher, later on. Therefore, let us highlight, in blue, terms that have semantic similarity with the terms that we have already highlighted in blue, including relevant visual forms. The terms on the double spread 234-35 are: "Jesu;" Name;" "His presence;" "humanity of the Savior;" "Man;" "God;" "man;" "himself;" "his;" "Divinity;" "human form;" "Him;" "One;" "He;" "suffering of Jesus;" and "Son of" (from "Son of God" that proceeds into page 238).

Let us also highlight in red the terms that seem to be represented by the terms we highlighted in blue. These terms are: "pious devotion;" "new feeling;" "new thoughts;" "end of

eleventh century;" "tender compassion;" and "heroic view of human life." Apparently, these terms have semantic similarity with the terms we have already highlighted as holonyms, in red, in the previous pages. Finally, let us highlight indeterminate MFRs, the terms that raise a question in relation to their function in the argument, in orange. These terms are: "our period;" "late Middle Ages;" and "fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." "[O]ur period" seems vague through both conventional reading and zooming out. Implementing conventional reading, this is the first term - within the double-spread - that defines a temporal framework for the new devotion, feelings and thoughts; however, it is not clear what the time is, since "our period," in this context, does not indicate any specific time. Zooming out from the cluster of the three MFRs does not clarify the term either, since - within that space - Southern uses several definitions of periods, ranging between the "late tenth century" and the "twelfth century." Additionally, the term "our," at least in historiographical writing, might confuse, for it seems to signal some affection or identification with the explored period. Indeed, Southern argues that that period was characterized by a close "connection between thought and feeling, between emotional intensity and the formal structure of thought," which sounds like a valuable characteristic; a feature that any balanced soul would like to have. "[I]t was only in the later Middle Ages" he continues, "that the intellectual structure seems too weak for the feelings which produced the somewhat hectic piety of the fourteenth and fifteenth century."[153]

The term "later Middle Ages" has been hypothesized as an indeterminate MFR and it has been highlighted in orange, since it does not clarify the vagueness of "our period," nor of the

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[153] Ibid., 234.

consecutive temporal framework: "the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." The term "fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries" is vague because Southern states that the weakness of the "intellectual

structure" took place "in the later Middle Ages," and that this weakness was for the feelings and

piety "of the fourteenth and fifteenth century." The difference between "in" and "of," in addition

to the obscurity of "our period," makes the historical context that Southern points out, and

ultimately the phenomenon itself, quite confusing (Fig. 2.8). Perhaps this issue will be clarified

when we analyze 232-33. At any rate, this part of Southern's argument resembles the way he

concludes the MFA, claiming that the "attitudes and marks of pain and desolation had been

exploited by the artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."[154]

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[154] Ibid, 238. Paterson's understanding of the marginalization of the Middle Ages by the main Western narrative is relevant here, but with a different course of marginalization. First, in this case, Southern does not support his claims about the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries by concrete examples. Second, his evaluation of the connection between thoughts and feelings in the psyche of the Middle Ages as "close," and that of the Renaissance (without using this concept) as "weak" marks the earlier psyche as more harmonious than the later one, especially for its intellectual prowess. We have already encountered this line of thought in *Civilization*, where Burckhardt refers to the Medieval psyche as childish and not fully awake, while portraying the Renaissance spirit as the discoverer of the inner and outer worlds, and ultimately, of the objective and subjective aspects of both. Is it possible that Southern's comparative and judgmental approach to the historical self is, in fact, an implicit continuity within the discourse on pre-modern individualism?

Jesu! the very thought is sweet;
In that dear Name all heart-joys meet:
But oh, than honey sweeter far
The glimpses of His presence are.[1]

This surge of pious devotion must not however be considered simply in terms of its emotional content. In St. Bernard it was part of a highly disciplined religious life; and Anselm, in a more abstract way, prepared a theoretical justification for the new feeling about the humanity of the Saviour. His words on this subject had a decisive importance and marked a break with an age-long tradition. A few sentences relegated a long-cherished doctrine to the limbo of discarded thoughts; their success shows in a remarkable way how accessible his generation was to new thoughts as well as new feelings. It was indeed one of the characteristics of our period that the connexion between thought and feeling, between emotional intensity and the formal structure of thought, was close: it was only in the later Middle Ages that the intellectual structure seems too weak for the feelings which produced the somewhat hectic piety of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In order to explain this point, a short theological digression is necessary.[2]

Until the end of the eleventh century a very consistent view was held by theologians about the process by which Man had been saved from the consequences of sin. They argued that, by sin—by disobedience to God and obedience to the will of the Devil—man had voluntarily withdrawn himself from the service of God and committed himself to the service of the Devil. It was rather like the act of diffidatio in feudal custom by which a man rejected the authority of his overlord and submitted himself to another. Of course, the overlord did not acquiesce in this state of affairs: it meant war—but still, the rules of diffidatio having been observed, the war must be fought according to the rules. So it was in the war between God and the Devil over the soul of Man. God could not

[1] This poem, transmitted in a very large number of manuscripts from the late twelfth century onwards, has been edited by A. Wilmart, Le "Jubilus" dit de S. Bernard, Rome, 1944.

[2] For what follows, see J. Rivière, Le Dogme de la Rédemption au début du Moyen Âge, 1934. I have examined the circumstances in which St. Anselm developed his new interpretation of the dogma and his relations with Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, at this time, in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3, 1953.

fairly use His omnipotence to deprive the Devil of the rights he had acquired over Man by Man's consent: the rule of justice must be observed even in fighting the Devil. The command over Man which the Devil had acquired by a voluntary cession, could only be lost in one of two ways: either Man could go back on his choice and voluntarily turn again to God; or the Devil could himself forfeit his claim by abusing his power and breaking the rules by which he held mankind in fee. But Man's tragedy consisted precisely in the impossibility of a voluntary return. The only hope for Man therefore lay in some breach of the rules by the Devil himself.

It was this which God brought about by a great act of strategy: God became Man, and the Devil failed to realize it. He failed to see the Divinity beneath the human form. He claimed Him as his own and subjected Him to Death. But in doing this he committed that great act of lawlessness—that extension of his authority over One who had made no diffidatio, no surrender of Himself to the Devil—and this lost him his empire. Henceforth, the Devil could be smitten hip and thigh, and God could save whom He would.

This summary does not do justice to the spiritual content of a doctrine which held the field for quite five hundred years, but it brings out some of its more striking features. We have here a view of a struggle in which Man is assigned a very static rôle. Man was a helpless spectator in a cosmic struggle which determined his chances of salvation. The war was one between God and the Devil, and God won because he proved himself the master-strategist. That God should become Man was a great mystery, a majestic, awe-inspiring act, justly acclaimed in such a triumphant expression of victory as the Te Deum. But there was little or no place for tender compassion for the sufferings of Jesus. The earthly incidents of his life were swallowed up in a drama enacted between Heaven and Hell.

It was this whole view of the Devil's rights and of God's aim in becoming Man that Anselm rejected, and which, once rejected, disappeared for good. He did not of course reject it because it failed to satisfy the emotional needs of his generation. Nevertheless it is a striking thing that the intellectual short-comings of this picture of Man's salvation only became clear at the moment when the heroic view of human life being lived between the mighty opposites of external powers was dissolving before a new romanticism, and when an intense commiseration for the sufferings of the Son of

Fig. 2.8 Double spread 234-35, Southern's "Epic."

The double-spread 232-33 continues - as it precedes - the discussion about Christ's humanity and the surroundings in which the sentiments for it had developed. Thus, let us highlight the thematic terms in blue, their holonyms, as usual, in red, and terms that stir questions

in orange.[155] These are the terms we highlight in blue: "tenderness and compassion;" "Savior;" "humanity of Christ;" "humanity of the Savior;" "Christ's sufferings;" "Lord;" "Maker;" "earthly life of Jesus;" "suffering o the Cross;" "God;" "men;" and "His." These are the terms we highlight in red: "monasteries of the eleventh century;" "pious compassion;" "affection;" "feelings of pious compassion;" "middle of the eleventh century;" "at the time when Anselm was wandering through France;" "before he found a resting place at Bec;" "these feelings;" "period when Anselm was prior of Bec (1063-78);" "a new world of ardent emotion and piety;" "feeling;" "thought and feeling;" "sentimentality;" "Cistercian programme;" "emotions;" "eleventh century;" "Middle Ages;" "these sentiments;" "compassion and tenderness;" "eleventh century;" "ever-heightening emotions;" "twelfth century;" "France;" "England;" "English;" "end of the century;" and "new piety." And finally, these are the terms we highlight as indeterminate MFRs, in orange: "hands;" "feet;" "flesh;" "later centuries of the Middle Ages;" "all countries in western Europe;" and "different periods" (Fig. 2.9).

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[155] Apparently, there is a problem with the print of page 232 in "Epic," as some of the letters on its right are missing. We see it as an opportunity to hypothesize letters according to their context.

Fig. 2.9 Double spread 232-33, Southern's "Epic."

I would like to point out three patterns based on the indeterminate MFRs we have highlighted, in orange, in 232-33. The first pattern is expressed through the terms "hands" and "feet."[156] We have already highlighted "arms are bent" and "feet are pierced" in orange, where

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[156] Ibid., 232.

Southern describes the Tristrup Crucifix of Plate III;[157] this is due to their lack of semantic similarity with any visible detail in Plate III, while terms such as "man," "crowned," and "eyes," from the same sentence, do correspond with the image. I argued that the dissonance between "arms" and "feet," on the one hand, and the image, on the other, may signal a significant change in the structure of the MFA, intentionally or not. Why have we highlighted "hands" and "feet" in orange, in Anselm's quote?[158] The initial impulse to highlight them was their semantic similarity with the highlighted-terms from the description of Tristrup Crucifix; however, until now, we have not worked with a principle according to which terms whose role in the MFA is somewhat vague - in relation to poles of explicit MFRs, captions, and images - become a standard for "vagueness." On the other hand, we are currently analyzing space in the MFA that is relatively far from explicit MFRs, captions and images, and although it is distant from the "multiform center," it has a terminological and epistemological role in the MFA.

Our zooming out from the cluster of explicit MFRs develops new sensitivities to rhetorical nuances, that are hard to discern by implementing conventional reading only. We have already mentioned the need to keep the analytical tools and practices flexible, when we have to decide whether to classify an implicit MFR as a meronym or holonym, while it functions as both. Such flexibility benefits the analytical process by including the context of the terms as a factor in the assessment of the terms' principal function, in the MFA. I would like to use this pragmatic approach in relation to the highlighting of the terms "hands" and "feet" in Anselm's quote.[159]

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[157] Ibid., 238.
[158] Ibid., 232.
[159] Ibid.

Highlighting these terms due to their semantic similarity with "arms are bent" and "feet are pierced," from the description of the Tristrup Crucifix,[160] shows that zooming out from explicit MFRs can point out terms that "echo" terms that are closer, semantically and physically, to the visual components of the MFA; however, from a conventional point of view, the terms that "echo" serve as a model for the later terms, that are closer to the visual components. In other words, highlighting "hands" and "feet" demonstrates how Southern leads his readers from a verbal-primary source to a visual one, through repetition of terms.

Southern implements this rhetorical device three sentences before the referring pole to the frontispiece, as well, where he accounts the changes in the visual representations of the Cross in western Europe, during the late-eleventh century.[161] There, among other details, he points out "the arms [that are] sagged with the weight of the body." From a conventional point of view, this description follows Anselm's quote and anticipates the frontispiece. Zooming out from the cluster of the explicit MFRs, Anselm's quote supports Southern's claim that the frontispiece "represents the high point of this compassionate tenderness for the suffering Christ in pre-Conquest England."[162] Close conventional reading, implementation of zooming out, and the highlighting of terms according to their semantic relatedness, illuminate the epistemological role that "hands," "arms" and "feet" - as terms and visual forms - have in this MFA. They are presented as a theme that embeds shared sentiments concerning the humanity of Christ in different media. As a theme that manifested in diverse forms, it can reliably signify abstract

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[160] Ibid., 238.
[161] Ibid., 237.
[162] Ibid.

phenomena such as thoughts and sentiments, in a certain time and place. The plethora of their

forms of expression can only attest to how past reality was really like.

The second of the three patterns related to the indeterminate MFRs in 232-33 is expressed

through the term "flesh," which was highlighted twice, in Southern's quotation of Bernard's *In*

Cantica sermo, in which Bernard explains why God became a man.[163] "[F]lesh," in this quote, is

something that God wishes to be seen in, through which to lead men from the love of the flesh

(or carnal love) to spiritual love. From a conventional point of view, "flesh" is not an implicit

MFR; it does not refer the readers to a visual form of the potential that God ponders or desires;

any visual form of that potential would be either a depiction of its actualization (as a process) or

its very actualization (as a product). However, "flesh" in Bernard's quote allows Southern to

construct continuity between his MFA's verbal and visual components. God's vision of himself

as "human," is just part of a wider perspective he has on the issue, for it also consists of an image

of himself abstract and spiritual as he already is (paradoxically as it sounds). Thus, God has two

images of himself that enable him to wonder if a transition into the human one would help

humankind love differently, more spiritually.

The readers of *Making* are provided with a similar perspective when they look at the two

Danish crucifixes, on the double-spread between pages 241-42; however, while Bernard's quote

expresses a dichotomized framework, that is, being in a flesh or not, the Danish crucifixes offer a

spectrum between greater or lesser degree of divinity - or humanity - after the transition.

According to Southern, the earlier Aaby Crucifix shows the theme of the triumphant Prince,

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[163] Ibid., 233.

while the later Tristrup Crucifix represents God experiencing human suffering and pain. Positioning both images side by side opens a spectrum within the binarism that characterizes God's thought, as described in Bernard's text. Our analogy between Bernard's quote and the illustrated double spread is based on a factor that plays a role in both, i.e., the "flesh;" this is what runs through and changes the verbal as well as visual perspective, either by bearing "flesh" or increasing what it can bear.

The third of the three patterns related to the indeterminate MFRs in 232-33 is expressed through the terms "later centuries of the Middle Ages;" "all countries of western Europe;" and "different periods."[164] We regarded them as indeterminate and highlighted them in orange since their ambiguous language makes it hard to determine if and how they have semantic relatedness with other terms and visual forms, and consequently what their function in the MFA is. At the same time, all three terms do have a role in the MFA, as the first and the third terms define periods, while the second defines a place. To better understand their role in the MFA, let us read the two sentences in which these terms are used: "It was the Cistercians who were the chief agent in turning the thin stream of compassion and tenderness which comes from the eleventh century into the flood which, in later centuries of the Middle Ages, obliterated traces of an older severity and reticence. In the expression of an ever-heightening emotions all countries in western Europe had a share, and at different periods led the way."[165] In this statement, Southern presents a brief-summary of the history of the tender sentiments for Christ on the Cross: he points out the cause of the major change of the sentiments (the Cistercians); describes the change (metaphorically);

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[164] Ibid., 233.
[165] Ibid.

and locates it within temporal and geographical contexts. The metaphors "thin stream" and "flood" are not entirely new to us, if we zoom out from the cluster of the explicit MFRs. "[F]lood" has been used by Southern between the referring poles to the frontispiece and to Plate II, in this sentence: "Elsewhere, the new impulses came more slowly and arrived with the flood of the French influence in the twelfth century."[166] When we analyzed the double-spread 235-36 and page 238, we highlighted two uses of "[e]lsewhere" in orange, since the vagueness of the geographical definition seemed to signal a beginning of a comparison between varied aspects of the same historical phenomenon, within the same MFA. The first "[e]lsewhere" is neighboring to "flood" and the second defines the place where fifteenth- and sixteenth century artists had exploited "all the attitudes and marks of pain and desolation."[167]

Only now, when we continue zooming out from the cluster of the three explicit MFRs, can we discern the double-use of the metaphor "flood" and the addition of "thin stream," in the earlier case (implementing conventional reading), and the metaphoric level in the MFA. When Southern uses the "flood metaphor," temporal and geographical definitions such as "elsewhere," "all countries in western Europe" and "later centuries of the Middle Ages" become vague. In these instances, Southern links three phenomena: the later Middle Ages; western Europe; and a decline in intellectual strength, harmony between thought and feeling, and perhaps aesthetics. The "flood," which started as a "thin stream," signifies an "inflation" (my metaphor) in what Southern terms as "the ever-heightening emotions." I would like to suggest cultivating another sensitivity, and this time it is to terms that neighbor metaphors. Based on the analysis of the

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[166] Ibid., 237-38.
[167] Ibid., 238.

"flood metaphor," the use of metaphors in historiography might entail two phenomena: first, ambiguous definitions of time and place in which the discussed historical phenomenon occurs; and second, a tendency to judge historical phenomena morally, implicitly and without providing evidence and explanation. If we look carefully at Southern's descriptions of the later phases of the sentiments for Christ on the Cross, we see that, in fact, there are no substantial descriptions of that phenomenon in his text. The later European phase, expressing those sentiments, is hinted only by its degradation of the "thin" qualities of the earlier one. Thus, in this case, the vagueness of the terms that neighbor metaphors is not of terms that truly discuss a historical phenomenon, as they voice something else.[168]

The next double-spread we analyze is 230-31. The passage clearly states that its subject is "the theme of self-knowledge;" however, the last paragraph on page 231 points out Anselm's and Bernard's effectiveness in giving expression to the theme of "the life of Christ and the meaning of the Crucifix," that preoccupied their contemporaries. Let us highlight "life of Christ" and "Crucifixion" in blue, and their holonyms: "perceptions and aspirations" and "central theme

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[168] This is where the current analysis, once again, touches upon possible considerations that historians might have when they create and communicate historical knowledge. I am thinking about considerations that are reflected in the semantical level of the historiographical text, but which do not seem essential to the subject that the historians explore, as they do not ponder those considerations out loud. Earlier in this analysis, I expressed my question whether the religious theme that Southern discusses, in this MFA, influences his wording. The relatively high number of names that he uses for Christ (and God), and the challenge this variety introduces to my semantic analysis, made me think about the readership of *Making*, who might have different motivations and expectations from the book and its author, from those of, for example, the readership of *Civilization*. I assumed that scholars imagine their readership having certain identities, that become a factor in how the historians communicate their studies, and fashion their scholarly persona. Southern's use of metaphors - and vague terms in vicinity to them - shows that he values one period over another. It is possible that the readership of *Making* plays a role in Southern's mind, while he is looking for the "right words." It is hard to imagine him writing, for example "our religion" when he refers to Christianity; yet, his use of "our period," especially when the later Middle Ages are portrayed in ambiguous terms, raises the question: to whom Southern writes *Making*? Or what would he like to see in his readership, after they consume his scholarship? For a comprehensive study of metaphors and their varied uses, see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*.

of Christian thought," in red. As we have noticed, there are terms that can be considered meronyms and holonyms at the same time. On this page, "central theme of Christian thought" is read as a holonym to the meronyms "life of Christ" and "Crucifixion," as these are representations of that central theme. Further, considering "central theme of Christian thought" as a holonym associates it, by zooming out from the cluster of explicit MFRs, with holonyms such as "Christian meditation" and "Christian faith," on page 236. At the same time, "central theme of Christian thought" can be considered as a meronym that represents contemporaries' more-abstract "perceptions and aspirations," that could, too, function as a meronym by exemplifying broader phenomena, such as time and place. I do not think that the decision to refer to a certain term as a meronym or holonym is always crucial, within the process of hypothesizing implicit MFRs. It can become an interesting case if we realize that the terminology around and in relation to the term in question is rhetorically intriguing (Fig. 2.10).

earthly blessings. The third stage was that of the spirit, in which the love of God was freed from its merely selfish and limited aims, and was enjoyed in all its own sweetness and limitless satisfaction.

There is no place here to speak at length of the spiritual doctrines of the Cistercians, and I mention these stages in the ascent to God only to point out three things: firstly, it is an ascent in which each step proceeds by an intelligible development from the one which has gone before; secondly it is an interior movement beginning with self-love and continuing through self-knowledge to union with God; and thirdly it was not simply the doctrine of one man but the starting point of a whole generation of spiritual writers.

We may return at this point to St. Benedict's own statement of the stages in the spiritual life: the ladder of Humility. We saw that the steps in his ladder were not strictly progressive: they were more like notes in a scale from which harmony is produced than steps in a ladder. St. Anselm, however, had felt his way towards a different conception of spiritual progress: he introduced a new set of steps of Humility and made them stages in a logical progression. His arrangement does not appear to have been influential, but the urge towards logical arrangement and a new doctrine of spiritual progress was not a peculiarity of St. Anselm—it was part of the equipment of the age for which he helped to prepare the way. One of St. Bernard's first literary works was a treatise on St. Benedict's twelve steps of humility.[1] If he had never written anything else, this treatise alone would show him as a most fertile and original writer. It abounds in new definitions of familiar words, new arrangements of old thoughts, and new insight into states of mind. Without formally upsetting the ancient structure, Bernard gives it an appearance of logical coherence which was quite foreign to the original. He traces an ascent from self-knowledge and self-contempt, through neighbourly compassion, to perfect contemplation of the truth. He traces a descent from contempt of the brethren, through contempt of the superior, to contempt of God; and he follows with remorseless logic, the process of spiritual decay from the first movements of idle curiosity to the last state of disintegration, in which, sucked into the vortex of his carnal desires, forgetful of his own rational being and of the love of God, the castaway becomes the Fool who says in his heart "There is no God".

[1] P.L. vol. 182, 941-72.

This power to rethink old thoughts is most impressive, and it was clearly something more than a desire for logical arrangement which drove these men to recast the familiar thoughts of the Benedictine Rule. Indeed they seem to arrange their thoughts logically by habit, and this logical habit gave them a formidable tool for investigating the internal movements of the soul. They are more interested in analysing states of mind and in distinguishing the motions of the will than any writers since St. Augustine. This psychological interest is especially strong in St. Bernard: when he writes of the stages of humility, he is not simply interested as St. Benedict had been in the means of arriving at the state of perfection, but in all the hindrances and distractions which drew men away from it—in *curiositas*, *levitas jactantia*, *singularitas*, and many other states of mind about which the Rule is silent.

St. Bernard owed his influence as a guide to the spiritual life largely to the fact that men's minds had been turning already in the direction along which he impelled them. We have seen that both he and St. Anselm began their reconstituted ladders of humility with self-knowledge; and this theme of self-knowledge was deeply rooted in the new monastic movements of this time. The first abbot of Cîteaux wrote of his followers as "those to whom grace has been given to know themselves." Guigo, the greatest of the early Carthusian writers, in his Meditations composed between 1110 and 1116, which have been justly compared to the Pensées of Pascal, expressed more luminously than any contemporary writer the mystery of the self: "See how ignorant you are of your own self; there is no land so distant or so unknown to you, nor one about which you will so easily believe falsehoods." And in a very different atmosphere and spirit, the same theme inspired the *Scito te ipsum* of Abelard.[1]

This power of St. Anselm and St. Bernard to give varied and coherent expression to the perceptions and aspirations which they shared with their contemporaries is most clearly seen in their treatment of the central theme of Christian thought: the life of Christ and the meaning of the Crucifixion.

[1] For the letter of Robert of Molesme, first Abbot of Cîteaux, see P.L. vol. 157, 1293; for Guigo's *Meditations*, A. Wilmart, *Le Recueil des Pensées du B. Guigue*, 1936 (esp. no. 303).

Fig. 2.10 Double spread 230-31, Southern's "Epic."

The MFA that we have analyzed in "Epic" seems to end here, although, one could claim, this is just its beginning. On page 236, Southern concludes his summary of the doctrines on God's becoming a man in these words: "The figure on the Cross was seen with a new clarity to be that of a Man. The Devil slipped out of the drama and left God and Man face to face." I would

like to point out the metaphor "face to face" as an expression that condenses this MFA into three words, and that has inspired me along the MFA's analysis, as a prism through which we can see how verbal and visual sources and means tell the story of pre-modern individualism. The issue that initiates that prism is God's decision to become a man, as it is conveyed in Bernard's *In Cantica sermo*.[169] The sentiments for the suffering Christ could have not developed without God's decision to be seen in the flesh; to have a human face and thus create a man, who can have a divine, yet suffering look. Next is contemporaries' sentiments concerning this metaphysical hybridity, demonstrated through the juxtaposition of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* with the frontispiece, the Crucifixion from the Gospels of Countess Judith. At the core of this juxtaposition, Southern claims that "[t]he picture dates from the time when Anselm was becoming a monk at Bec and before he had written any of the Prayers and Meditations, which are so full of this compassion. The artist-working in a monastery far removed from any strong theological impetus and remote (it would seem) from the centers of devotional innovation-had reached the same position as St. Anselm was led to by his monastic experiences and theological speculations."[170] Face to face, not physically - it is stressed - but spiritually, Anselm and the artist arrived at the same point of view regarding Christ's humanity; not exactly at the same time, though, for the artist expressed their feeling prior to Anselm.

In this part of the MFA, the verbal and visual works that Anselm and the artist created serve Southern in showing that the sentiments he recognizes were more than an individual's caprice. It seems as if Southern works with two presumptions here: first, that the expression of

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[169] Ibid., 233.
[170] Ibid., 237.

those sentiments in varied media, by people who did not belong to the same circles, attests that

something in the "collective spirit" or "air" existed at that time; and second, that this shared-

unmaterialistic mentality makes Anselm's and the artist's expressive-works valid

representations of a fundamental change in the medieval perception of the self. How does

Southern mark the geography of those mental changes? In the sentence referring to the

frontispiece, Southern writes that the artwork "represents the high point of this compassionate

tenderness for the suffering Christ in pre-Conquest England." In the following sentence, he dates

the "picture" according to Anselm's life-experiences: his becoming a monk at Bec and writing

about the Crucifix. Interestingly, the dating of the frontispiece by two scales: national and

international events; and an individual's life, enables Southern to anchor his MFA to the macro

and micro levels. While the macro level only hints about a political context, the micro level is

based on Anselm, the author of the verbal source, rather than on the artist, who produced the

artwork.

Is the attribution of the micro level to the author instead of the artist, when dating the

artwork, significant? Does this influence the epistemology of the MFA? Anselm's timeline is, in

fact, a rhetorical device that Southern uses to connect the verbal and visual sources in this part of

the MFA, and equally between the different places where those primary sources were produced.

On page 232, five pages before this multiform juxtaposition, Southern introduces a few

expressions of the sentiments for the humanity of Christ, voiced by French theologians. Then he

writes: "These feelings of pious compassion were widely shared in the middle of the eleventh

century, at the time when Anselm was wandering through France before he found a resting place

at Bec. He was deeply affected by them, and in his earliest writings he gave these feelings a more

poignant expression than they had ever had before." The immediately-consecutive quote of Anselm, in Southern's text, is the passage in which we highlighted "hands" and "feet" as terms that "echo," but also serve as a model, for terms in vicinity to the visual component of the MFA. Southern's repetitive use of "arms," "hands" and "feet," by quoting Anselm, and describing what had changed in medieval art (as demonstrated in the illustrations in the MFA) constitutes a theme that moves across verbal and visual media. Anselm's wandering in France and dwelling at Bec, on the other hand, serve Southern as a temporal and geographical framework, that encompasses both verbal and visual sources. The narrative that Southern suggests for the sentiments for the suffering Christ is constructed through terminological and visual leaps, that start in France - and with Anselm - move to England, and from there - with the "flood" - to all the countries in western Europe.

Unlike Southern's treatment of the English verbal and visual sources from the second-half of the eleventh century, his exploration of the twelfth-century "European" sources focuses on visual materials only. For him, a comparison between the Aaby and the Tristrup crucifixes - which, between pages 240-41, are also face to face - indicates that "[e]lsewhere, the new impulses came more slowly" as they "arrived with the flood of the French influence in the twelfth century."[171] Apparently, Southern assumes that this comparison can hold an argument about mental occurrences throughout western Europe, from the late tenth century (with the earliest visual expressions of the compassion, in England) until the mid-twelfth century. Southern's withdrawal from juxtaposing verbal and visual sources, in the last part of the MFA, is

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[171] Ibid., 238.

accompanied by another - interrelated - methodological discontinuity; the shift from a combination of international and individual scales to a sole-national one. The geographical scope through which Southern develops his MFA is diminished once the international level and individual-traveling creator are left out of the argument; this sharp change of scopes, even if the earlier scope is logically imperfect, weakens Southern's claim about the medieval self, as reflected in the sentiments for the suffering Christ.

Considering the points that have been raised above, and the fact that Southern discusses the "arms" and "feet" of the Tristrup Crucifix while the readers of the MFA cannot see them in the illustration, make me think (again) about my decision to explore MFAs through the illustrated discourse on pre-modern individualism. The art and science of putting together historical sources of different kinds to show that something abstract and elusive such as the self was characterized by certain traits and tendencies is a challenging task. The challenge is not only in the recognition of commonalities or causalities among the diverse sources, but also their arrangement in a comprehensible manner. The creation of MFAs on pre-modern individualism requires the historian to observe contemporaries' way of expression, and through collaborations with other agencies in the industry of knowledge, find a way to share their observations. While doing so, the historian who creates MFAs faces endless possibilities as boundaries and limitations (Fig. 2.11).

Fig. 2.11 Frontispiece, double spreads 230-31, 232-33, 234-35, 236-37, 238-39, Plate II and Plate III, Southern's "Epic."

Chapter 3 Personal Portrait: Multiform Argument in Colin Morris's "The Search for the Self"

"The Search for the Self" is the fourth of the eight chapters in Morris's *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*. Throughout its thirty-one pages, and similarly to Southern's "Epic," it discusses themes that reflect the rise of individualism during the Middle Ages. However, the MFA from "Epic" we analyzed concentrates on religious thought and sentiments in relation to Christ, while the MFA from "Search" we analyze looks at verbal and visual depictions of monarchs. According to Morris, after the beginning of the eleventh century, representations of individuals shifted from showing their symbols of rank and status to representing their particular look. This kind of representation could be achieved through careful attention mainly to facial details; therefore, Morris distinguishes between "portrait" and "personal portrait" to emphasize the latter's expression of the new-medieval interest in the specificity of the individual. This new "naturalistic" style, according to Morris, resulted from a transformation in contemporaries' vision, that started to display a "modern way of seeing the human form" and was expressed in both writing and the fine arts.[172]

"Search" is divided into four titled-subchapters: "Know yourself;" "Confession;" "Autobiography;" and "The Portrait." Morris's division of the chapter into subchapters helps us define the space of our own analysis of the multiformity of his text. Since all four artworks that Morris uses in "Search:" the tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia (Merseburg Cathedral); enamel plaque of Count Geoffrey of Anjou (Museum at Le Mans); head of Frederick of Barbarossa

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[172] Morris, *The Discovery of the Self 1050-1200*, 90.

(Cappenberg); and the tombs of Henri II and Eleanor of Aquitaine (Abbey Church of Fontevrault) are addressed in the last subchapter, "The Portrait," we will concentrate on this subchapter.[173] The four illustrations, it should be noted, are not displayed within the pages of the subchapter, or the chapter for that matter, but rather in the consecutive chapter "The Individual and Society," while facing either page 126 or 127. Our analysis of Morris's MFA reveals how Morris copes with the challenge that he set to himself; to show that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries a movement towards "naturalistic" and "personal" vision and representation of individuals took place. A close reading and observation of the MFA in "The Portrait" - and especially hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs - indicate that Morris is not entirely convinced that the conceptual framework with which he approaches the sources aligns with what the sources show.

The main methods involved in hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs, in an MFA that uses explicit MFRs, have been discussed in the analysis of "Epic;" therefore, the following analysis will explore other aspects of multiform argumentation and their epistemological impact; for example, using explicit MFRs that employ footnotes to refer the readers to the images, and printing the illustrations rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise. Thus, without further ado, let us begin by highlighting in green the referring poles of the explicit MFRs in "The Portrait," which are on pages 90-91, and the referred poles which are on the pages between 126-27 (Fig. 3.1).

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[173] Ibid., 86-95.

1260, therefore, there lies a movement from a portraiture which concentrated on hierarchy and station, to one which was keenly aware, at least on occasions, of personal appearance.*

The twelfth century saw a distinct shift in the visual arts towards sensitivity to nature, and a more characteristically modern way of seeing the human form. Ottonian art had made its impact through insignia, symbols, posture, and colour. While these devices were by no means abandoned, more stress came to be placed upon the human form and features. The idea of kingliness was conveyed through the nobility, benevolence, or severity of the figure's expression, as in some of the sculptures of the new Gothic cathedrals. The figure of Eve, carved at Autun before the middle of the century by its great sculptor Gislebert, has been called the first seductive female in Western art since the fall of Rome, and if the claim is a large one, it contains a good deal of truth. This movement towards naturalism was sometimes accompanied by a delight in personal gestures and in private idiosyncrasies. Scribes might on occasion become quite skittish. About 1150 Hildebert, a lay scribe working at Prague, sketched himself and his apprentice Everwin in two manuscripts, in one of which they are chasing away a mouse which is stealing their lunch.[41] It would be too much to call these little drawings personal portraits, but they display the interest in individual character and circumstance which is a preliminary to personal portraiture.

The best field in which to look for formal portraits in the twelfth century is in memorial- or tomb-sculpture. Such pictures are virtually unknown before 1080, but from that time they become progressively more common. In the cloisters of the Abbey of Moissac was placed a sculpture of Abbot Durand, who had been responsible for extensive building there. It was probably executed a little before 1100 and therefore some twenty years after his death, but it is a clear and naturalistic carving. One can only guess whether

* This is not in any way to deny that the portraits of important men continued to incorporate large elements of imagery, symbolic of their status. The liturgical and thematic content of the portrait has recently been the subject of an interesting study by K. Hoffman, *Taufsymbolik im mittelalterlichen Herrscherbild* (Düsseldorf 1968). The continued vitality of imagery does not exclude the possibility of a keener eye for personal features.

it looks like the original Durand, but it is worth recording that the great art critic Marcel Aubert regarded it as unquestionably a personal portrait.[42] From this time onwards we find a series of enamel plaques probably designed as memorials, which sometimes carry laudatory inscriptions and depict faces of great individuality, such as the formidable portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet (d. 1151)* now at Le Mans. Late in the century there is apparent a concern to record in a natural and accurate way the circumstances of a funeral. It is likely that Henry II (d. 1189) was the first king of England to be carried to burial, not under a pall, but with his face uncovered and his body clothed in coronation robes. The tomb figure at Fontevrault† shows the king lying in his robes of state. The effigy of King John (d. 1216) at Worcester[43] is still more clearly a case in point, for when the tomb was opened the skeleton was found in almost the identical, and distinctive, position of the sculpture. In a number of ways, therefore, interest was demonstrably shifting towards naturalistic representation and the depiction of individual characteristics. It is more difficult to say how far this had led to personal portraiture as I have defined it. It may seem a matter of common sense that, when portraits become more individual, the artist must be depicting the actual appearance of the person concerned, but in making such an assumption we are perhaps misled by the approach of our own age. The portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet is distinctive enough, but it is not clear whether the artist intended to provide an "ideal" representation of his forceful subject, or whether Count Geoffrey did in fact have just such hair and features as we see in the portrait. The tomb figure of Henry II at Fontevrault shows him as younger than he was at his death, and that of his consort Eleanor of Aquitaine, who died in her eighties, is that of a middle-aged woman. If they are personal portraits at all, they are romanticized ones. In other words, a naturalistic or individualistic portrait is not necessarily a genuinely personal one in the strict sense, although in many cases it may be.

The personalization of the portrait can perhaps best be illustrated by considering two portraits of German kings. The earlier is the tomb figure of Rudolf of Suabia at Merseburg.‡ Rudolf had been
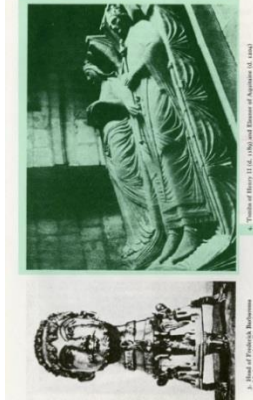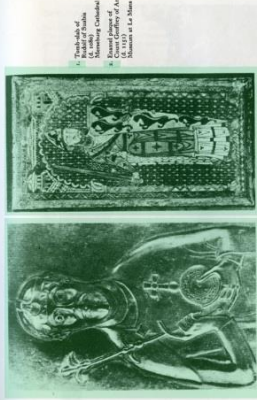
* Plate 2.   † Plate 4.   ‡ Plate 1.

Fig. 3.1 Double spread 90-91, Plates 1, 2 and 4, Morris's "Search."

The highlighting of the referring and referred poles of the three explicit MFRs points out several phenomena that we have not encountered thus far in our analysis. Most noticeable is the division of the explicit MFRs into two stages: first, an explicit-referring pole from the main text to a footnote; and second, an additional explicit-referring pole from the footnote to the caption. We identify the first stage by a symbol that is written in the main text. It is hard to detect the principle by which Morris locates those symbols within the three referring sentences, although those sentences convey almost the same kind of information about the figures shown in the illustrations. For example, in the first MFR, he locates the symbol in the middle of the sentence, after "(d. 1151)," the year in which Geoffrey Plantagenet died. In the second explicit MFR, he locates it in the middle of the sentence as well, but after "Fontevrault," where the tomb of Henry II is. In the third explicit MFR, he locates it at the end of the sentence, after "Merseburg," where the tomb of Rudolf of Suabia is. Further, the referring poles of the explicit MFRs are located in the main text, in a form of a symbol; however, the footnotes to which they refer consist of the term "Plate" and a number, in addition to an identical symbol. The referred poles, at the beginning of the captions, are signified by numbers only. The two-stage sequence of these explicit MFRs takes place between these three elements: a symbol; symbol, "Plate" and number; and number. Evidently, in this sequence, the referring pole in the main text (the first element) and the referred pole in the caption (the third element) are not even similar, neither semantically nor visually.

What could the advantage of using this two-stage explicit MFR be? Perhaps the makers of *Discovery* assumed that if the main text will be "clean" of the conventional "fig. n.," its reading will flow better, and it will be more aesthetically pleasant. Nevertheless, the fact that the

"middle poles" are written relatively close to the last line of the main text, and are arranged horizontally rather than vertically, makes them less visible and consequently less effective. At any rate, in a two-stage-explicit MFR, the referring mechanism between the main text and image is engineered differently. A conventional or "classic" explicit MFR consists of two identical signs: one serves as a pole that pushes the readers' attention towards the caption (and ultimately, the image), and one, in the caption, that pulls that attention from the main text towards itself and the image. As it happens, the two-stage-explicit MFR, that we encounter in "Search," contains an additional pole that stands between the "classic" pushing and pulling forces. How does this middle pole manage forces of pushing and pulling? If it manages them both, what is the ratio between these forces? It would be easier to answer these questions by tracking readers' eye-movements while they are consuming MFAs with such MFRs. Tracking readers' eye movements can reveal the course and the velocity in which readers shift between the MFA's verbal and visual components, as well as detect points of interest, on which readers focus, rather than merely pass. Of course, those and other relevant bio-measurements should be part of a research paradigm that encodes and decodes readers' behavior into MFAs' semantic and logical structures, and their effectiveness. This paradigm is multiform grammar.

MFAs offer the readers varied mechanisms to navigate within the MFAs' verbal and visual premises, based on the terminology and visibility of the MFAs, and conventions of reading. The order of the explicit MFRs, in the cluster on page 91, is Plates: 2, 4, and 1. According to Morris, Plate 2 displays the "portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet" that is at La

Mans.[174] The middle pole of this MFR is the left footnote on the line of the three middle poles. Thus, the first referring pole, that is at the top of the page, corresponds to the left middle-pole. Together they manifest a conventional reading; from top to bottom and from left to right. The caption that begins with number "2" is the lower caption out of the two captions on the illustrated page. The plate is on the right side of the page. Thus, both the caption and illustration go against the direction of conventional reading, i.e., they go from bottom up, and from right to left. This dissonance, between the referring and the referred poles, could have been a minor problem had the captions been located under their corresponding illustrations; but, in this case, both captions are clustered vertically on the right side of the page. Furthermore, in the main text, Morris refers to the figure that is depicted in Plate 2 as "Geoffrey Plantagenet;" however, the caption writes: "Count Geoffrey of Anjou." This variation in the name of the depicted figure, that takes place in-between the MFR's poles, hinders the navigation within the MFA.

Morris' terminology and its correspondence with what the readers see in the illustrations, and the arrangement of the illustrations in relation to his MFRs influence the readers' ability to navigate within his MFA. Morris refers to Plate 2 as a "portrait," although among the two illustrations of the page, the illustration on the left seems much more a "portrait" than the one on the right, since its face takes more space in the overall image, and its expression is more communicative. The second explicit MFR is to Plate 4, which is printed on the page that faces page 127, while Plates 2 and 1 face page 126. Therefore, a consumption of the MFA in "The Portrait," through those three MFRs, requires flipping more than 30 pages forward to observe the

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[174] Ibid., 91.

images, as well as a move backwards from the second illustration (Plate 4) to the third illustration (Plate 1), which is printed next to the first illustration (Plate 2). Obviously, the move backwards goes against the direction of conventional reading. According to Morris, Plate 4 shows "[t]he tomb figure of Henry II at Fontevrault […] and that of his consort Eleanor of Aquitaine."[175] On the illustrated page, Plate 4 is on the right side, although the readers are referred to it before they are referred to Plate 3, which is on the left side of the page. In this page, nevertheless, the captions are helpfully located under their corresponding illustrations, and the terms "Henry II" and "Eleanor of Aquitaine," which are written in the caption, as in the main text, help associate the content of the main text with the image. Both arrangements reduce the effect of changing directions of reading and observing within the same multiform utterance.

It is important to note that all three plates are rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise, in relation to the book and the main text; this influences the flow of reading and observing of the MFA, since the readers would rotate the book 90 degrees clockwise to negate the rotation of the images. Interestingly, it also adds a challenge for displaying the MFA's analysis in the current study, since any angle in which we will display the illustrated double-spreads will misrepresent the verbal or visual component of the MFA. We have encountered a similar challenge when we analyzed "Epic," looking for an adequate way to show the structure of the MFR stretching to the frontispiece. In that case, the question was whether to place the scan of the frontispiece right or left to the scan of the referring page. Ultimately, the analysis of the MFAs in "The Portrait" and in "Epic" underlines both phenomena: the importance of the arrangement of MFAs in two or

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[175] Ibid., 91.

three-dimensional formats; and the readers' behaviors entailed by that arrangement, that is essential to their understating of the ideas embedded in those MFAs.

Now, let us hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs. We begin the hypothesis with terms that neighbor the referring and referred poles of the explicit MFRs that we have already highlighted in green. As we have done thus far, we hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs by identifying semantic relatedness between terms in the MFA's verbal component (that includes the main text and captions), and its visual component (the illustrations). There are three explicit MFRs on page 91, while the referring sentence of the third MFR continues into page 92. The first explicit MFR is to Plate 2. Its referring sentence writes: "From this point onward we find a series of enamel plaques probably designed as memorials, which sometimes carry laudatory inscriptions and depict faces of great individuality, such as the formidable portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet (d. 1151)* now at Le Mans." The middle explicit pole writes: "*Plate 2." The caption writes: "2. Enamel plaque of Count Geoffrey of Anjou (d. 1151) Museum at Le Mans." In these utterances, let us highlight in blue terms that have semantic similarity. In the referring sentence, we highlight in blue "enamel plaques;" "faces;" "Geoffrey;" and "(d. 1151);" and in the caption "Enamel plaque;" "Count Geoffrey of Anjou;" and "(d. 1151)." In the same utterances, we highlight in red holonyms to the meronyms we highlighted in blue; these are: "Le Mans" and "Museum at Le Mans." Le Mans and its museum are holonyms to the "enamel plaque" of "Geoffrey," since the artwork is part of the place and its collection. As an indeterminate MFR, let us highlight "portrait" in orange. We will discuss what makes some of the terms in the analyzed passage indeterminate MFRs shortly.

The second explicit MFR is to Plate 4; I would like to consider its "referring sentence" as embedded in two referring sentences that write: "It is likely that Henry II (d. 1189) was the first king of England to be carried to burial, not under a pall, but with his face uncovered and his body clothed in coronation robes. The tomb figure at Fontevrault† shows the king lying in his robes of state."[176] The middle pole writes: "† Plate 4." The caption writes: "4. Tombs of Henry II (d. 1189) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) Abbey Church of Fontevrault." In the referring sentences, we highlight in blue the terms: "Henry II;" "(d. 1189);" "tomb figure;" and "king laying in his robes of state;" and in the caption "Tomb of Henry II;" "(d. 1189);" "Eleanor of Aquitaine;" and "(d. 1204)." Their holonyms would be "England" "Fontevrault," in the referring sentences, and "Abbey Church in Fontevrault," in the caption. Finally, let us highlight in orange these indeterminate MFRs: "face uncovered" and "body clothed in coronation robes."

In the third explicit MFR, I would like to analyze three consecutive referring-sentences, that write: "The earlier is the tomb of figure of Rudolf of Suabia at Merseburg.‡ Rudolf had been elected anti-king on behalf of the papacy against the excommunicate Emperor Henry IV. On his death in battle in 1080 he was regarded by the Church as a martyr, and received a bronze memorial upon his tomb, a tribute which may well have been unique at the time."[177] The middle pole writes: "‡ Plate 1." The caption writes: "1. Tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia (d. 1080) Merseburg Cathedral." In the referring sentences, we highlight in blue the terms: "tomb figure;"

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[176] I prefer to consider two sentences as the "referring sentence" of the second explicit MFR, since in the first explicit MFR, Morris locates the referring symbol after the year in which Geoffrey Plantagenet died, and in the second MFR, he locates it after "Fontevrault," where the tomb of Henry II is. Thus, expending the "referring sentence" to include the year of death, in all three explicit MFRs on page 91, enables a perspective on all three, that helps comparing between them and identify their varied patterns.
[177] Ibid., 91-92.

"Rudolf of Suabia;" "Rudolf;"[178] "his;" "1080;" "he;" "bronze memorial;" "tomb;" and "tribute;"[179] and "Tomb-slab;" "Rudolf of Suabia;" and "(d. 1080)," in the caption. Their holonyms would be "Merseburg;"[180] "martyr;" and "at the time;"[181] and "Merseburg Cathedral," in the caption (Fig. 3.2).
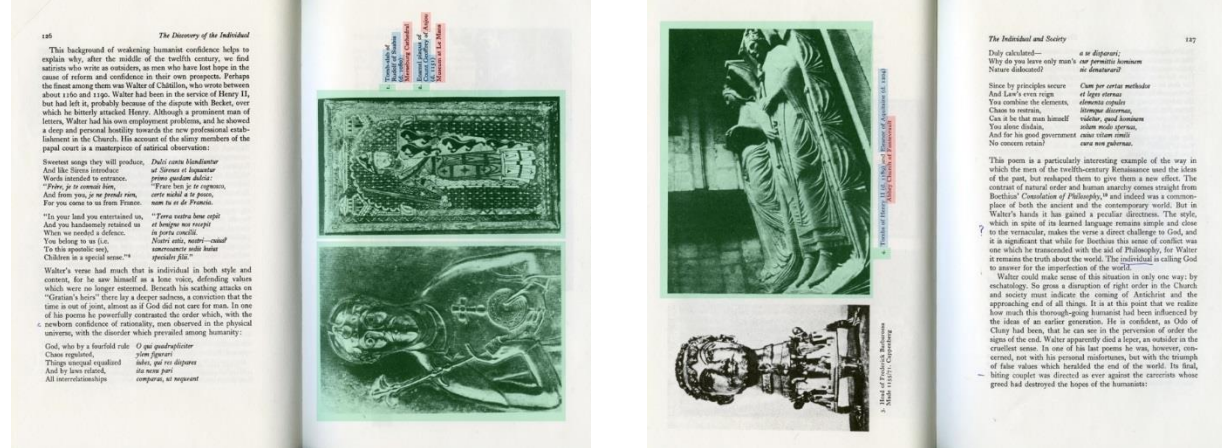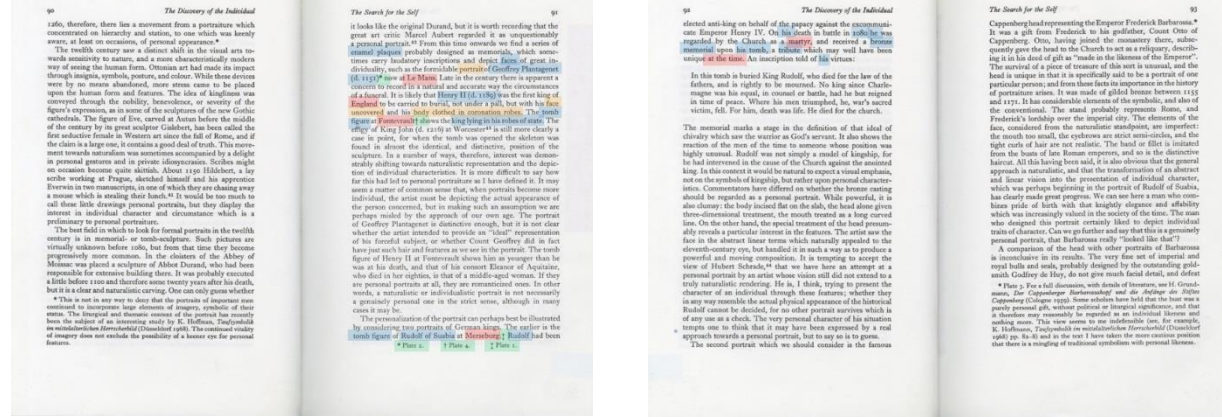

Fig. 3.2 Double spreads 90-91, 92-92, Plates 1, 2, and 4, Morris's "Search."

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[178] Ibid., 91.
[179] Ibid., 92.
[180] Ibid., 91.
[181] Ibid., 92.

In the referring sentence of the first explicit MFR, we have identified "portrait" as an indeterminate MFR. Why have we done so? Again, the referring sentence to Plate 2 writes: "From this point onward we find a series of enamel plaques probably designed as memorials, which sometimes carry laudatory inscriptions and depict faces of great individuality, such as the formidable portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet (d. 1151)* now at Le Mans."[182] This sentence implies that "portrait" is a depiction of "faces of great individuality." Looking at Plate 2, the depiction of Geoffrey Plantagenet's face does not seem "of great individuality." If we look at the (or "his") nose, for example, we see that it is depicted in profile, whereas the rest of the facial elements are in other, varied perspectives. Of course, we need to know more about how Morris understands "individuality," but even before that, based on the comparison between the verbal definition of "portrait" (in the referring sentence) and visual forms (in the image), the meaning of "portrait" is obscure. Thus, we see "portrait" as an indeterminate MFR.

In this context, it is important to recall that the title of the subchapter that we are currently analyzing is "The Portrait." Indeed, a conventional reading of the subchapter reveals that Morris discusses the problematic of the term "portrait" and even offers to distinguish it from "personal portrait," as the two terms signify different degrees of verisimilitude between the artwork and the subject it represents or depicts.[183] Nevertheless, if we begin the analysis by zooming out from explicit MFRs, we have to ignore for a time some of the conceptual or methodological complexities that the author may deliberately develop earlier in the text. On the other hand, the continuation of zooming out inevitably leads us to those discussions that typically take place at

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[182] Ibid., 91.
[183] Ibid., 86-88.

the beginning of the text. At any rate, at this point of the analysis, "portrait" functions similarly to the terms "hands" and "feet" in "Epic." While "hands" and "feet" refer the readers' attention to details in the artwork that the illustration does not convey, "portrait" signifies a concept that the term "faces of great individuality" denotes as well, but which Geoffrey Plantagenet's face, in the image, does not seem to represent.

Within the referring sentence of the second explicit MFR, to Plate 4, we identified "face uncovered" and "body clothed in coronation robes" as indeterminate MFRs. Why have we done so? The referring sentences write: "It is likely that Henry II (d. 1189) was the first king of England to be carried to burial, not under a pall, but with his face uncovered and his body clothed in coronation robes. The tomb figure at Fontevrault† shows the king lying in his robes of state."[184] According to Morris, the tomb figure of the king imitates the way in which his body was presented in the funeral. Morris does not provide any supportive evidence in relation to the funeral. But, more importantly, in the Chronological Table at the beginning of *Discovery*, Morris dates the "[t]omb of Henry II at Fontevrault" at "1200?"[185] Taking into account that the king died in 1189, around eleven years before the tomb was created, what does it imply about the ambition to "record in a natural and accurate way the circumstances of the funeral"? Furthermore, considering the time that passed between the king's death and the creation of the tomb, can we see the tomb figure as a "recording" at all?[186] Interestingly, the caption of Plate 4 indicates when the king and queen died, rather than when the artwork was produced. Column 8, in the technical

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[184] Ibid., 91.
[185] Ibid., xviii.
[186] Morris briefly ponders the relation between the date of death and of creating a "portrait" of the deceased, when he mentions the sculpture of Abbot Durant, that was made twenty years after Durant's death. Ibid., 90.

analysis, examines whether captions convey information about the time of the artistic production, since this is the temporal framework that captions usually inform about. The captions of Plates 2 (enamel plaque of Count Geoffrey of Anjou) and Plate 1 (tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia) also indicate when the figures that are depicted in the artworks died; however, in these cases, there is no additional information in the book about the time of the artistic production. We may conclude that the modification of information that captions usually convey may function and be considered as a rhetorical device within the MFA, especially when we compare it to what we accept as a convention.

Further, Morris does not indicate if the creation of Henry II's tomb is, in fact, the creation of both his and the queen's monument. If the tomb of the royal couple was made as one piece around 1200 and Eleanor of Aquitaine died in 1204, it means that the tomb was made four years before her funeral. It implies that the tombs of the royal couple could have been created or planned before the death of both; this suggests that the presentation of the king in his funeral and his tomb figure are both a manifestation of the same memorial plan. This plan might have included the presentation of the queen's body too, but Morris does not refer to this matter. Nevertheless, at the end of the passage, Morris points out that the tomb figures show the royal couple younger than they looked when they died, and that this fact implies that their depiction is not necessarily "personal."[187] In the first out of the two referring sentences, where the funeral's circumstances are described, we identified the terms "face uncovered" and "body clothed in coronation robes" as indeterminate MFRs. We did so since we do not know how the king was

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[187] Ibid., 91.

shown in the funeral; if his presentation had been designed a long time before he died; or if the king's body and the king's tomb figure had been designed as two complementary components of a single commission, anticipating the king's death. Indeed, the terms we identified as indeterminate MFRs have semantic similarity with what Plate 4 shows, i.e., the tomb figure, but the subject of their sentence is the king's body at his funeral, which - Morris implies - may have inspired the artist who created the tomb. From this perspective, "face uncovered" and "body clothed in coronation robes" are no other than ideas into which the king's body and image had been "cast," on the historical as well as historiographical level. These ideas are like the possibilities that Alberti and God pondered, when they imagined themselves having artistic knowledge or human flesh; from the outside, not embodying them yet, and thus could not represent them.

After analyzing the referring sentences of the three explicit MFRs, let us now hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs across double spread 90-91. The terms we highlight in blue are: "human form and features;" "tomb-sculpture;" "pictures;" "1080;" "actual appearance of the person concerned;" "Geoffrey;" "Count Geoffrey;" "hair;" "tomb;" "tomb figure of Henry II;" "Eleanor of Aquitaine;" and "Two portraits of German kings." All these terms have semantic similarity either with terms in the referring sentences of the explicit MFRs, with captions or with images. Within the same analyzed space, these are their holonyms: "twelfth century;" "visual arts;" "from that time;" "Le Mans;" "England;" "Fontevrault;" "personalization of the portrait;" and "Merseburg." The indeterminate MFRs, highlighted in orange are: "sensitivity to nature;" "more characteristically modern way of the human form;" "Ottonian art;" "naturalism;" "portrait;" "face uncovered;" "body clothed in coronation robes;" "naturalistic representation;"

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"depiction of individual characteristics;" "personal portraiture;" "more individual;" "portrait;" "'ideal' representation;" "features as we see in the portrait;" "personal portraits;" "naturalistic or individualistic portrait;" and "personal."

The indeterminate MFRs on 90-91 signify several kinds of meaning. Some of the terms express the twelfth-century movement towards modern outlook and naturalistic depiction, which Morris points out. For example, "sensitivity to nature" and "naturalism."[188] Some express Morris's question whether the visual sources that he explores are "personal portraits," namely, a depiction of a human figure that features an individual's characteristics (and no one else's) by imitation. "[M]ore individual" signifies such meaning.[189] This personal kind of depiction is part of the twelfth-century movement mentioned above. And, finally, some of the terms denote elements whose semantic relatedness with the MFA's verbal and visual components is vague. For example, Morris claims that "Ottonian art had made its impact through insignia, symbols, posture and color. While these devices were by no means abandoned, more stress came to be placed upon the human form and features."[190] His use of the term "Ottonian art" is not matched by reference to visual forms in the images; forms that, according to Morris, were not abandoned by the new style. In comparison, Morris's MFRs to the "naturalistic" elements are much clearer, as the list of implicit - rather than indeterminate - MFRs shows. The argumentative process, reflected in the indeterminate MFRs, lacks the visual aspect of some of Morris's propositions in his MFA; had this aspect been more complete and consequently clearer, the MFA would have

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[188] Ibid., 90.
[189] Ibid., 91.
[190] Ibid., 90.

been more effective, demonstrating the tension imbedded in moving from one artistic style to
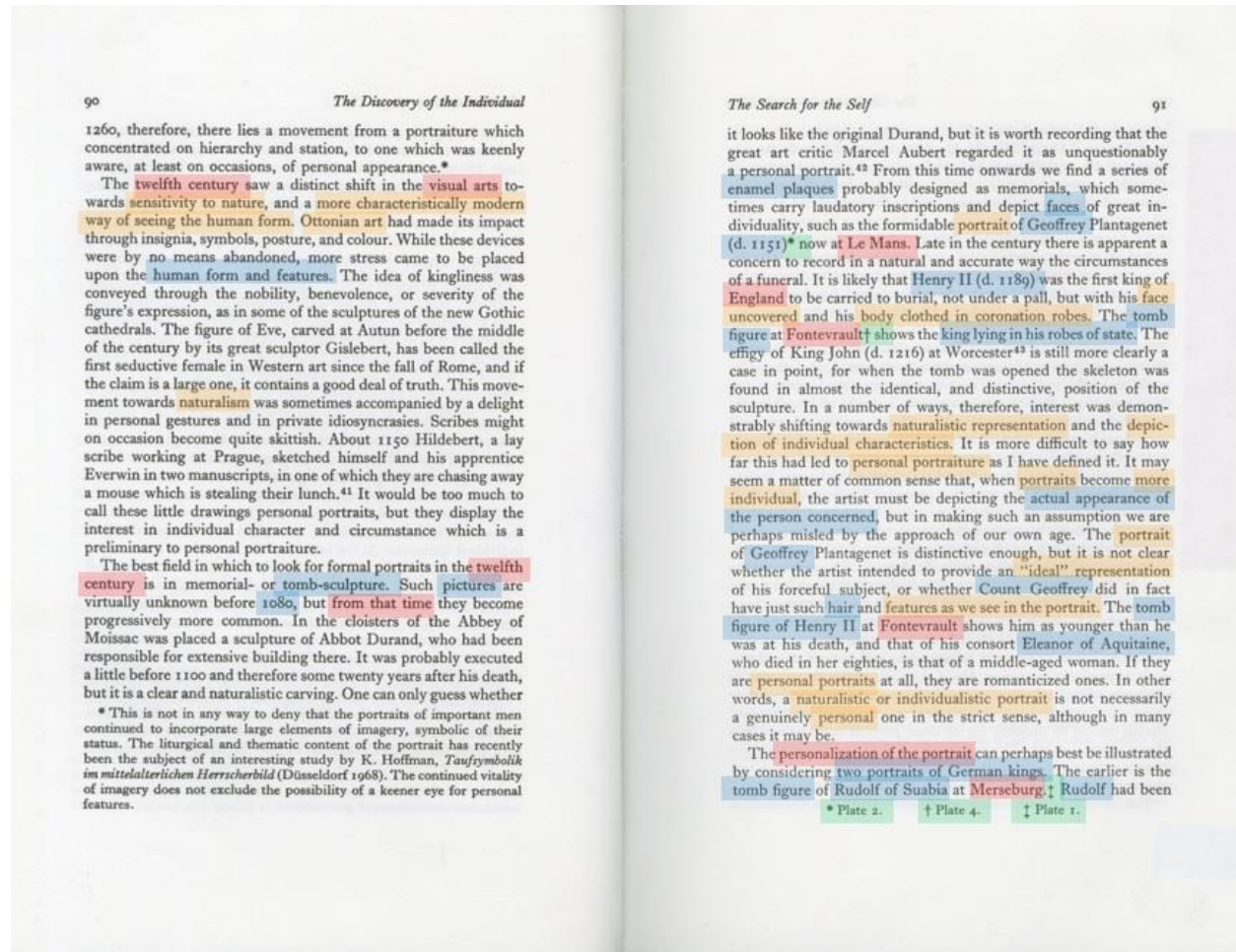
another (Fig. 3.3).

Fig. 3.3 Double spreads 90-91, Morris's "Search."

The analysis of the double spread 92-93 shows Morris's and Southern's different

argumentative and rhetorical styles, employing sentences that precede referring sentences.

Focusing on page 92, we have already analyzed the explicit MFR to Plate 1 (tomb-lab of Rudolf

of Suabia), as it is manifested in three consecutive sentences that begin on page 91 and cross to page 92. The MFR to Plate 1 in "Search" reminds me of the cluster of MFRs on double spread 238-39 in "Epic." The very left top corner of 92-93 in "Search" is the second out of the three referring sentences of an explicit MFR, and the left top corner in 238-39 in "Epic" is a preparing sentence for an explicit MFR. It means that there is a relatively high number of referring poles of implicit MFRs in the left top corner of both double spreads. The main difference between the two is the argumentative style of the sentence that precedes the explicit MFR. In "Search," it is "The personalization of the portrait can perhaps best be illustrated by considering two portraits of German kings."[191] In "Epic," it is: "In Denmark, for instance, where the heroic traditions were strong, the mid-eleventh century figures of Christ on the Cross gave a powerful local interpretation to the theme of the triumphant Prince."[192] In "Search," the number of the visual sources used in this argumentative move is clear, as well as what, according to Morris, the two portraits illustrate, i.e., "[t]he personalization of the portrait." In "Epic," on the other hand, the number of visual sources on which the MFA is based is not conveyed, nor what, according to Southern, the Danish figures of Christ on the Cross represent (rather than "give interpretation to").

Of course, the preparing sentence is written in a context and we cannot ignore the fact that it follows other sentences and MFRs of varied kinds. Indeed, as the analysis of that section in "Epic" shows, MFAs can be constructed in a narrative-style, when terms such as "elsewhere;" "then slowly;" "from this point […] follows the same path […] until[…]" lead the readers from

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[191] Ibid., 91.
[192] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 238.

one primary source to another.[193] Thus, sentences that surround explicit MFRs - including the preparing sentence - might introduce a kind of vagueness into the MFA that is inherent to the "blind spots" of the unfolding story, that the historian conveys by verbal and visual means. A different rhetorical style may reduce this vagueness. For example, Morris's indication of what the two visual sources (the kings' portraits) exemplify, prior to their detailed introduction, builds - in the readers' mind - a clear view of the MFA's next argumentative step. That said, I do not think that "vagueness" is a rhetorical and epistemological element that should be avoided at all costs; it can be an inevitable stage within the argumentative process and, in some cases, a useful device to attract readers' attention. On the other hand, "vagueness" can serve the author as a way to sweep problems under their "carpet."

In any event, the style of a preparing sentence for an explicit MFR influences the relations between the MFR and the MFRs that follow it (in a reasonable space and time), and subsequently, their analysis. For example, due to Morris's own clarification that Plates 1 (the tomb-slab of Rudolf of Suabia) and 3 (head of Frederick Barbarossa) demonstrate the same historical phenomenon, prior to his discussion of them, it makes sense to analyze the double spread 92-93 in "Search" by implementing a conventional reading throughout the whole space in which Morris discusses Plate 1, and only after finishing this analysis, to turn to the space in which he discusses Plate 3. Conversely, the analytical method we implemented in page 238 in "Epic" was to zoom out from the referring sentences of the explicit MFRs, rather than analyzing the page by a systematic conventional reading. It implies that as we analyze different MFAs, we

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[193] Ibid., 238-39.

approach the space between their explicit MFRs differently. The varied rhetorical styles of Southern's and Morris's MFAs, and especially the preparing sentences prior to their explicit MFRs, require adjustment of the analytical tools. Therefore, since the third explicit MFR on the left top corner of page 92 in "Search" has been already analyzed, we will continue by analyzing the main text that follows it until we encounter the fourth and last explicit MFR, in this MFA. From there, it will only make sense to analyze the rest of the MFA, that ends with the whole chapter, on page 95.

In relation to the third explicit MFR (to Plate 1), we highlight these meronyms in blue; all are on page 92: "tomb;" "king Rudolf;" "his;" "he;" "him;" "memorial;" "it;" "someone;" "whose;" "Rudolf;" "bronze casting;" "body;" "slab;" "head;" "mouth;" "long curved line; and "face." We highlight these holonyms in red: "martyr;" "at the time;" "ideal of chivalry;" "reaction;" "of the time;" "model of kingship;" and "eleventh century." These are the terms we identify as indeterminate MFRs: "personal characteristics;" "personal portrait;" "the features;" "abstract linear terms;" "powerful and moving composition;" "naturalistic;" "portrait;" and "personal character." Let us also highlight in green the referring pole of the fourth explicit MFR (to Plate 3) on page 93, and its referred poles on the illustrated page (Fig. 3.4).
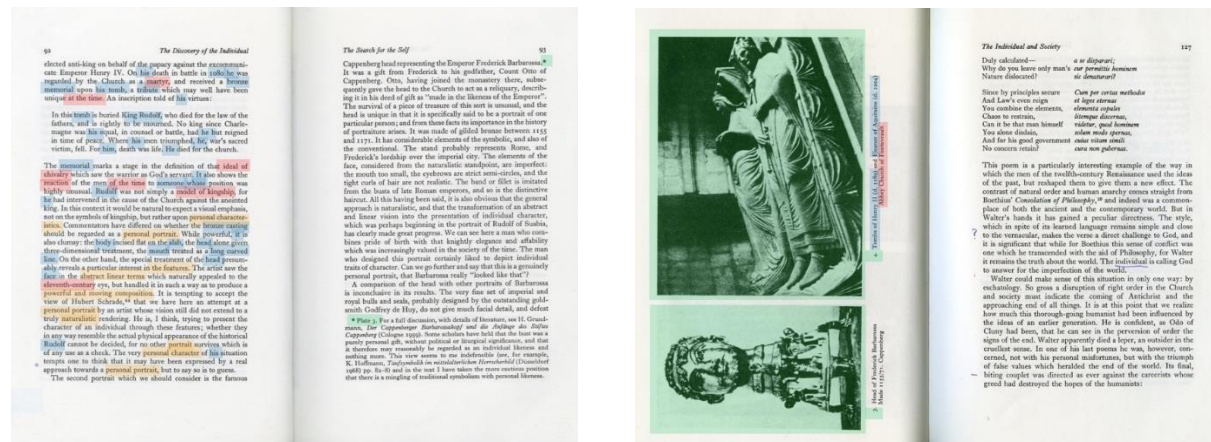
Fig. 3.4 Double spread 92-93, Plates 3 and 4, Morris's "Search."

Before we move on, Morris's use of the term "memorial" is worth attention. The first

"memorial" we have encountered is on page 90, where Morris writes: "The best field in which to

look for formal portraits in the twelfth century is in memorial- or tomb-sculpture." He points to

the sculpture of Abbot Durant as an example of such an artistic style. The second "memorial" is

on page 91, where Morris writes: "From this time onwards we find a series of enamel plaques

probably designed as memorials, which sometime carry laudatory inscriptions and depict faces

of great individuality, such as the formidable portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet (d. 1151)* now at

Le Mans." The third "memorial" is about Rudolf of Suabia, on page 92: "On his death in battle

in 1080 he was regarded by the Church as a martyr and received a bronze memorial upon his

tomb, a tribute which may well have been unique at the time." The fourth "memorial" is also in

relation to Rudolf, and also used on page 92: "The memorial marks a stage in the definition of

that ideal of chivalry which saw the warrior as God's servant." Unlike the first-three

"memorials," the fourth comes after a quote of an inscription from (probably) Rudolf's tomb,

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signifying a written rather than visual expression. Although Morris is unclear regarding the physical context of the inscription, after the fourth "memorial" and just before he analyzes Rudolf's tomb figure, he claims that "[i]n this context it would be natural to expect a visual emphasis, not on the symbols of kingship, but rather on personal characteristics."[194] What could be the rhetorical and epistemological role of the term "memorial" in this MFA, when it signifies both "verbal" and "visual" utterances? Rhetorically, it helps Morris shift smoothly between sources of different semiotic systems that seem of the "same" genre. Epistemologically, it allows him to presume that if the verbal memorial depicts its subject as bearing a certain style, it would make sense to expect the visual memorial to do the "same."

Let us now hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs between the last sentence we analyze on page 92 and the end of "Search" on page 95. We are starting where we have stopped at the bottom of page 92. The referring sentence to Plate 3 writes: "The second portrait which we should consider is the famous Cappenberg head representing the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.*" The middle pole writes: "Plate 3*," but the footnote continues discussing the relationship between the circumstances in which the artwork was given by Barbarossa to Count Otto of Cappenberg on the one hand, and Morris's approach to the artwork and the "likeness" it imbeds, on the other.[195] We will not analyze the content of the footnote, since this study mainly focuses on the verbal components expressed in the main text and captions; however, we should mention that this is the first case in which we see a middle pole of an explicit MFR functioning as a "regular" footnote. The caption of Plate 3 writes: "3. Head of Frederick Barbarossa made

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[194] Ibid., 92.
[195] Ibid., 93.

1155/71. Cappenberg." These are the meronyms we identify in the referring sentence and caption: "Cappenberg head;" "Emperor Frederick Barbarossa;" and "Head of Frederick Barbarossa." The holonyms are all in the caption: "1151/71" and "Cappenberg." Finally, we highlight "portrait," in the referring sentence, as an indeterminate MFR. The reason why we keep identifying "portrait" and related terms as indeterminate MFRs will be discussed at the end of this analysis.

Let us continue hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs until the chapter ends. On page 93, we highlight in blue these meronyms: "it;" "gift;" "Frederick;" "his;" "head;" "Emperor;" "stand;" "face;" "mouth;" "eyebrows;" "tight curls of hair;" "band;" "fillet;" "haircut;" "Rudolf of Suabia;" "this;" "Barbarossa;" and "that." In the same space, these are the holonyms, that we highlight in red: "Cappenberg;" "1151;" "1171;" "Rome;" "Frederick's lordship over the imperial city;" "busts of late Roman Emperors;" and "the time." The indeterminate MFRs highlighted in orange are: "likeness;" "portrait of one particular person;" "portraiture;" "symbolic;" "conventional;" "naturalistic standpoint;" "realistic;" "naturalistic;" "retransformation;" "abstract and linear vision;" "individual character;" "portrait;" "progress;" "pride of birth;" "knightly elegance;" "affability;" "individual traits of character;" and "personal portrait" (Fig. 3.5).

Fig. 3.5 Double spread 92-93, Plates 3 and 4, Morris's "Search."

Now, let us highlight the meronyms on double spread 94-95. These are: "his;" "Barbarossa;" "curly hair;" "attribute;" "it;" "Frederick;" "he;" "hair;" "curled;" "forehead;" "ears;" "head;" "face;" "eyes;" "nose;" "beard;" "mouth;" "lips;" "him;" "Cappenberg head;" "Cappenberg portrait;" "its;" "work of art;" "itself;" "him;" "tomb-sculptures;" and "record." Within the same space, we highlight in red these holonyms: "Frederick's reign;" "monarch;" "knight;" "this period;" "twelve-century;" and "the age." And, finally, we highlight in orange these indeterminate MFRs: "personal portraits;" "portrait;" "personal features;" "long and striking nose;" "ideal description;" "personal description;" "'imperial' hairstyle;" "they;" "work of this kind;" "them;" "classical imitation;" "results of this;" "move towards a more individual treatment of the portrait;" "details of appearance and personality;" and "personal portraiture" (Fig. 3.6).
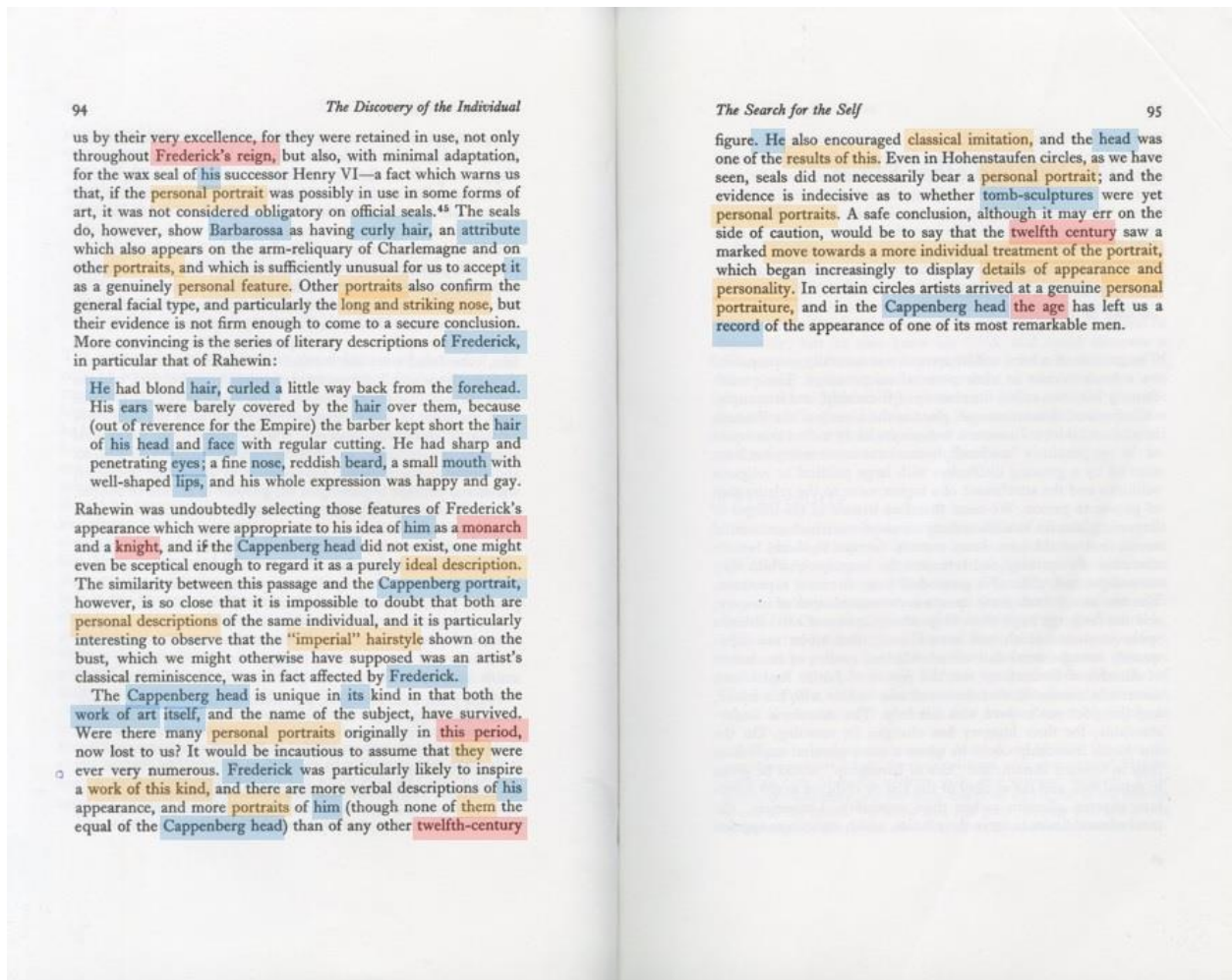
Fig. 3.6 Double spread 94-95, Morris's "Search."

Morris describes the Cappenberg head throughout pages 93-95, using his own words as well as those of contemporaries, Count Otto of Cappenberg who wrote that the head was "made in the likeness of the Emperor," and Rahewin who wrote a description of Frederick's appearance.[196] He also refers to studies of the artwork by scholars H. Grundmann and K.

[196] Ibid., 91 and 94.

Hoffmann. The intersection of Morris's own description of the head and the quotes of the two contemporaries raises an interesting question about the physicality of the head, and its ability to help assess the similarity between the head and Frederick. The technical analysis of Morris's MFA made us aware that the caption of the head does not inform the readers about the artistic technique by which the head was made. Interestingly, while Morris does indicate that it is made of gilded bronze, in the main text, the caption - which is right under the illustration - is "silent" about the material aspect of the work.[197] But the technical aspect is not solely about the materials from which the artwork is made, but also about its measurements. The analyzed MFA does not mention the measurements of the four artworks it is based on, and in my opinion, this affects its epistemology. Clearly, Morris is "cautious" (as he puts it) while assessing if the Cappenberg head is a "personal portrait," a reliable record of Frederick Barbarossa's actual appearance.[198] In his assessment, he turns to verbal sources that describe Frederick and to artworks whose depiction of an Emperor may represent him (without displaying them). Morris assumes that a comparison between the varied representations will reveal possible repetition of certain characteristics - which in turn - points out a common model. However, the head has at least one feature that may indicate an attempt to create an artwork that imitates a human head, and that is not revealed by comparison between different sources, namely, its measurements.

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[197] For Morris's description of head, see ibid., 93.
[198] Ibid., n *.

Art historian Thomas Dale indicates that "Barbarossa's head is less than a half life-size."[199] Since we know that Morris has photographed the image in Plate 3 (as indicated in the list of illustrations), we know that he observed the head directly, having the opportunity to assess its "likeness," while taking into consideration a life-size head. Furthermore, the measurements of the facial details of the head and their proportions one with another can also attest the ambition to imitate a "real face." The physicality of the head can be apprehended by approaching it from different angles and measuring its several parts; these will preserve its three-dimensional character. To be sure, Morris is aware that the size of an artwork can be factor in assessing its imitative mode, as he states that manuscript illuminations, seal images and coins are "too small to provide a personal likeness."[200] It makes sense to implement that principle, while examining a three-dimensional representation as well.

We reached the end of the subchapter "The Portrait" and the chapter "Search." Since we began our analysis with double spread 90-91, let us continue hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs in double spread 88-89 and then 86-87, where the subchapter begins. By doing so, we are zooming out from the cluster of the four explicit MFRs, as well as implementing conventional reading, within the scans of the double-spreads. Now, let us highlight in blue the meronyms on double spread 88-89. The only term identified as meronym is: "tomb figures." Within the same space, we highlight in red these holonyms: "before 1200;" "second

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[199] Dale, "Romanesque Sculpted Portraits," 102. The head including its base is 31.4 cm high. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 22. I have looked at a few studies of the head; all of them convey information about its height, but not about other measurements of its volume. Additionally, most of the images show the head frontally. I am wondering if those measurements and reproductions render the head from a three-dimensional object into a two-dimensional idea of it. The discourse seems to "flatten" its own material and "visual evidence," although it can easily add further information about it by verbal, numerical and visual means, while it uses a two-dimensional format.
[200] Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1060-1200*, 88n*.

century A.D;" "1300;" "from A.D. 500 to 1000;" "1000;" and "1300." The indeterminate MFRs, that we highlight in orange are: "portrait;" "personal study;" "a life-like rendering;" "individual appearance;" "personal portrait;" "individual likeness;" "life-like;" and "this approach" (Fig. 3.7).

We must admit from the beginning that it is not possible to be certain, with any portrait before 1200, that it is in our sense a personal study.* It is this uncertainty which accounts for the extreme variation in views which have been expressed by modern writers. One position is that of Harald Keller in a study with the uncompromising title *The Origin of the Portrait in the Later Middle Ages*:

The portrait, as we understand it today, is one of the new concepts of the late Middle Ages . . . The characterization of a man absolutely and unchangeably by his particular physical peculiarities, especially his face, and not by the insignia of his office or rank or by his weapons—that is a concept of the portrait which in the second century A.D. came into question in the West, and which was progressively lost from the time of Constantine onwards. Only about 1300 did the new conception of man lead to the recovery of the old idea of the portrait.[36]

Even confining this description to the period from A.D. 500 to 1000, it is too absolute to accept without qualification. The basic idea that a portrait was intended to be an identifiable likeness never died altogether, and during this long period there were several instances of artists inspired by classical examples to attempt a life-like rendering of their subject.† All the same, Keller is un-

* The full discussion of any particular case would obviously occupy a considerable amount of space, but the difficulties in brief are these. We do not usually have more than a small number of portraits definitely ascribed to a named person, in particular a king. Manuscript illuminations are often too small to provide a personal likeness; seal images and coins are also often too small, and by their very nature they stress symbols of office; they were even at times retained unchanged by a successor. Statues have usually lost their colouring, and have worn features—the very things by which a personal likeness is easily recognized. Moreover, similarities may be stylistic or ideological, and not indicate the individual's real features. When all these uncertainties are remembered, it will be appreciated that conclusions need to be cautious.

† There are several instances in Carolingian art where, inspired by classical example, the artist produces a distinct individual likeness, although we have no means of knowing whether it is a personal portrait of the subject. An interesting case is the coinage of Offa, cast in highly classical style and in a quality so fine that a strong individual likeness is

doubtedly right in thinking that the interest of painters during this period was much more focused on office than on individual appearance. The portraits of Otto III (983–1002) in the liturgical manuscripts which he sponsored provide an interesting case in point, because some of them give him an extremely distinctive appearance, the face of a youthful visionary. Since it is probable enough that Otto was known to the scribes of these imperial books, one is tempted to regard these as personal portraits. But the conclusion would be a hazardous one. Otto's features are similar to those of Christ in other compositions, and it may well be that the portraits were intended to display Otto as a manifestation of Christ, not to record his individual appearance. Another portrait of him, at Aachen where he was personally known, is totally dissimilar, and it is a striking fact that when the illuminator of such a manuscript heard of his patron's death, he modified the Emperor's portrait by the simple expedient of writing above it the name of his successor, Heinrichus, in spite of the fact that Henry II was much older than Otto.[37] Similarly, in a codex of about 983 the scribe Anno drew himself in the act of presenting the book to Archbishop Gero of Cologne. The figures are almost identical except for their dress and size, Gero being much the larger as became his higher rank.[38] About the year 1000, therefore, it is safe to say that artists were little, if at all, concerned with the recording of individual likenesses. At the other end of the process, before 1300 we have royal tomb figures which are unquestionably personal portraits, and sculptors had begun to work from death-masks, thus attempting personal portraiture of a very exact kind. The tomb-figure of Louis of France, the eldest son of Saint Louis, who predeceased his father in 1260, is highly life-like, and may plausibly be regarded as an early example of this approach.[39] It is probable that the fine statue of Henry III (died 1272) at Westminster was worked from his death-mask, and it is certain that the sculpture at Cosenza of Isabel, wife of Philip III of France, was, for her face is gashed and distorted from the fall which killed her on the way back from the Tunis Crusade in 1270.[40] Between about 1000 and

clear in several of his coins. It has in fact been called the "portrait coinage", but whether the features are those of Offa, or of the coiners' classical model, is a sheer matter of guesswork.
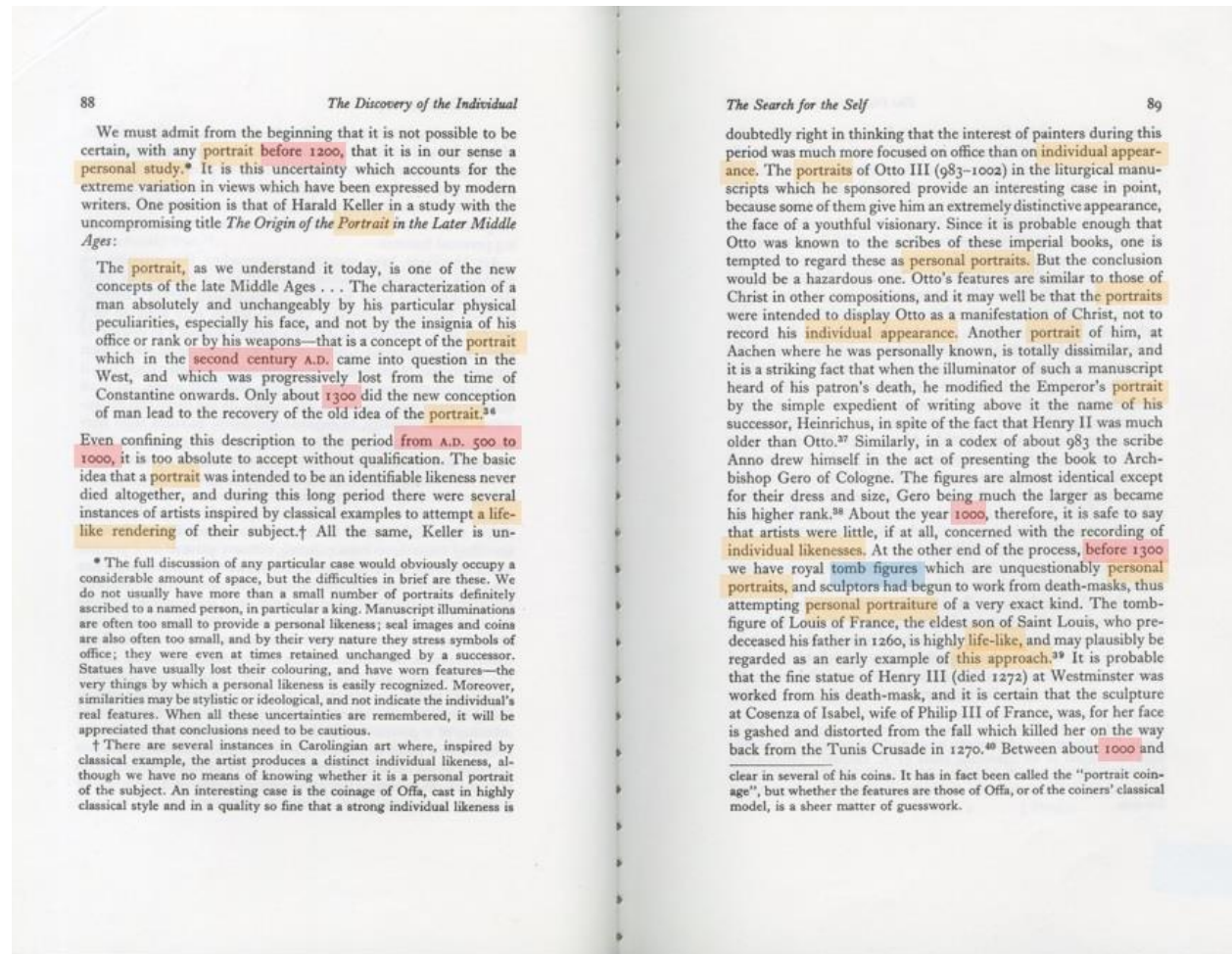
Fig. 3.7 Double spread 88-89, Morris's "Search."

While we were highlighting the terms on double spread 88-89, a certain issue has become apparent. When we analyzed double spread 90-91, we were both zooming out from the explicit references to Plates 2, 4 and 1, as well as reading the passage conventionally. In that process, we did not highlight terms in the first sentence on page 90, that begins on page 89. The part on page 89 writes: "Between about 1000 and." The part on page 90 writes: "1260, therefore, lies a movement from a portraiture which concentrated on hierarchy and station to one which was keenly aware, at least on occasions, of personal appearance." The fact that the first sentence on page 90 begins with the phrase "1260, therefore" gives the impression that it is a conclusion of an argument, whose beginning we cannot see (if we zoom out). As we continued our analysis of the subchapter, we realized that this sentence is about the movement towards a portraiture that is more aware of "personal appearance," and about the timing of that movement. Both the nature of this movement and its timing are fundamental questions which this subchapter explores; their complexity mainly results from, on the one hand, Morris's conviction that this movement did take place in the twelfth century, and on the other, his lingering skepticism about how much the primary sources truly show that movement. We have not hypothesized MFRs of any kind in that sentence, at the initial stage of the analytical process, because of the structure of the sentence and complexity of the MFA in that subchapter. Nevertheless, when we will display all the analyzed scans side by side - at the very last part of this chapter - it will be done only after we hypothesize MFRs in the first sentence of page 90 (but without discussing them).

The double spread 87-86 opens the subchapter "The Portrait." Let us hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs in it to have an idea of how Morris begins his MFA. We highlight in blue these meronyms: "record;" "picture;" "Emperor;" and "symbols of imperial majesty." These

are the holonyms we highlight in red: "great men;" "men;" "their;" "the past;" "European art;" "centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire;" "medieval;" "of the time;" "art of the time"; and "centuries after A.D. 1000." The highlighted indeterminate MFRs are: "portraits;" "individual;" "personal likeness;" "portraiture;" "personal features;" "idea;" "distinctive characteristics;" "*imago*;" "*pictura*;" "picture;" "personal details;" "this process;" "representation of a particular person;" "personal portrait;" "looks like the subject;" "personalization of the portrait;" and "steady transformation of vision." Morris uses the term "individual" twice on page 87; in both cases, we highlighted the term as an indeterminate MFR, although it could have been considered as a holonym, since the figures shown in the images and their names in the captions and main text could - on the surface - have represented the concept or phenomenon "individual." After all, this would seem their "expected" role, in the chapter "The Search for the Self." Yet, "individual" was identified twice as an indeterminate MFR, since its meaning, in this phase of the MFA, is obscured by Morris's offer to distinguish between the concepts "portrait" and "personal portrait."[201]

Morris's first "individual" is used in relation to his own time: "On the whole, however, we are now more interested in the portrait as a record of the individual. We hope to find in it personal likeness and, in the work of a perceptive painter, some expression of his character."[202] The second use of "individual" relates to the distinction between "picture" and "portrait" by art historians, and medieval terminology: "The distinction may seem to us a sensible one, separating as it does a picture intended to convey an idea, of (for instance) Christ or the Emperor, from one

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[201] Ibid., 87.
[202] Ibid., 86-87.

which represents the individual in his distinctive characteristics, but it does not correspond with anything in medieval usage, for such contemporary words as *imago* and *pictura* do not carry this connotation."[203] Morris's awareness of the historical context in which the terms "picture" (or "*pictura*") and "portrait" (or "*imago*") are used helps him recognize a possible anachronism in the historiographical discourse, which attributes a "modern" perception and interest to the medieval mind.[204] Instead of using "picture" and "portrait," which according to Morris "forces" artificial binarism on medieval art, Morris offers to use "portrait" to signify "any contemporary representation of a particular person" and "personal portrait" to signify a "portrait" that "looks like the subject." This terminological distinction, he states, will allow us "to study the personalization of the portrait: not an abrupt adoption of a new way of painting, but a steady transformation of vision."[205]

While Morris historicizes the terms "picture" and "portrait," and offers a solution to the illusion they introduce into the modern discourse about the Middle Ages, he seems indifferent to the history of the terms "individual" and "person."[206] For example, when he points out the

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[203] Ibid., 87.

[204] Morris neither defines the historiographical discourse as "modern," nor points out which terminology was, indeed, used in the Middle Ages in relation to seeing, and yet describing the historiographical discourse as "modern" seems appropriate to me. It is based on the understanding of this phase of Morris's MFA as an attempt to clarify historical - verbal and visual - processes in the Middle Ages, assessed by historians from Morris's time. We should also note that Morris, too, finds the term "modern" useful when he writes: "The twelfth century saw a distinct shift in the visual arts towards sensitivity to nature, and a more characteristically modern way of seeing the human form." See, ibid., 90. To be sure, I do not think that ascribing the twelfth century a "modern way of seeing" blinds us from seeing the truth about the past.

[205] Ibid., 87.

[206] Martin surveys the history of the term "individualism," and major modern and postmodern studies of the Renaissance "individual." *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 8-12. Biow discusses the meaning of the word "*individuo*" in the Italian Renaissance, but he claims that "it is hardly necessary for a word to have been actively and pervasively used in a period in order for it to serve as a placeholder for scholars talking about a concept that otherwise possessed meaning in some measure for people in the past." *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, 4-5.

anachronism that the terms "picture" and "portrait" entail, he claims: "In all portraiture there is a projection of the artist's image of his subject, and tenth-century painters clearly thought that they depicting the Emperor, even if they were impressed by (or in a sense 'saw') the symbols of imperial majesty rather than the physical features of the young Otto."[207] According to Morris, medieval (rather than modern) "image" does not exclude symbolic features, because this is how contemporaries genuinely saw and projected things; however, when Morris clarifies what was less impressive in contemporaries' eye, he points out "the physical features of young Otto." The over-individualization that Morris implements here helps him evade the need to provide a conceptual framework for the "individual," in the Middle Ages. Thus, without a historical perspective on the meaning of the concept at the time of producing the historical evidence, the denotation of "individual," in this MFA, stays vague (Fig. 3.8).

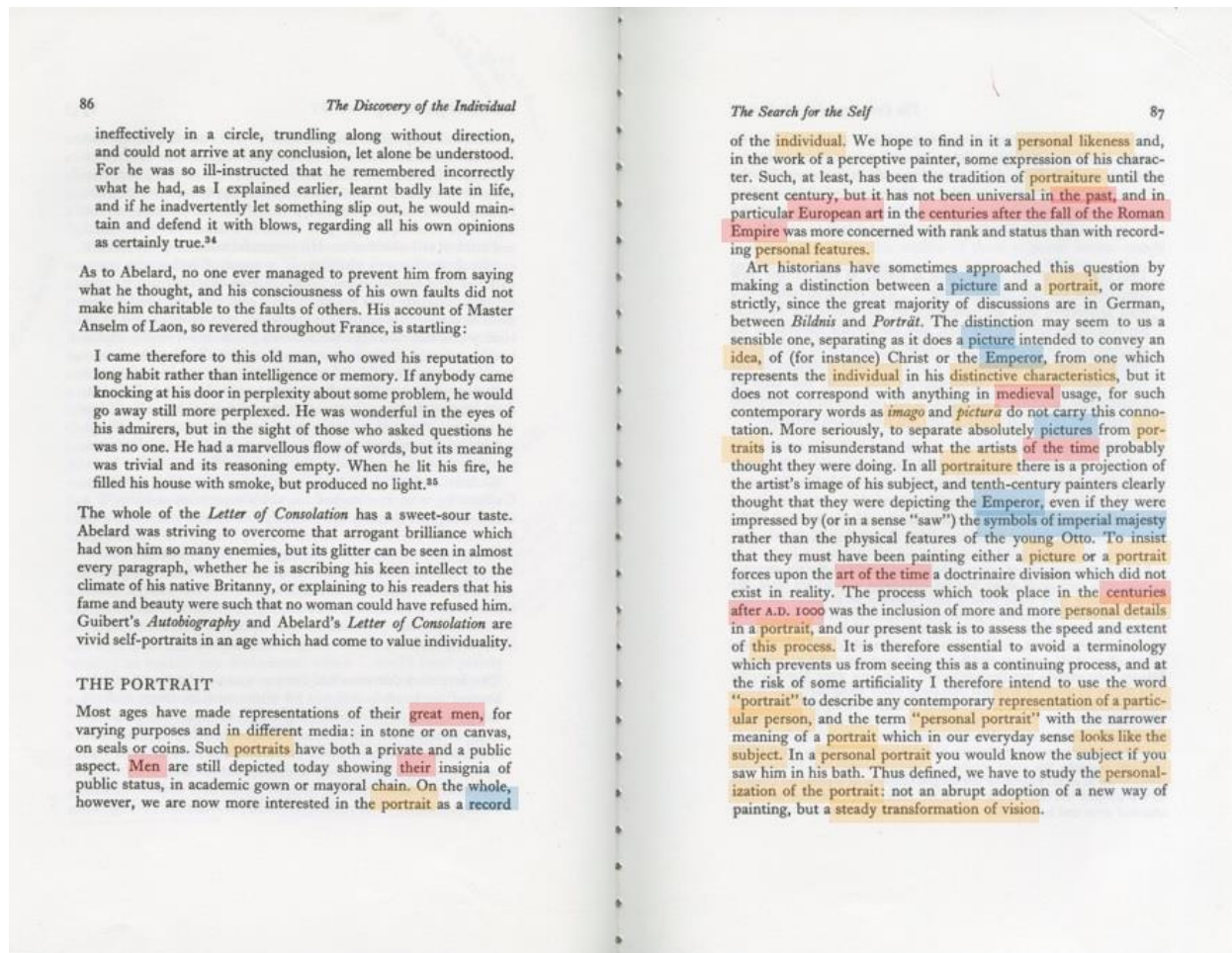[207] Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200*, 87.

ineffectively in a circle, trundling along without direction, and could not arrive at any conclusion, let alone be understood. For he was so ill-instructed that he remembered incorrectly what he had, as I explained earlier, learnt badly late in life, and if he inadvertently let something slip out, he would maintain and defend it with blows, regarding all his own opinions as certainly true.[34]

As to Abelard, no one ever managed to prevent him from saying what he thought, and his consciousness of his own faults did not make him charitable to the faults of others. His account of Master Anselm of Laon, so revered throughout France, is startling:

I came therefore to this old man, who owed his reputation to long habit rather than intelligence or memory. If anybody came knocking at his door in perplexity about some problem, he would go away still more perplexed. He was wonderful in the eyes of his admirers, but in the sight of those who asked questions he was no one. He had a marvellous flow of words, but its meaning was trivial and its reasoning empty. When he lit his fire, he filled his house with smoke, but produced no light.[35]

The whole of the *Letter of Consolation* has a sweet-sour taste. Abelard was striving to overcome that arrogant brilliance which had won him so many enemies, but its glitter can be seen in almost every paragraph, whether he is ascribing his keen intellect to the climate of his native Britanny, or explaining to his readers that his fame and beauty were such that no woman could have refused him. Guibert's *Autobiography* and Abelard's *Letter of Consolation* are vivid self-portraits in an age which had come to value individuality.

THE PORTRAIT

Most ages have made representations of their great men, for varying purposes and in different media: in stone or on canvas, on seals or coins. Such portraits have both a private and a public aspect. Men are still depicted today showing their insignia of public status, in academic gown or mayoral chain. On the whole, however, we are now more interested in the portrait as a record

of the individual. We hope to find in it a personal likeness and, in the work of a perceptive painter, some expression of his character. Such, at least, has been the tradition of portraiture until the present century, but it has not been universal in the past, and in particular European art in the centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire was more concerned with rank and status than with recording personal features.

Art historians have sometimes approached this question by making a distinction between a picture and a portrait, or more strictly, since the great majority of discussions are in German, between *Bildnis* and *Porträt*. The distinction may seem to us a sensible one, separating as it does a picture intended to convey an idea, of (for instance) Christ or the Emperor, from one which represents the individual in his distinctive characteristics, but it does not correspond with anything in medieval usage, for such contemporary words as *imago* and *pictura* do not carry this connotation. More seriously, to separate absolutely pictures from portraits is to misunderstand what the artists of the time probably thought they were doing. In all portraiture there is a projection of the artist's image of his subject, and tenth-century painters clearly thought that they were depicting the Emperor, even if they were impressed by (or in a sense "saw") the symbols of imperial majesty rather than the physical features of the young Otto. To insist that they must have been painting either a picture or a portrait forces upon the art of the time a doctrinaire division which did not exist in reality. The process which took place in the centuries after A.D. 1000 was the inclusion of more and more personal details in a portrait, and our present task is to assess the speed and extent of this process. It is therefore essential to avoid a terminology which prevents us from seeing this as a continuing process, and at the risk of some artificiality I therefore intend to use the word "portrait" to describe any contemporary representation of a particular person, and the term "personal portrait" with the narrower meaning of a portrait which in our everyday sense looks like the subject. In a personal portrait you would know the subject if you saw him in his bath. Thus defined, we have to study the personalization of the portrait: not an abrupt adoption of a new way of painting, but a steady transformation of vision.

Fig. 3.8 Double spread 86-87, Morris's "Search."

The a-historicization of the terms "individual" and "personal" is even more apparent when we consider Morris's emphasis on the gradual "personalization of the portrait."[208] The artistic changes that Morris identifies ought to show contemporaries' growing interest in the singularity that characterizes each human being (or "great men," although "naturalism" is not an exclusive outlook on "great men"). Perhaps information about the development of the concept

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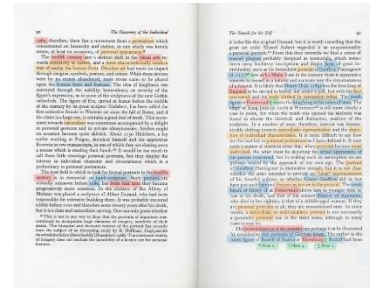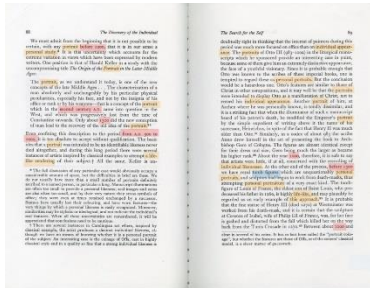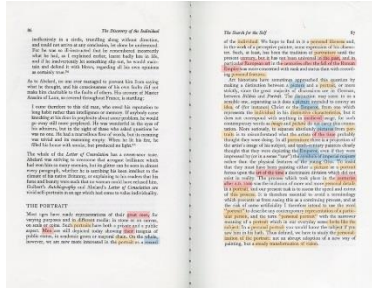[208] "Individual" and "person" are not indexed in *Discovery*.

"individual," during the Middle Ages, could have illuminated some aspects of the visual and verbal sources that Morris uses. Throughout "The Portrait," Morris argues that, methodologically, it is hard to assert whether the tomb-figures that he explores look like the persons they represent. He explains this challenge by the scarcity of adequate sources, with which the tomb-figures could have been compared and subsequently yield a more decisive insight. Unlike Southern, Morris does not compare earlier and later artworks to show a "move" towards different modes of perception and representation; his comparison is mainly between verbal and visual sources that seem to depict the same person, as happens with Rudolf of Suabia and Frederick Barbarossa, as he also refers to secondary sources.[209] Thus, in this MFA, historization of the concepts "individual" and "personal" seems to make sense.

The methodological challenge that Morris points out seems to leave him unconvinced of what the evidence really shows, in light of his own definition of "personal portrait," at the beginning of the subchapter. During our hypothesis of MFRs, we kept identifying terms that relate to modes of representation as indeterminate MFRs, since they do not seem to have clear semantic relatedness - either as meronyms or holonyms - with the referring and referred poles of the explicit MFRs. Imagining the readers shifting their attention from those indeterminate MFRs to the images, for example, barely ascribes the impetus for that shift to the terms or images (Fig. 3.9). The last sentence of "Autobiography," the subchapter that precedes "The Portrait," writes: "Guibert's *Autobiography* and Abelard's *Letter of Consolation* are vivid self-portraits in an age

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[209] Ibid., 92 and 94.

which had come to value individuality."[210] The common use of the term "portrait" for both verbal and visual sources alludes to what we will explore in Martin's and Biow's MFAs.
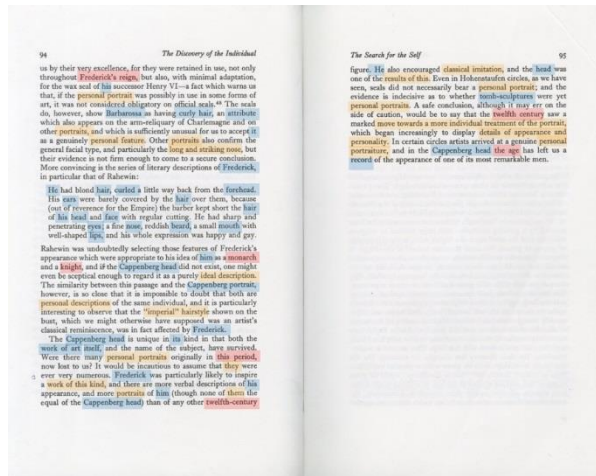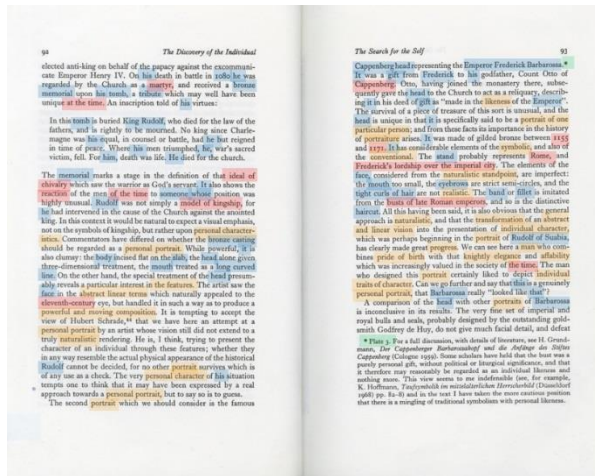
[210] Ibid., 86.

Fig. 3.9 Double spreads 86-87, 88-89 and 90-91, Plates 1, 2, 3 and 4, double spreads 92-93 and 94-95, Morris's "Search."

Chapter 4 The Relational Self: Multiform Argument in John Jeffries Martin's "The Inquisitors' Questions"

"The Inquisitors' Questions" is the second of the seven chapters in *Myths*. At its core stands Martin's original model of the Renaissance self: a conceptual framework that offers a perspective on the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century, especially North Italian, psyche in changing circumstances. Martin argues that while contemporaries' selves or identities modified according to given, mainly social, surroundings, the constant element in their experience of their identity was the varied ways in which they thought about the relation of the internal to the external self.[211] Through the nineteen pages of the chapter, Martin conceptualizes the Renaissance self as "layered," supporting his understanding by examining primary sources such as Lorenzo Lotto's portrait of Bartolome Carpan, testimonies from trials conducted by the Venetian Inquisition, inquisitorial manuals, and etiquette books.[212] The following analysis examines how Martin juxtaposes primary- and secondary-verbal sources with the sole primary-visual source in the chapter: the portrait of Venetian jeweler, Bartolomeo Carpan. The aim of the analysis is to understand better how these juxtapositions support Martin's model of the "layered self." The analytical method that we will use here is different from that we used while studying the MFAs in "Perfecting," "Epic" and "Search," but it is heavily based on it. This new analytical method will be further developed in the analysis of the MFA in Biow's "Facing the Day."

Why is there any need to change the method that we have already used? What is new in it? And in what way does it continue the previous method? The need to implement a different

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[211] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 38.
[212] Ibid., 21-40.

analytical method, at this point of the study, is motivated by Martin's own historiographical

approach to the question about the Renaissance individual. Until now, we have used similar

principles to analyze three different MFAs that look at the same historical phenomenon; it

allowed us both to practice those principles, and to recognize instances in which their adaptation

benefits the analysis. For example, the move from "Perfecting" to "Epic" and then "Search"

required us to find an alternative to use of the chapter as the analyzed space, because of the

different structure each of these chapters has. We also found ways to hypothesize implicit and

indeterminate MFRs in MFAs that may or may not contain explicit MFRs, and learned that

explicit MFRs may be diverse in their own forms. As the MFAs' literal style and epistemology

may be constructed in varied forms, we learned that our analytical approach, to succeed, must be

flexible.[213] Martin's MFA, as mentioned above, offers a conceptual model for the Renaissance

self. Consequently, his historiographical approach does not continue the debate about when and

where individuals have discovered themselves but asks how to define "individual" or people's

awareness and experience of themselves, and explores how these mechanisms operated in

Renaissance Italy.

The decision to examine the foundational elements of the Renaissance self leads Martin

in two theoretical directions that Burckhardt, Southern and Morris had not taken in their studies.

First, he lays out his own methodological approach by analogizing it to "anthropology," looking

at the past from a more detached stance as if it were "a foreign culture."[214] This approach reflects

Martin's emphasis on the importance of studying Renaissance people and their identities through

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[213] We noticed diverse rhetorical and argumentative styles especially when we analyzed "Search" after "Epic."
[214] Ibid., 19.

"their own terms," and his insistence that his study is not a "genealogy," a search for the origins

of his (or our) modern-post-modern experience.[215] Interestingly, in parallel to the attempt to

minimize his self‑projection upon the study of the past, Martin briefly mentions his own

experience of witnessing the loss or disappearance of human inwardness. This interiority, he

claims, is a bodily experience, and thus "not purely a cultural construction."[216] Martin's own

self-awareness, while exploring and writing about the Renaissance self, manifests a different

approach to and style of studying the past, one that we have not encountered in the three previous

studies. This approach affects the discourse on pre-modern individualism and consequently our

analysis of its multiformity; the way it does so will be clarified shortly.

Martin's second theoretical direction is his conceptualization of the Renaissance self as

"relational" and "layered." It looks both to the debate about the period in which individualism

had emerged and to psychoanalytic ideas about the structure of the self and about the social

determinants of the structure of the self.[217] Thus, in his discussion, Martin shifts between

questions regarding: historical periodization; psychic and social dynamism; and ideas that

combine both realms. Martin's references to other scholars exemplify how his thought draws on

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[215] Ibid., x. Like Martin, Morris is aware of a possible bias in his assumptions (and in art historians' terminology, as we saw), but he does not offer a solution for it. His awareness is expressed in his discussion of the Medieval shift towards naturalistic depiction of the human figure. He remarks that the expectation to see in portraits - that "become more individual," the "actual appearance of the person concerned" - might be an assumption "misled by the approach of our own age." *The Discovery f the Individual 1050-1200*, 91.

[216] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 18.

[217] Southern's historicization of the self and individualism touches upon the structure of the self and the interrelation between its varied sections. For example, his comparison between the early- and late-medieval psyches finds different balances between the emotional and intellectual capacities. *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 234. Burckhardt, on the other hand, identifies the development of the individual as a gradual awareness of "both sides of human consciousness," the objective, that turns outwards, and subjective, that turns inwards. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1: 143. In the MFAs we analyze here, neither Southern nor Burckhardt turn explicitly to concepts that have developed in fields on human psychology.

and synthesizes historiography, psychology and anthropology. He points out that Burckhardt's "modern individual" (who, according to the latter, was born in the Renaissance) is one whose subjectivity acts as an autonomous, self-conscious, and opportunistic agent in the external world.[218] He also indicates that anthropologist Clifford Geertz held a similar view on the "western" individual.[219] To historicize the "western individual," Martin seems convinced by de Tocqueville's mid-nineteenth-century understanding that "individualism," in fact, results from the French Revolution, that shifted European society from a system that secures individuals' privileges and rights through their membership in communities and cooperatives to a system that directly endows the individual with rights and liberties in the economic, political and personal realms.[220]

Regarding the experience of the Renaissance individual, Martin quotes historian Ronald F. E. Weissman, who holds that the Renaissance individual lived in and was committed to overlapping and diverse groups, and did not experience a decline of traditional-social solidarities, as Burckhardt claimed when explicating Renaissance individualism.[221] Martin also shows how late-twentieth-century-postmodern redefinitions of the self undermine the Romantic-Burckhardtian notion of the individual, as they emphasize its rather fragmented and illusory nature.[222] For instance, Martin writes that to Stephen Greenblatt: "the self is not an expressive individual but rather a cultural artifact which, much like a painting or a book is a product of a

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[218] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 15.
[219] Ibid., 39.
[220] Ibid., 10.
[221] Ibid., 27.
[222] Ibid., 5.

social, economic and political forces."[223] Nevertheless, according to Martin, the postmodern understanding of the self, just like its modern-Romantic one, identifies the origins of its own experience of the self in the Renaissance, as if there was a moment in history when a certain type of self had been created; as if the scholar's self finds its prototype in the subject of the scholar's inquiry.[224] As Martin indicates, Natalie Davis's perception of the Renaissance self as porous offers another alternative to Burckhardt's confined and autonomous self. According to her, contemporaries' prevailing notion and experience of souls possessed by other souls demonstrates the permeable nature of their selves.[225] Finally, Martin turns to the early-twentieth-century concepts of id, ego and superego, as offered by Freud, to emphasize how the self embodies an ongoing, dynamic relation between the internal and external worlds.[226] He also takes ideas from neuroscience, which address the intricate relation between the body and mind.[227] Like Freud's model of the psyche or self, Martin's model of the Renaissance self underlines the "relation between the external and internal dimension of experience;" as this self is neither an autonomous-self-contained entity nor a product that is completely dominated by social forces.[228]

Martin's relational self (or identity) shifts between and combines five different modalities. The first modality is the social or conforming self, which, according to Martin, was the most widespread. In it, identity was mainly shaped by the individual's social location. It manifested little tension between one's beliefs and attitudes and one's role in society. The second

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[223] Ibid., 6. The question how multiform arguments and argumentation can explain the self or identity and vice versa is one of the issues the current study examines. We will address it in the "Epilogue" of this study.
[224] Ibid., 11.
[225] Ibid., 37.
[226] Ibid., 15.
[227] Ibid., 19.
[228] Ibid., 38.

is the prudential self, which was particularly spread among heretics. It emphasizes the need to conceal one's beliefs and convictions where they conflict with the dominant dogma. The third is the performative self, which consciously and theatrically enacted itself in circumstances that required a certain performance or representation. The fourth is the porous self, which underlines the self's permeable nature, especially in light of demonic possessions. The fifth is the sincere self, which developed in the second half of the sixteenth century and made the revealing of one's inwardness an ethical imperative.[229] The constant-relational self is the mechanism that shifts between these overlapping, layered modalities, which are all defined by the interaction of the individual's experiences with the environment. The analysis of Martin's MFA will focus on how his juxtaposing of verbal and visual sources and means supports his model of the Renaissance self, as he locates it in contemporary circumstances.

Martin's writing on the Renaissance self relies on ideas that, in fact, did not exist when Burckhardt wrote *Civilization* (1860), and that were perhaps less popular than now among historians of the Middle Ages, when Southern wrote *Making* (1953) and Morris wrote *Discovery* (1972). While analyzing and comparing MFAs, we have to remember that their focuses vary, as do the particular times and places in which they were created, and that these factors are interrelated. The way historians pose and approach their questions has a fashion, which is influenced by the diverse - and, indeed, overlapping - discourses in and outside of their field, as well as technological developments. This study focuses primarily on MFAs' structures and functions in the creation and communication of historical knowledge; thus, while posing

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[229] Ibid., 30-38.

questions about the influence of "external" factors on the analyzed MFAs and their creators and readership, it suspends the undertaking of a thorough research into those questions. At any rate, our analysis of Martin's MFA returns to Renaissance Italy, with which we began the analytical process after analyzing two MFAs on Western Europe in the Middle Ages. However, Martin's MFA is the first MFA, in this study, that focuses on Renaissance Italy and that was also illustrated by the author himself.

The sources that Martin uses: a portrait of a jeweler; inquisitorial trial-records; and contemporary literature, allow his readers to obtain a perspective on both elite and ordinary people. Such an outlook was not available in "Perfecting," since Burckhardt considers mostly aristocracy and Florentine merchants and statesmen as "many-sided men." Southern and Morris, on the other hand, base their overall understanding of medieval people mainly on religious and political experiences of "great men;" however, in "Epic" and "Search," they use artworks that may have been created by non-elite contemporaries. Martin's broader perspective on Renaissance people, elaborated theoretical background, explicit dialogue with historians who have addressed pre-modern individualism, and conceptualization of the relational self, all require adaptation of our own analytical tools, with which we explore his multiform argumentation. As stated above, Martin's emphasis is not on where and when individualism had developed, but rather on how we define an "individual," and on how we recognize the signs of its experience in primary sources typical of the Italian Renaissance. Thus, changing this study's approach to analyzing MFAs is timely; after we have gained experience in identifying semantic relatedness in three different MFAs, and its connection to characterizing and periodizing pre-modern individualism, we are ready to try something new.

The question we are asking in this analysis is: how does Martin juxtapose verbal and visual sources and means to support the model of the layered self? To answer this question, I suggest bringing the MFA's verbal and visual components next to each other, on the document of this analysis, as if the pages of the book and their content do not keep them apart. A selective condensation of the MFA's body imitates a conversation with Martin, as if we are standing with him in front of Carpan's portrait, listening to what he is seeing in it and to how this supports his model of the layered self. Although the following analysis imitates a conversation in front of an artwork, it lacks the simultaneous processing of the verbal and visual inputs that the conversation allows, since the analysis still requires minimal shifts of attention between the verbal and visual components. At the same time, the following analysis draws on two complementary impressions: first, that while historians write about an image, they look at that image; and second, that when they write about an image, they hold - at least for moments - that their readers look at that image. These two impressions imagine written multiform-communication as a verbal conversation about visual input on which the interlocutors focus in real time. It seems as if we all sense something that we do not and cannot really experience, namely, simultaneity between the words that we either write or read and the image that we look at. Nevertheless, this illusory impression of parallelism - or split attention - is what constitutes MFAs; what renders verbal and visual premises that follow each other in space and time into a unified logical process that ends with a conclusion.

The mechanism that enables this integration is the working memory that keeps processing either the verbal or visual input while processing its consecutive verbal or visual input. From an

epistemological point of view, we can consider these verbal and visual inputs as premises.[230] In

illustrated historiography, the integration or synthesis of the verbal and visual signs is based on

factors such the physicality and visibility of the book (or other formats); rhetorical devices that

the historian implements; linguistic conventions; and the readers' tasks and experiences. The

positioning of the MFA's verbal and visual components side by side explores - among all these

factors - the rhetorical devices that seem to be under the historian's control. This examination is

possible due to narrowing the space between the verbal and visual signs and consequently to the

short time that elapses between the individual processing of the verbal and visual components.

This condensation reduces the cognitive load that the working memory would utilize to minimize

the spatiotemporal gaps between the verbal and visual components of the MFA, manifested in

the original format. Thus, the new analytical method offers conditions in which our attention can

turn to rhetorical devices that evoke a feeling of immediacy or parallelism. These rhetorical

devices are MFRs that allow the historian to create a hybrid notion about the past while

maintaining the cohesiveness and coherence of their MFA.

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[230] Working memory, according to the 1970s tripartite model, offered by British cognitive psychologists Alan D. Baddeley and Graham J. Hitch, is a mechanism for "short-term maintenance and manipulation of information necessary for performing complex cognitive tasks such as learning, reasoning, and comprehension." It comprises two components; both are responsible for temporarily manipulation of and storing information: the "phonological loop" that processes speech-based information; and the "visuo-spatial sketchpad" that processes visual-spatial information. An additional component, that supervises the two other components, is the "central executive;" it is limited in capacity and responsible for distribution of attention and coordination of the ongoing processes. See "Working Memory." In 2000, the "episodic buffer," was added to the model. It links between the phonological loop and visuo-spatial sketchpad, as it provides "a limited capacity interface between systems using different representational codes." As such, the episodic buffer is a tool to enable multiple sources of information to be processed simultaneously, and to be deposited in their integrated form in the long-term memory. See "Episodic Buffer." We can explain the process of MFAs by this model of the working memory, as the process starts with limited distribution of attention on the MFA's verbal and visual components and ends with long-term memories that serve as "knowledge."

What is new in the following analytical method? And how does it continue the method with which we analyzed "Perfecting," "Epic" and "Search"? In the following analysis, we will position scans of specific paragraphs from "Questions" next to a scan of the reproduction of Carpan's portrait. I chose to analyze those paragraphs since they contain the words "Carpan" or "Bartolomeo." There are six paragraphs in "Questions" that contain these two words; therefore, we will analyze six pairs of verbal and visual components that relate to Carpan. In addition to bringing the verbal and visual components physically closer, there are three more new practices that the following methodological approach entails. First, in the printed copy of *Myths*, three out of the six analyzed paragraphs are divided into two parts, since they begin on a certain page and continue on the consecutive one. The paragraphs that we will analyze, however, look as if they are printed on the same page, since I attached their distinctive parts together. I kept the space between those parts a bit wider than a regular space that is found between printed lines, to signal where the attachment takes place. The second new practice is the marking of details or areas in the image that correspond to certain terms in the analyzed paragraph. In the previous analyses, we highlighted illustrations in green as referred poles of explicit MFRs, and we also acknowledged that they or details in them could have been highlighted in blue as well, since they correspond to referring poles of implicit MFRs. Since the current analytical method shortens the time that passes between the verbal and visual components and lessens the cognitive load, it increases our capability to process MFRs that direct the attention to specific visual details in the reproduction.

Martin uses the portrait as an illustration of his model for the Renaissance psyche. He does so by equating Carpan's appearance in the portrait with the model he offers for the

Renaissance self, while ignoring the possibility that Lotto's artwork could have equally reflected that model by expressing Lotto's self. Martin also ignores the possibility that both Carpan and Lotto could have possessed a layered-self at the same time, and that the "layered-selves" of the two could have been reflected in the same artistic work. Martin's approach to the visual component is, therefore, different from those that we have explored thus far, which focus on visual representations as indicators of a changing attitude among the makers of the representations, and in their time, in general. Thus, as Martin uses MFRs - that refer the attention to details in the portrait - he establishes the evidential virtue of the visual component on the surface of the painting.

From a material point of view, both the printed words that offer us the portrait as historical evidence and the details in the printed reproduction, which are "the evidence," are on the same surface: the plane of the page of the book. The third new practice, in the following analysis, is the presentation of the caption as a separate body from both the scanned page and illustration. As such, I have positioned it under the scanned illustration, maintaining their original-spatial relation, and placing it near the scanned paragraph. Compacting the spatial relation between the caption and paragraph raises questions about the multiformity of the argument as articulated above (Fig. 4.1). A method that we have used in the previous analyses, but we will not implement in the following one, is the display of all the analyzed scans as a group at the end of the analysis. Since the spaces of the following analysis are selective and do not compose a continuous text, I do not see the benefit of showing them together.

In 1529 or 1530 Lorenzo Lotto, one of the most engaging and prolific artists of the Renaissance, completed a portrait of the jeweler Bartolomeo Carpan, a successful man who had a shop in the Ruga degli Orefici not far from the Rialto Bridge and who would become a major figure in the evangelical movement in Venice for over thirty years.[1] On one level, it is precisely such vivid and strikingly realistic portraits as this one that have led many scholars to see in them evidence of the Renaissance discovery of the individual. And, to be sure, such portraits *were* intended as likenesses of particular persons. Bartolomeo's family members, friends, and acquaintances would have recognized him in the painting. Moreover, the artist Lotto had used his craft to point to a sense of psychological depth. Bartolomeo's eyes, wide open, do not meet our own, but it is difficult not to read them as external reflections of some interior trait; though what that trait is – sadness or thoughtfulness, arrogance or intelligence – we simply do not know.

Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530–1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 4.1 Paragraph 1 (p. 21) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

How does the new method continue the previous method with which we analyzed "Perfecting," "Search" and "Epic"? In "Questions," there is no use of explicit MFRs; this makes it similar to "Perfecting," that does not use explicit MFRs either, in addition to the fact that both chapters explore the Italian Renaissance. Let us compare the main methods with which we analyzed "Perfecting" and will analyze "Questions;" this will clarify the differences between the MFAs in the two chapters, and explore our ability to adapt analytical principles according to possible variations in analyzed texts. We started the analysis of "Perfecting" with the identification of Alberti's name, in the title of the artwork and main text, as a mechanism that merges the term "Alberti" and "his" image into a multiform representation of a single historical phenomenon. This made "Alberti" - the name and image - the subject or core of the MFA. In "Questions," the title of Carpan's portrait appears as: "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views*." As we can see, the name of the person depicted in the portrait, "Carpan," is absent from the title,

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but it is written in the main text. What anchors the image in "Questions" to the main text, if the name of the person depicted in the portrait is not written in vicinity to the image?

Without an explicit MFR in the MFA, and without "Carpan" in the caption, we have to look for other identical signs in both the main text and caption. Let us read the whole caption: "*Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views*, 1530-1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY." When we tried to define the theme of the MFA, as part of the technical analysis, we noticed that "Questions" begins with the indication that "[i]n 1529 or 1530 Lorenzo Lotto, one of the most engaging and prolific artists of the Renaissance, completed a portrait of the jeweler Bartolomeo Carpan […]."[231] The terms: "1530," "Lorenzo Lotto" and "portrait" are all written in both, the first sentence of the chapter and caption; therefore, as identical signs in both elements, they link between the verbal and visual components of the MFA. Additionally, the term "jeweler," in the first sentence, and "goldsmith," in the caption, have a high semantic similarity. In the first sentence, "jeweler" explicitly describes Bartolomeo Carpan; its high semantic similarity with "goldsmith," makes the latter a noun that indirectly describes Bartolomeo Carpan, in the caption. The semantic identity and similarity between terms in the first sentence of the chapter and caption enable Martin to signify the figure in the portrait as Carpan, without using an explicit MFR, and the name "Carpan" in the caption. Therefore, we consider the terms "Bartolomeo" and "Carpan" as the main verbal counterpart of the visual component of the MFA. The terms that refer to the genre of the artwork; to the artist's and model's names; to the year of the artistic production; and to the profession of the model function

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[231] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 21.

as implicit MFRs from the main text to the caption and image. These terms allow us to identify

their own pronouns and holonyms, that have looser semantic relatedness with terms in the

caption and image.[232] Pronouns and holonyms are, too, referring poles of implicit MFRs that

contribute to the cohesiveness and coherence of the MFA.

As in the previous analyses, in the analysis of "Questions," we highlight implicit MFRs

that are based on semantic similarity and their pronouns in blue. And we highlight the groups,

identities and abstract phenomena, that the "blue terms" (and image) represent in red. Unlike

with "Perfecting," however, we will not highlight the image in blue, since we will give more

attention to the details in it, to which Martin clearly refers from the main text. Positioning each

of those six paragraphs and the image side by side - and marking details in the image according

to terms in the paragraphs - is to take a step further into understanding MFG. The physical

vicinity of the MFA's verbal and visual components and the short time it takes to shift between

signs from the two semiotic systems allow us to see how hybrid utterances consolidate hybrid

notions in a single sequence. It is no coincidence that Martin's approach to the portrait as "visual

evidence" of the Renaissance self boosts the exploration of MFG. As we will see, the attribution

of the Renaissance self to Carpan while negating it in Lotto locates the evidential virtue of the

portrait on its surface, and consequently on the surface of its reproduction in the book. This

epistemological approach unifies the material plane on which Martin's words, including his

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[232] Interestingly, as we have already noticed, the caption in "Perfecting" does not indicate the name of the artist and the fact that it is a self-portrait, which could have added another aspect to the individualism that the chapter explores. The caption of Alberti's self-portrait does not indicate the year of the artistic production either, while the location of the artwork that it indicates was irrelevant already at time of publication. Martin does not refer to the location of Carpan's portrait either in the main text or caption (it is in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Morris, who uses explicit MFRs, indicates the locations of the four artworks we have examined in both the main text and captions.

quotes, and Carpan's image signify meanings. Shifting or "sliding" between verbal and visual

signs on the plane of Martin's MFA (in its original form) is like gliding through sequence of

words, in a sentence which is grammatically correct. You do not stop unless the idea that is

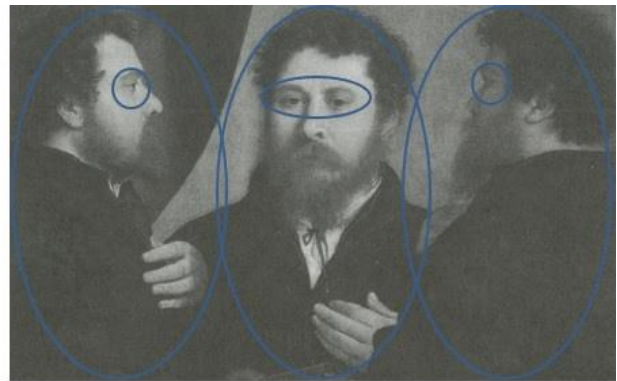developing in your mind doubts its own sense.

Let us now start the analysis of the six paragraphs and the portrait, when they are

positioned side by side. The first paragraph introduces the painter Lorenzo Lotto, model and

jeweler Bartolomeo Carpan, and the portrait's realistic nature and sense of psychological depth.

The paragraph is from page 21, the first page of the chapter. These are the terms in it that we

hypothesize as implicit MFRs and highlight in blue: "Lorenzo Lotto;" "portrait;" "jeweler;"

"Bartolomeo Carpan;" "man;" "major figure;" "this one;" "evidence;" "particular person;"

"Bartolomeo;" "painting;" "artist;" "Lotto;" "his;" "craft;" "Bartolomeo's eyes;" "wide open;"

and "them." In the caption we highlight in blue: "Portrait;" "Goldsmith;" "three views;" and

"Lotto, Lorenzo." We highlight these terms as holonyms in red, since the implicit MFRs that we

have highlighted in blue can represent them (by being a member or part of them): "most

engaging and prolific artists of the Renaissance;" "evangelical movement in Venice;" and

"Renaissance discovery of the individual."

Interestingly, although "1530" is written in the first sentence of the chapter and caption,

we do not highlight it as a holonym in red, as we did with the other periods of time in the

previous analyses. The reason is that the sentence writes that Lotto completed the portrait: "[i]n

1529 or 1530," while the caption indicates that Lotto had worked on the portrait between "1530-

1535." Obviously, if Lotto completed the portrait in 1530, he could not have started working on

it in the same year. Therefore, we highlight the temporal framework of the artistic production in orange, as an indeterminate MFR, a term whose semantic relatedness to the image is vague. In this case, we cannot know what the years in the main text and caption signify in relation to the image. Further, we identify "likeness;" "psychological depth;" and "external reflections of some interior trait" as indeterminate MFRs as well. These terms signify either a potential that, according to Martin, was meant to be actualized by painting portraits such as Carpan's, or Martin's own interpretation of the image, that is not necessarily seen in the image. Finally, we mark the details in the image to which Martin refers by an ellipse, blue line. The terms that signify these details are: "jeweler," "Bartolome Carpan;" "man;" "major figure;" "particular person;" "Bartolomeo's eye;" "wide open;" and "them." The terms "portrait;" "this one;" "evidence;" "painting;" and "craft" may signify the portrait as a whole, rather than details in it; therefore, although they have semantic similarity with either the caption, title of the artwork, illustration or image, we do not circle their visual counterpart, i.e., everything that is seen within the frame of the illustration (Fig. 4.2).

In 1529 or 1530 Lorenzo Lotto, one of the most engaging and prolific artists of the Renaissance, completed a portrait of the jeweler Bartolomeo Carpan, a successful man who had a shop in the Ruga degli Orefici not far from the Rialto Bridge and who would become a major figure in the evangelical movement in Venice for over thirty years.[1] On one level, it is precisely such vivid and strikingly realistic portraits as this one that have led many scholars to see in them evidence of the Renaissance discovery of the individual. And, to be sure, such portraits *were* intended as likenesses of particular persons. Bartolomeo's family members, friends, and acquaintances would have recognized him in the painting. Moreover, the artist Lotto had used his craft to point to a sense of psychological depth. Bartolomeo's eyes, wide open, do not meet our own, but it is difficult not to read them as external reflections of some interior trait; though what that trait is – sadness or thoughtfulness, arrogance or intelligence – we simply do not know.

Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530–1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 4.2 Paragraph 1 (p. 21) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

The next paragraph locates the portrait in a social context, demonstrating how its details signify Carpan's belonging to varied groups. It starts at the bottom of page 21 and continues on page 22. In it, we highlight these implicit MFRs in blue: "this painting;" "portrait;" "individual;" "it;" "social dimensions;" "this representation;" "artist;" "his;" "he;" "his portrait;" "his subject;" "its;" "small box of rings;" "center foreground;" "Bartolomeo;" "high collar;" "shirt;" "jeweler;" "three views;" "three figures;" "one of;" "presentation;" "three faces;" "*tre visi*;" "Bartolomeo's;" "Lotto's;" and "inhabitant." We highlight these implicit MFRs in red: "social context;" "social framework;" "craft;" "jeweler wealth;" "high station in Venetian society;" "family;" "city;" "Bartolomeo's family;" "three brothers;" "Treviso;" "birth place;" "place in society;" "Renaissance understanding of identity;" "Renaissance city or town;" and "network of overlapping groupings." We highlight these indeterminate MFRs in orange: "expensive;" "delicate silk;" "identity;" and "social self." The terms that signify details or areas in the illustration are: "small box of rings;" "high collar;" "three views; "three figures;" and "three faces." We add these markings to the markings of Carpan's eyes and each of his "three views," that we have made in the analysis of the paragraph from page 21.

Maintaining markings from the previous analysis in the current analysis allows us to get a sense of how the processing of the sequence of Martin's MFRs develops a multiform notion about the Renaissance self. The nature of the ellipse delineation is schematic; it might exclude some of the margins of the details that Martin refers to from the main text; on the other hand, it might contain details and areas that Martin does not refer to but are part of the visual input of his MFA. In fact, the visual data that are discussed in the MFA have varied spatial and semantic relations with details that are not discussed but are, albeit, processed. For example, the "small

box of rings" signifies Carpan's hand - its hold on the box and gesture; Carpan's "three views"

signifies some of the background in the painting; and the "high collar" of Carpan's "silk shirt"

signifies the lace that is tied around his neck.[233] The spatial vicinity of the details in the painting

allows Martin to direct readers' attention to details by mentioning other details. In this case,

implicit MFRs function much like explicit MFRs, as they direct the attention to their

surroundings. At any rate, we inevitably process - in varied degrees of consciousness - the

"neighboring details" to those discussed in the main text, and this process influences our

cognition, while we are consolidating a notion about the past. Therefore, the reference from the

main text to details in the image, to process their neighboring details, is a rhetorical device (Fig.

4.3).

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[233] The "small box of rings" also signifies Carpan's ring on his pinky finger; a ring that is represented twice in the portrait. The "box of rings," in the main text, signifies the ring/s that Carpan wears by two semantic similarities. First, there is semantic similarity between the term "rings," in the main text, and any painted ring in the portrait. Second, there is visual similarity between the rings in the box and the one on Carpan's finger; in this case, both images visually-signify the same thing. From the reader's point of view, in both cases, the order of signification starts from the "box of rings" written in the main text. In this analysis, we do not mark the ring that Carpan wears, since it would be a precedent for detecting and tracking further possibilities of signification from the main text to details in the painting, and between different details in the painting. These significations are based on varied semantic denotations and cultural connotations, which make their tracking a complex task. I think that this task could be better accomplished if we track readers' eye movements, that indicate - to a certain extent - semantic relatedness among the MFA's verbal and visual components.

But this painting is not a portrait of an individual isolated from the larger social context. To perceive it in such a manner is to miss many of the social dimensions evoked in this representation, to overlook the social framework into which the artist went out of his way, as he always did in his portraits, to place his subject. First, the portrait, by its subtle display of an expensive small box of rings in the center foreground, identifies Bartolomeo with his craft; secondly, the high collar of the delicate silk shirt signals the jeweler's wealth and relatively high station in Venetian society; third, the presentation of the jeweler in three views links him simultaneously to his family and his city. The three figures seem to allude to Bartolomeo's family; he was one of three brothers. But the reference to the city seems certain. As Józef Grabski first suggested, the presentation of Bartolomeo with three faces – *tre visi* in Italian – is likely a rebus (a pictorial riddle) that an astute viewer would have read as a reference to Treviso, Bartolomeo's birthplace.² From Lotto's perspective, it seems, Bartolomeo's identity was largely defined by his place in society. Indeed, what we might call the social self was fundamental to the Renaissance understanding of identity. Virtually every inhabitant of a Renaissance city or town belonged to and was shaped by a network of overlapping groupings. Some, such as the guild, the confraternity, or the parish, were formal associations. Others, such as the family and the neighborhood, were more loosely defined.
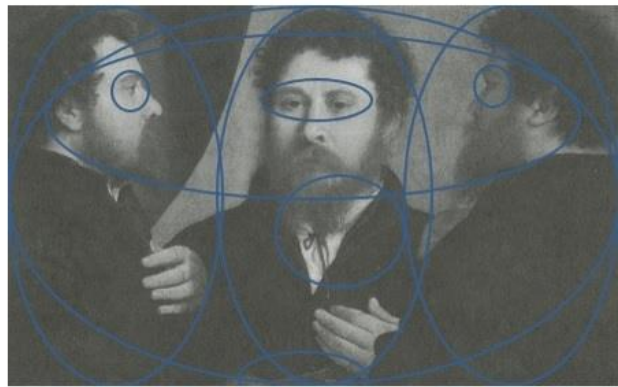
Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530–1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 4.3 Paragraph 2 (pp. 21-22) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

The idea that the propinquity of details in a painting allows them to signify each other suggests that there are "grammatical" relations between those details. For example, the spatial vicinity between the painted "box of rings" and the hand, in the center foreground, enables the elements to signify one another by bringing the other element to the viewer's attention and mind, while attributing a meaning to it. The box attributes the meaning "holding a box" to the hand, and the hand attributes the meaning "small" to the box. It seems, however, that there are other details in the painting that can attribute the meaning "small" to the box, if we compare their size to that of the box; for instance, the hands that do not hold it or Carpan's head (or heads). And yet, the hand that does hold the box has priority over other details in the painting, in attributing the meaning "small" to the box; its great-spatial vicinity to the box - and specific anatomical modification - makes it the prime signifier of the box as "small." Spatial vicinity, its degrees and linguistic modifications play a semantic role in grammatical and sentential structures as well. For

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example, the word "it" refers to the last singular noun before "it" is articulated. In a written text in English, this noun would be the closest to "it" on its left.

The meanings that Martin offers for the details in the painting are not self-evident; they do not result from the composition of the painting, spatial relations between its details, and their modifications. In contrast to how "it" gains a meaning from the sentential structure in which it functions, the meaning Martin sees in the "box" seems to be drawn from a source outside of the painting. According to Martin, by "displaying of an expensive small box of rings" the portrait "identifies Bartolome with his craft."[234] This meaning of the box., i.e., Carpan's being a jeweler, is independent of the hand that holds the box, and any other detail in the painting. Martin's interpretation of Carpan's three figures as alluding "to Bartolomeo's family" because "he was one of three brothers" employs the same mode of interpretation.[235] Carpan's box and three figures signify to Martin something that he knows from a source outside of the painting, since the "box of rings" as well as the "three figures" could have signified other multiple meanings at the same time, which Martin does not acknowledge.

Martin argues that people who knew Carpan could have recognized him in the painting.[236] Perhaps they could have also seen in the "box" and "three figures" the meanings that Martin sees, namely Carpan's craft and family; however, Martin is not one of Carpan's acquaintances. So, how does Martin know - or on what ground does he suggest - these

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[234] Ibid., 22.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid., 21. Martin also claims that the realism in those portraits led scholars to "see in them evidence of the Renaissance discovery of the individual." Ibid. He does not mention Morris's similar understanding of the "personal portraits" of the twelfth century.

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meanings? Martin opens the analyzed paragraph with this sentence: "But this painting is not a portrait of an individual isolated from the larger social context."[237] After detailing the "social dimensions" that are "evoked" by it, he concludes his analysis with these words: "Indeed, what we might call the social self was fundamental to the Renaissance understanding of identity."[238] I think that, in Martin's interpretation, the "social framework" functions like a general meaning that only a full sentence can have, while that meaning is established by its individual words, to which (paradoxically) the full sentence also gives a meaning. The general or abstract meaning of "social framework" allows Martin to infer or decode the meanings of the details in the painting so that they - in turn - support an a-priori concept, the "social self." Martin and the other makers of the book constructed this conceptual framework as a physical entity as well, when they positioned Martin's interpretation of the painting and the illustration on a single double spread, that is, 22-23 (Fig. 4.4).

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[237] Ibid., 21.
[238] Ibid., 22.

Fig. 4.4 Double spread 22-23, Martin's "Questions."

Double spread 22-23 is a conceptual-physical construction that enables the readers to

shift between the MFA's verbal and visual components while they are "sliding" over its surface.

The relatively high number of details in the painting that Martin refers to, from the main text,

justifies a convenient "topography" of the illustrated text. Each moment, along this sliding,

processes and synthesizes the words and visual forms that Martin uses to characterize the "social

self." To be sure, the box of rings that Carpan holds may very well reflect his social self, as he proffers the box towards Lotto and the viewers, while his hands, that do not hold the box, are placed on his chest or heart.[239] The "three figures" may reflect Carpan's social self too, since first and foremost, they increase human presence in the portrait by multiplying the number of figures in it; figures, so it seems, that could have been summarized by merely one. In any event, these possible observations do not rely on external information about Carpan, and as such they find social meaning in the portrait by using a different approach or code-system.

A prolonged and inquisitive observation of the original painting or its reproduction can engender varied possible meanings from the relations between its details and the way it communicates with its creator and the viewers. I believe that when we approach images and their details as symbols that can be "deciphered" into "a meaning," we limit ourselves and the art we explore. To avoid that limitation - at least in the historiographical context - we should pay attention to the power words have over what we see in and how we think about images. The

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[239] It should be noted that whatever meaning we attribute to the box of rings, it is almost undiscernible in the reproduction. Conversely, the frame of the painting, which is part of the reproduction, is seen clearly. Alas, the conspicuous difference between its four facets indicates the sloppy treatment of the reproduction by the makers of the book. See, ibid., 23. This case raises the question why the painting's frame is reproduced in the book at all; ultimately, nothing is said about it by Martin. Interestingly, in the reproduction of Titian's *Allegory of Prudence* in *Myths*, the presence of the frame is minimal. See ibid., 51. In the reproduction of Titian's *The Flying of Marsyas*, the frame is apparent; however, at its bottom, there seem to be a Kodak grey scale and color patches, which are devices that photographers use to photograph paintings. See ibid., 101. This could be a fascinating topic to develop; whether we encounter here a case of "visual anachronism," in which illustrated historiography displays modern-recording devices next to visual evidence from the sixteenth century. In literary terms, it could be thought of as Bertolt Brecht's "alienation effect," according to which the audience of a play does not identify blindly with the actors but reacts to them and their varied expressions consciously. Displaying photography devices within the space of the "evidence," in the book, is to remind the readers of the "behind the scenes" of creating and communicating historical knowledge. At any rate, in this study, I cropped the frame of Carpan's portrait out of the scans. Lastly, the cover of *Myths* represents Carpan's portrait horizontally mirrored to the reproduction in the book. Evidently, the makers of the book manipulated the record of the painting. Comparison of the two versions with other reproductions of the painting shows that the reproduction on the cover is the "manipulated" one. Should the notion that the makers of the book manipulated the reproduction on the cover affect our approach to illustrated historiography?

cumulative marking of details in the illustration follows Martin's words. This method enables the

marking to illuminate how we gradually develop a notion about the Renaissance self; it also

gives insight into how this notion is constructed by Martin. The schematic nature of the marking,

however, does not allow the marking to fit Martin's words perfectly. The ellipse forms used here

that allegedly transmit the verbal denotation from the main text onto the image emphasize the

spaces that are almost arbitrarily left out or included in the "space of the meaning." The

exclusion and inclusion that we see on the analyzed image remind us of the complexity involved

in shifting between and overlapping different semiotic systems, within the creation and

communication of historical knowledge.

In the paragraph from pages 21-22 (Fig. 4.3 above), we highlighted four indeterminate

MFRs, in orange: "expensive;" "delicate silk;" "identity;" and "social self." The terms

"expensive" and "delicate silk" have been hypothesized as indeterminate MFRs since Martin

points them out as if they are visible, but they are not necessarily so. Here, too, perhaps Martin's

fore-knowledge about Carpan and Venice, that is famous for its early-modern silk industry,

influences Martin's characterization of the details in the portrait. The terms "identity" and "social

self" have been hypothesized as indeterminate MFRs, since at the end of the paragraph, Martin

argues that both phenomena or concepts are seen and understood "from Lotto's perspective." At

the beginning of the paragraph, Martin claims that Lotto placed his subject in a "social

framework." Even if the exposition of this paragraph is Lotto's view of Carpan, the exposition of

Martin's model of the self - as described in "Questions" - is the question how Renaissance

people experienced the relation between their internal and external worlds. The shift between

Lotto's perspective on Carpan and Carpan's image, which allegedly depicts his own experience

of the self, locates the social self that is examined in this paragraph in an epistemological limbo. In other words, the epistemology that Martin uses in this MFA shifts between agencies, and so makes the sequence of verbal and visual postulations less consistent than it could have been, at least theoretically.

The next paragraph discusses the inquisitors' questions regarding their suspects' social position, as well as the notaries' description of the suspects' appearance, which, according to Martin, indicates their social status. The paragraph starts in the middle of page 22 and continues on page 23. In it, we highlight these implicit MFRs as meronyms, in blue: "Bartolome Carpan;" "man;" "Lotto;" "beard;" "hair;" "dressed;" "cape;" "he;" "appearance;" and "himself." We highlight these implicit MFRs as holonyms, in red: "such associations;" "social position;" "men;" "late sixteenth century;" "late 1560s;" "forty years earlier;" and "Venice." The terms that signify details or areas in the illustration are: "beard;" "hair;" "cape" and "dressed." Part of Martin's MFA is his quote of the notary's description of Carpan from his inquisitorial interrogation in 1568, almost four decades after the portrait was painted. This quote is on page 23, right under Carpan's portrait. The physical structure of the analyzed MFA, which is part and parcel of its rhetoric, pairs the early-visual and late-verbal depictions of Carpan on a single double spread (which also contains Martin's interpretation of the portrait that we analyzed above). Until now we have marked on the analyzed image the visual counterparts of Martin's descriptive words. Why do we mark the visual counterparts of the notary's words on the image? And why do we keep accumulating those markings on the same image, although its verbal counterparts were articulated by different people in different times?

The accumulation of the markings on the same image allows us to see how Martin's terminology deviates from or adheres to the notary's terminology, as Martin's words follow the notary's in real time, but precede them within the MFA. Furthermore, this marking method raises questions regarding possible standards that cross eras, places and media, for depicting human beings. A notary, for example, recorded the color of Carpan's hair and beard, as another notary did in relation to Paolo Gaiano in 1569. The height of the two, their age and the style of their clothes were also recorded. The notaries, however, do not mention, in their notes, the color of the cloths and the style of the beards.[240] Martin does not discuss colors at all, perhaps due to the black and white print of the reproduction; on the other hand, he uses terms such as "delicate" and "expensive" that convey the texture and brightness of Carpan's attributes. I wonder whether awareness of verbal descriptions of human beings influences the makers of their visual depictions and vice versa; whether Lotto, for that matter, considered possible conversations about Carpan's appearance before, while and after viewing Carpan's portrait, and whether when the notaries recorded people's appearance, they thought about portraits. Martin, we could argue, as any creator of an MFA, has the privilege to assemble both, verbal and visual depictions, within an utterance of single idea. While doing so, he can set standards for hybrid argumentation.

Finally, it would be interesting to know if early modern makers of verbal and visual representations of people thought about their creation in historical terms, knowing that, in the future, only other verbal and visual depictions will be able to validate it. At any rate, the physical vicinity between Martin's interpretation of the portrait, the notary's descriptions of Carpan and

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[240] Ibid., 23.

the reproduction allows us to visualize how time elapses (between 1530s and 2004). Through the

verbal and visual descriptions of Carpan, we see him evolving from a model into an interrogated

suspect into historical evidence in Martin's book. The indeterminate MFRs that we highlight in

orange are: "white;" "beret;" "feet;" "silk." The three first terms were used by the notary to

describe Carpan, but they have no visual counterpart in the portrait. "Silk" has been highlighted

since it was also highlighted in Martin's description of Carpan's shirt, when its representation in

the portrait seemed vague. It is highlighted again to track its possible use as a rhetorical device

(Fig. 4.5).

Given the importance of such associations, it is not surprising that the questions inquisitors posed were often intended to elicit information about the social position of those men and women suspected of heresy. Indeed, most inquisitors clearly viewed such knowledge as essential to the conduct of their investigations. As the *Directorium inqvisitorum*, the most widely-used manual for inquisitors in the late sixteenth century, stipulated, the inquisitor will ask the accused 'where he lives and where he is from; ... who his parents are and if they are living or dead; ... where he was raised and the places he has frequented; ... if he has ever lived in areas infected with heresy, and, if so, why?'[3] In the early seventh-century manual, the *Sacro Arsenale*, the author Eliseo Masini gave similar directions to those conducting the trial: the heretic is to be asked 'to give an account of his life, to say what he has done since childhood, in what places he has lived, who his teachers have been, what his education is, and with whom he has friendships and familiarity.'[4] In addition to these specifics, the notaries who recorded the proceedings of the Inquisition also frequently wrote down a physical description of the accused, in which details of clothing and appearance, within the social imaginary of the day, were also indicative of the suspect's status. At times the descriptions were quite colorful. When tried for heresy in the late 1560s, for example, Bartolomeo Carpan, now no longer the young man Lotto had painted almost forty years earlier, was described as a 'man tall in stature, with a white beard and white hair, dressed in a beret with a cape that reached down to his feet; and he was, both in appearance and as he himself stated, about sixty-four or sixty-five years of age.'[5] Of Paolo Gaiano, a silk weaver who had immigrated to Venice from Modena, the notary observed that he was 'a man of average height, with a black beard and an ashen face, dressed in a short cloak with a cape, and as one says, poor in appearance; and he was, as he appeared and as he affirmed, fifty-two years of age.'[6]
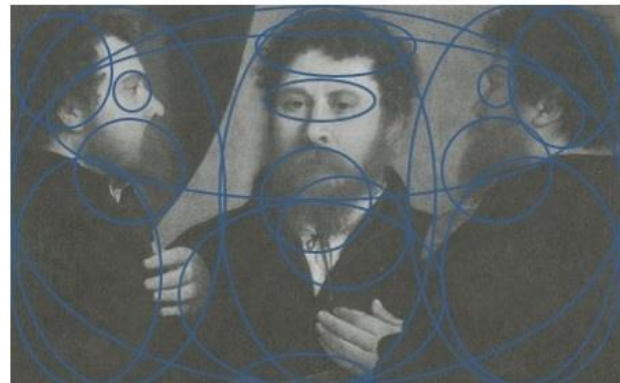
Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530–1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 4.5 Paragraph 3 (pp. 22-23) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

The next paragraph points out the factors that inquisitors considered when they attempted to determine whether a person is heretic. It also describes the most receptive groups to new ideas, particularly in sixteenth-century Venice: professionals; skilled craftsmen; and workers whose craft was characterized by immigration and collective work.[241] The entire paragraph is on page 26. In it, we highlight these implicit MFRs in blue: "a particular person;" "clothing;" "trade;" "Bartolomeo Carpan;" and "jeweler." We highlight these implicit MFRs in red: "Venetian society;" "residence;" "family;" "1560s;" "individuals;" "Venice;" "middle of the sixteenth century;" and "sixteenth century." We do not add any new markings in the image, and there are no new indeterminate MFRs either (Fig. 4.6).
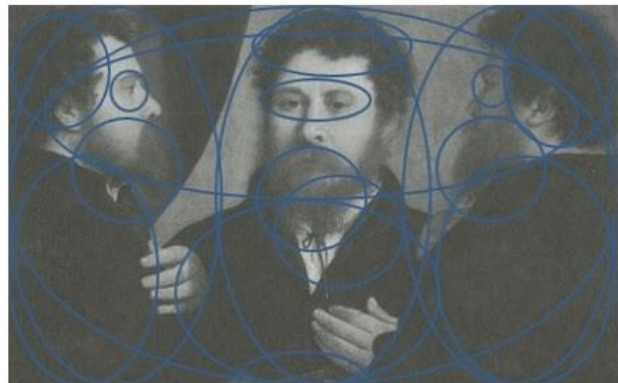
Fig. 4.6 Paragraph 4 (p. 26) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

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[241] Ibid., 26.

In the paragraph analyzed next, Martin considers tension between the internal and external dimensions of experience, and the inquisitor's attempt to know what there is in one's "heart," to decide if suspects are heretics. The paragraph starts on page 29 and continues on page 30. In it, we highlight these implicit MFRs in blue: "Bartolomeo Carpan;" "Bartolomeo;" "he;" "his;" "another person;" "accused person;" "particular person accused of heresy;" and "another." We highlight these implicit MFRs in red: "Renaissance;" "this period;" "late 1540s;" "social location;" "social experience;" and "Renaissance Italy." These are the indeterminate MFRs, that we highlight in orange: "hearts" and "identity." The term that signifies a detail or area in the illustration is: "heart." We mark "Carpan's heart" only in the central figure and the one on the left, since the figure on the right turns its left shoulder towards the viewers, concealing its frontal side. We have already mentioned Carpan's chest or heart when we discussed what the "box of rings" could indirectly signify, that is, Carpan's hands: the one that holds the box and the two that do not, and that rest on his chest or heart. Interestingly, Carpan's heart was explicitly referred to by the draper Vincenzo who testified in the late 1540s that Carpan did go to mass, but that he does not know if Carpan did so "with his heart."[242] In the analyzed paragraph, Martin claims - as he quotes intellectual historian Lina Bolzoni - that the "heart" is where "truth" is.[243] Perhaps Carpan's gesture, placing his hand on his heart, signifies honesty.[244] "Heart" was also

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[242] Ibid., 30.

[243] Ibid.

[244] Lotto painted several more portraits that feature men with their hands on their chests or hearts. One of them is the portrait of Andrea Odoni from 1527. According to the Royal Collection Trust, "[t]he cross held by Odoni against his chest suggests that for Odoni the true religion of Christianity, represented by the cross, will always take precedence over nature and the gods of pagan antiquity […]." See "Andrea Odoni." Another portrait is *Man with the Golden Paw* from c. 1527, now in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (where Carpan's portrait is). According to art historian Norbert Schneider, the hand on the figure's chest "may be interpreted as a sign of "sincerità" – reverence or protestation – (as one crosses one's heart or in the expression "mano sul cuore")." *The Art of the Portrait*, 69.

hypothesized as an indeterminate MFR, since in this paragraph, it functions as a metaphor for the place of truth, as it was used in classical texts, Renaissance culture and inquisitorial context; however, when we look at Carpan's figure, we cannot see that place. At the same time, although we can see Carpan's hand on the area of the heart, Martin does not point to that area in the painting, from the main text (Fig. 4.7).

But making these determinations was extremely difficult. There was no window onto the soul; others were, by definition, opaque. As several prominent Renaissance humanists, Leon Battista Alberti among them, had observed in a powerful metaphor borrowed from the ancients, the gods had omitted to make an opening in the human chest through which men and women might be able to see into one another's hearts. The Italian intellectual historian Lina Bolzoni has noted that the Renaissance discussion of the idea of such a window, picked up from various classical Greek and Latin texts that were becoming again well-known in this period, 'expressed the dream that one is able to visualize directly the internal dimension where, according to an ancient topos, truth has its place.'[35] Such a view was hardly confined to the elites. In his testimony concerning Bartolomeo Carpan in the late 1540s, the draper Vincenzo acknowledged that Bartolomeo had recently been going to mass, but he added an important qualification: 'whether he does this with his heart, I don't know, since one cannot know the heart of another person.'[36] One wonders how inquisitors ever believed they could possibly penetrate this barrier? It was a relatively easy thing for the accused person to say one thing but mean another. Words and thoughts needed not coincide, nor did actions and beliefs. We find, therefore, in the practice of the Inquisition an important clue to the nature of identity in the Renaissance. The inquisitors were continually aware both of the importance of social location and of the inevitable opacity of beliefs. They attended to social experience and they knew that the social location of a particular person accused of heresy was an important clue in an investigation, but they recognized at the same time that to know the beliefs and religious convictions of another was virtually impossible, since, by definition, beliefs were held in the mind which was, by definition, opaque. Nonetheless, starting from an awareness of this tension, we can – especially if we look over the shoulders of the inquisitors and follow them in their questioning and investigations – begin to identify at least some of the ways in which the internal dimensions of identity were related to its external dimensions in Renaissance Italy.
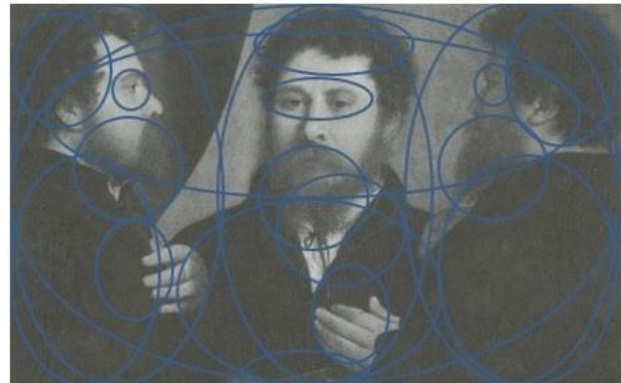
Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530–1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 4.7 Paragraph 5 (pp. 29-30) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

The paragraph that we are about to analyze ends the chapter. After presenting the five modalities of the self or identity: the social or conforming; prudential; performative; porous; and sincere, that compose the layered self, Martin returns to Carpan's portrait - with which he opens

the chapter - to explore whether it expresses those five modalities. The paragraph starts on page 39 and continues on page 40. Let us hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs and see if there are new details in the painting that should be marked. In this paragraph, we highlight these implicit MFRs in blue: "artist;" "Lorenzo Lotto;" "portrait;" "jeweler;" "heretic;" "Bartolomeo Carpan;" "its;" "Jeweler's eyes;" "Bartolomeo;" "his;" "Lotto;" "three different angles;" "subject;" "a person;" "different directions;" "performance;" "painting;" "Carpan;" "dignified;" "self-composed presence;" "performative;" "serious;" "sober;" "straight-forward;" "pose;" "this painting;" and "individual." These are the implicit MFRs we highlight in red: "Venetian;" "Treviso;" "profession;" "craft of jewelry;" "station (wealthy);" "a city;" "mid-sixteenth century;" and "Renaissance." These are the indeterminate MFRs, that we highlight in orange: "identity;" "inwardness;" "social identity;" "likeness;" "prudence;" "layered self;" "social;" "conforming;" "prudential;" "self;" "nothing ceremonial;" "sincerity;" "sincere self;" and "gesture of the proffered heart." We do not mark any new details in the illustration (Fig. 4.8).

Finally, while it is useful analytically to distinguish among these different forms of identity, in fact they often overlapped. The artist Lorenzo Lotto conveys some sense of this complexity in his portrait of the Venetian jeweler and heretic Bartolomeo Carpan. We have already noted how the portrait derives much of its power from a certain tension between inwardness and social identity. The jeweler's eyes subvert any effort to claim that we can understand Bartolomeo purely on the basis of knowing something about his provenance (Treviso), his profession (the craft of jewelry), or his station (wealthy). But Lotto goes further. By presenting a likeness of Bartolomeo from three different angles, it is difficult not to think that the artist was referring, at least obliquely, to his subject's prudence, studiously cultivated in a city in which a person of his convictions had always to be careful, had always to look out in different directions while quietly keeping his own counsel. A measure of performance was also present in the painting; Carpan is presented as a dignified, self-composed presence. In this sense Lotto appears to explore what we might call the layered self – at once social and conforming, prudential, and performative. On the other hand, it is doubtful that Lotto thought of the self as porous; but did Lotto think that Carpan was sincere? Is there any indication of a concern with Carpan's sincerità in this painting? Perhaps. Carpan is shown as serious, sober, straight-forward; there is nothing ceremonial about the pose. But it is unlikely that Lotto would have thought of sincerity in these terms. As we shall see, the ideal of a sincere self would only emerge as a major issue in the mid-sixteenth century – well after Lotto had made this painting – and this relatively late emergence of sincerity as an ideal is itself evidence that the self is never without a history. The emergence of this new ideal suggests as well that it was at the end of the Renaissance, in the years around 1600, that we see the first indications of the modern notion of the individual now choosing to reveal, now to conceal his or her deepest longings and feelings from within – in the startling gesture of the proffered heart.

Portrait of a Goldsmith in three Views, 1530–1535. Lotto, Lorenzo. Courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

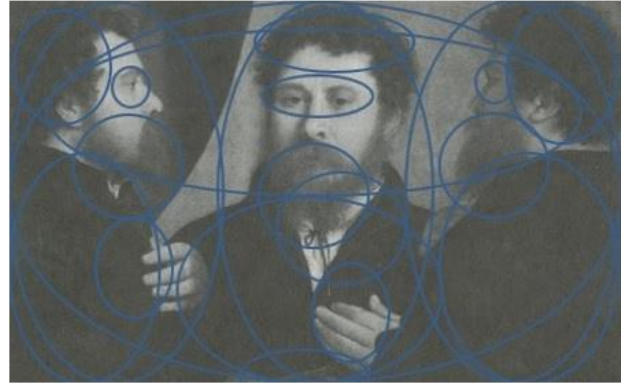Fig. 4.8 Paragraph 6 (pp. 39-40) and Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Views*, Martin's "Questions."

There are three points in this paragraph that I would like to address; all three relate to Martin's use of verbal and visual sources and means to explore the internal and external dimensions of the layered self. The first point is Martin's approach to Carpan's eyes. Martin writes that "[t]he jeweler's eyes subvert any effort to claim that we can understand Bartolomeo purely on the basis of knowing something about his provenance (Treviso); his profession (the craft of jewelry); or his station (wealthy)."[245] The idea that Carpan's painted eyes hint - by subversion - that there is more to know and understand about Carpan raises several questions

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[245] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 39.

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regarding the epistemology of this claim. Does Martin mean that Carpan's painted eyes do have the potential to convey more information about him? Or that other details in the painting can do so? Or that neither the portrait nor any other source that we might use can fully render Carpan's identity, which is more complex than his provenance, profession and station? The subversion that Martin ascribes to Carpan's eyes implies that, in fact, he ascribes them the opposite capacity: the ability to convey a fuller picture about Carpan's inwardness, based on the place he came from; his profession, social status and other possible traits.

Our analysis of Martin's interpretation of the portrait suggests that the craft that he sees in the "small box of rings," and the three brothers in the "three views," rely on sources outside of the painting, rather than on the painted details as they are aesthetically (or optically) presented, and their interrelation within the painting. It follows that at the beginning of the MFA, Martin approaches details in the painting (the box, three views, etc.) as "empty sign" that are filled with meaning that one has to gather from outside of the painting, while at the end of the MFA a detail (the eyes) has the capacity to signify what the viewer of the painting can potentially know about Carpan from looking at the painting (rather than using other sources). It seems that, at the end of the MFA, Martin allows a painted detail to do something that was impossible at the beginning of the MFA, that is, to "talk" with him directly. However, we should note that the content of the eyes' "speech" relies on Martin's earlier interpretation of the box, three views and other details. To sum up, as the MFA unfolds, Martin changes the code-system that he uses, and that ought to make sense of verbal and visual sources, that relate to the same historical phenomenon (Carpan). This creates a hermeneutical and epistemological leap between the first and last parts of the MFA. In my opinion, these leaps could be a legitimate way to extract meanings from artworks,

and to communicate them within a single MFA. Otherwise, we might moderate artworks, multiform argumentation, and ourselves too much. At the same time, the discourse could benefit from the author's awareness of and explicit reflection on these cognitive leaps along the argumentative process. After all, we are talking about how the past talks with us and how we manage our listening, as well as our conversation with whoever listens to us.

The second point that arises from the analysis of the paragraph from pages 39-40 considers Martin's question whether there is "any indication of a concern with Carpan's *sincerità* in this painting." His answer to this question is: "Perhaps. Carpan is shown as serious, sober, straight-forward; there is nothing ceremonial about the pose. But it is unlikely that Lotto would have thought of sincerity in these terms."[246] Like in the case of Carpan's eyes, here too, there is an epistemological leap between the verbal and visual data that Martin processes. While assessing the possibility that the painting reflects Carpan's *sincerità*, Martin shifts from describing how Carpan seems to him in the portrait to the consideration of the terminology that Lotto might have used while (I assume) he was painting it. Martin's shift between the two semiotic systems is done in three steps. First, he verbalizes Carpan's appearance by "serious," "sober," "straight-forward," and Carpan's pose by not being "ceremonial." Second, he bars Lotto from using these terms. And third, based on Lotto's terminological lacuna, he rules out Carpan's *sincerità*. Martin's shift from Carpan's visibility (the effect) to Lotto's terminology (the cause) allows him to skip a more probable vocabulary that Lotto might have used, i.e., a "Renaissance vocabulary," that has some semantical relatedness with "*sincerità*," rather than "sincerity." Thus,

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[246] Ibid., 40.

if Lotto's terms are indeed a cause for Carpan's visible (and ontological) *sincerità*, it would make sense to turn to Lotto's own words, as far as the sources allow. Moreover, Martin negates the option that Lotto used terms such as "serious," "sober" and "straight-forward," since "the ideal of the sincere self would only emerge as a major issue in the mid-sixteenth century – well after Lotto had made this painting."[247]

Martin's verbalization of Carpan's figure, and his rendering his own vocabulary into a terminological and ontological yardstick, allow Martin to merge Carpan's hypothetical *sincerità* and his own terms into a single historical or rather argumentative phenomenon (sometime between the 1530s and 2004). This combination of two different points in time and this shifting between a visual source and its later verbalization, in turn, enables Martin to historicize the sincere self, and the self in general. Particularly, it allows Martin to claim that a couple of decades rule out the possibility that Lotto and Carpan thought of and performed *sincerità* - in relation to an early 1530s painting. The history of the term *sincerità* shows that it would prevail in the mid-sixteenth century, and the terms that Martin uses to decode *sincerità* as well as the painting belong to the painting's time (and Martin's). All in all, both Martin's subtle shifts between visual and verbal sources, and his motivation to put events in temporal order, obscure the boundaries between Carpan, Lotto and Martin. Ultimately, they mix the Renaissance with the modern or post-modern selves. I think that if history and historiography do matter, making those multiform shifts less subtle or more up front could benefit them both.

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[247] Ibid.

The third point that arises from the analysis of this paragraph relates to Martin's question as to whether there is a representation of the porous self in the painting. He writes: "[…] Lotto appears to explore what we might call the layered self – at once social and conforming, prudential and performative; On the other hand, it is doubtful that Lotto thought of the self as porous."[248] Unlike his explanation of Lotto's limitation to think with the term "*sincerità*" (because it was before the term prevailed), in this case, Martin does not offer a certain chronology or any other cause that could illuminate why "porous" probably had not crossed Lotto's mind, considering his exploration of Carpan or Carpan's "layered self." In his MFA, Martin seems to hold two opposite stances regarding the function of the painting in a world that also used verbal language. Martin claims that if Lotto could not use "*sincerità*" then the painting could have not shown it. It means that, for Martin, the verbal and visual realms in Renaissance Venice functioned in tandem. Furthermore, it implies that Martin ascribes the design of the painting to Lotto and his interests. Indeed, at the beginning of the chapter, Martin points out Lotto's ambition to place the subjects depicted in his portraits in a "social framework," as he did in relation to Carpan.[249]

Martin's discussion about the portrait does not suggest that what we see in it reflects Carpan's desire or request. None of the details in the painting that Martin relates to is explained by him as a result of negotiation and agreement between the painter and the model, or the patron of the artwork. Allowing Carpan to "have a say" in relation to Lotto's work would imply that there was a dialogue or collaboration between Lotto and Carpan, and that is was done - among

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[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid., 21-22.

other ways of communication - through words. Further, permitting Carpan and Lotto to converse would allow the possibility that details in the painting reflect how Carpan's and Lotto's selves overlap, and that, ultimately, artworks may be a complex thing. It seems that Martin's interpretation of the portrait - to support his model of the layered self - allows Carpan's self to be layered as long as the surrounding with which he is involved is far off. Therefore, in Martin's MFA, the history of words (such as that of "*sincerità*") may influence the history of art (such as that of Carpan's portrait); but this influence is selective, and it is not clear if it goes the other way around.

The multiple nature of Carpan's figure in the portrait hinders easy writing about both Carpan and the portrait, even when the attempt is to "understand" not the painting, but rather how Martin's juxtapositions of words and image support his model of the Renaissance self. Hypothesizing implicit MFRs between terms such as "rings," "beard;" and "heart" and their corresponding details in the image emphasizes the difference between the real and painted Carpan; while the real one could have only one beard (at a time), the painted one has three. The gap between reality and its representation, in this case, underlines the power of artificiality and, ultimately, the skill of its maker although the fact that Carpan's figure is tripled declares that this representation of Carpan relinquishes true naturalistic representation in advance. To be sure, each of Carpan's figures is formed naturalistically, but within the frame of the painting something in the "naturalistic grammar" went "wrong." So, the painting offers a challenge to viewers who want to talk about the painting; it becomes particularly acute when the term "Carpan" starts to sound inadequate to describe what we see in the painting. It is "Carpan," of course, but at the same time - and equally so - it is "Carpans," or even worse "Bartolomeo Carpans."

Martin asks how inquisitors knew what suspects of heresy truly thought and believed, when it is impossible to see what one experiences in one's internal world. He claims that an individual's "social location" or "social self" was one of the ways by which the inquisitors could infer whether an individual is a heretic or not. As the saying goes "tell me who your friends are, and I'll tell you who you are." But this is another challenge that Carpan's portrait offers; Carpan seems to be his own friend/s, at least in this representation; thus, looking at his "friends," does not say much about him. On the other hand, the portrait indicates something about Carpan that we do not usually see in other portraits, namely, the same person in three different angles.[250] In fact, this view is irregular not only in two-dimensional representations, but also in life. It raises questions about our ability to see still or moving objects; to see in motion; and to use a set of mirrors to enable simultaneous view of different facets of an object (including ourselves). The three-fold view of Carpan, therefore, brings forth a lingual challenge, and at the same time, raises a question about how one can know anything if the visibility of the information is always partial.

Lotto had taken an artistic challenge when he decided to render the same person three times on the same format. By doing so, he gave the viewers a perspective through which they could compare Carpan's three figures, which are similar enough to encourage a search for minute differences, and an assessment of Lotto's success. Lotto was not only confident in his artistic skills and ability to take upon himself and accomplish such a task; in fact, he used Carpan's representation to argue that he was a virtuoso painter. An individual, we could add,

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[250] According to the Royal Collection Trust, Anthony Van Dyck had probably been influenced by Lotto's *Portrait of a Man in a Three Positions*, that was in Charles I's collection, when he painted the triple portrait of the king, between 1635-1636. Additionally, the king's portrait probably influenced Philippe de Champaigne who painted the *Triple portrait of Cardinal Richelieu* in 1642, now in the National Gallery, London. See "Charles I (1600-1649)."

who used the art of painting to show his merit, and his social and financial value, in a competitive world. If we could stand with Martin in front of Carpan's portrait, we could discuss how the painting was used by both Carpan and Lotto to represent themselves in sixteenth century Venice and thereafter. Our conversation in front of the painting could, in a way, reenact Carpan and Lotto at the time of painting, conversing about it. This activity - standing in front of and talking about a painting - can remind us (as well as Carpan and Lotto) that painting functions as an object with lingering cultural momentum; if it is seen and discussed, it participates in the cultural game. Another depth that Martin's MFA develops curiosity about, but does not refer to, is what Carpan said in his interrogation. It could be interesting to position Carpan's words next to his portrait (or its reproduction), and compare how he represents himself when the inquisitors are around to how he does so when Lotto is present. Martin describes the inquisitors' descriptions of suspects of heresy as "verbal portraits."[251] "Listening" to what Carpan perhaps said about himself could display his "verbal self-portrait."

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[251] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 23.

Chapter 5 Knowing What to Wear: Multiform Argument Douglas Biow's "Facing the Day: A Reflection on a Sudden Change in Fashion and the Magisterial Beard"

"Facing the Day: Reflections on a Sudden Change in Fashion and the Magisterial Beard" is the fifth of the six chapters in *Importance.* Through its twenty-five pages, Biow explores the reasons why elite-urbane men in Italy started to grow beards in the turn of the sixteenth century, and how they used their beards to signify their varied collective identities, on the one hand, and individuality, on the other. Biow bases his study on contemporary literary works from diverse genres and on portraits, with his eye especially on fashion. He implements explicit MFRs to refer the readers from the main text of the chapter to twenty-four illustrations; of which sixteen are printed in the chapter and eight are displayed in other chapters. In "Facing," we encounter an argumentative strategy that uses words and images, one that we have not seen in the previous analyzed MFAs: Biow juxtaposes two quotations from Castiglione's *The Courtier* (written between 1508-1527) with his portrait by Raphael from 1514-1515, and two quotations from Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* (written between 1552-1555) with his portrait by Pontormo from 1541-1544; both portraits show the two Renaissance authors wearing beards. As we will see, the four quotations discuss the social and political meaning of fashion, while three of them use the term "beard." In the following analysis, we will position each of Castiglione's two quotations next to his portrait, to hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs; we will do the same with della Casa's text and image. The aim of the following analysis is to understand better the epistemological effect of juxtaposing a person's image and words in the same MFA. The analysis also attempts to explicate how the historian's exposition of this multiform intersection influences the meaning of the MFA.

Biow's approach to the question about pre-modern individualism focuses on its manifold manifestations in Italian-Renaissance culture, rather than on where and when it had begun, or on how the Renaissance self operated in diverse contexts. His conceptualization of the Renaissance individual is by and large a polemic against the understandings Burckhardt, Greenblatt and Martin offered about it. According to Biow, both Greenblatt and Martin conceptualize "identity" as "a dialectic between, on the one hand, a self formed by historically determined cultural constrains and, on the other, a self formed in reaction against those powerful cultural forces [...]."[252] Both scholars, he claims, focus on the first side of the dialectic: the cultural forces that shaped the individual. Therefore, the aim of *Importance*, according to Biow, is to rescue the "individual" from its excessive contextualization in historical constraints and to keep it - and the significance of its notion - in the historiographical discourse.[253] At the same time, he does not endorse either Burckhardt's view of the individual as an autonomous, free agent, operating independently in the world, or his periodization of its emergence in fourteenth century Italy, in contrast to the "constrained, collective, 'corporate' self of the Middle Ages."[254]

Biow's goal - to keep the individual in our discursive framework - entails his attention to and study of another historical phenomenon and concept: gender. Biow is the only scholar, among the five male scholars whose work we analyze here, who explores either masculinity or, for that matter, femininity as an essential ingredient in one's identity.[255] Two features in Biow's study of early-modern individualism stand out in relation to gender. The first is his examination

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[252] Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, 3.
[253] Ibid., 4 and 229n2.
[254] Ibid., 3.
[255] For a review of different theoretical approaches to gender and their implications on historical analysis, see Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis."

of the early-modern notion of the individual through the category "maleness." The use of this category enables him to offer an historical account and explanation that does not represent the history of the "general population," while relying on men's experience alone. The second feature is his explicit way of doing so. He writes straightforwardly that his study focuses on elite men only, observing that "the notion of the individual itself in the period was gendered in complex ways," and adds that masculinity and femininity are fluid and interrelated categories. This approach, Biow claims, can contribute to women's history as well.[256] Indeed, Biow's postulation that the early-modern notion of the individual is gendered not only prevents his obscuring the differences between men's and women's experiences of themselves and others, but also leads him to refer to scholarship that has studied women in Renaissance Italy.[257] One could argue that only a genuine interest in either men's or women's experience can lead to better understanding of both genders, and equally important, of those who do not fall neatly into this binary division.[258]

Biow refers to an analogy between beards and clothes that is based on the two expressions in Italian: "wearing a certain style of beard" ("portare un certo tipo di barba") and "growing a certain type of beard" ("far crescere un certo tipo di barba").[259] This analogy reminds us that there was a kind of creativity that sixteenth-century Italian men could employ, while women, in principle, could not. The creativity embedded in having a beard begins with the decision to grow one and continues in shaping it. If, as part of that creativity - which can be used

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[256] Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, xi and 4.
[257] Ibid., 4 and 230n5.
[258] For the complex relation between gender, social and cultural norms, and the self, see Butler, *Undoing Gender*.
[259] Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, 205.

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to signify collective identities and individuality - beard and facial skin are constitutive and complementary components, then skin is no less gendered than beard. Skin, as we saw, plays a central role in Martin's conceptualization of the relational self; its contemporary perception as "porous" explains various possible relations between the internal and external realms of the Renaissance psyche. Martin's and Biow's turn to the body as a site in which contemporaries experienced, explored and shaped their selves is a new historiographical direction within the illustrated discourse about the pre-modern self. The consideration of the body-mind relation enriches our insights into the historical self; the decision to explore it, its specificities, and those specificities' relation to gender identity, is a metahistorical phenomenon.[260]

We have experimented with a new method in our analysis of the MFA in "Questions;" a method that we will now develop further, analyzing the MFA in "Facing." In both chapters, Martin and Biow juxtapose portraits with words from roughly the same period: words that characterize the figures depicted in the portraits. However, while Martin uses testimonies about Carpan, which were expressed by others and were recorded by notaries in inquisitorial interrogations, Biow uses words from Castiglione's and della Casa' etiquette books, which address behavioral norms and fashion in elite culture. Thus, the verbal sources both historians use are utterly different in the freedom and constraints under which they were produced, and in the people to whom they were directed. While Martin explores Renaissance selves mostly "over the shoulders of the inquisitors," Biow does so over the shoulders of elite statesmen and

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[260] Reviews of historiographical approaches to "the body" can be found in Porter, "History of the Body" and Bynum, "Why All the Fuss about the Body?"

churchmen, and courtiers.[261] His juxtaposition of words by elite authors about wearing beards and images of the authors themselves wearing beards is a means to explore and decode the sixteenth-century fashion of growing beards.

Biow's argument that beards signified at the same time collective identities and individuality implies a complexity that is challenging to pin-point or "prove."[262] Nevertheless, his use of Castiglione's and della Casa's words about how it is right to look and of representations of them allegedly following their own advice enables him to make sense of that complexity, since their words call for conformism and their portraits show their individual character, that may manifest individualism. Put differently, Biow's acceptance of Castiglione's and della Casa's authority on fashion constitutes the core of his MFA: on the one hand, he extracts common values and norms from their treatises, and on the other, he extracts individuality from their portraits, basing it on the awareness of fashion imbedded in both as individuals. In fact, Biow's rhetorical strategy not only accepts Castiglione's and della Casa's authority on fashion but also reinforces it by means of his MFA. In the following analysis, I suggest positioning Castiglione's and della Casa' citations and portraits side by side, to hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs between them; this method allows us to look closely on what using different semiotic systems that represent the same person can do - epistemologically - in a single MFA.

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[261] For Martin's view, see *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 30.
[262] Prior to Biow's delving into the socio-political factors that may explain the rise of the fashion to grow beards, he writes that "it is important to stress that a direct cause-and-effect historical explanation for the appearance (or, for that matter, disappearance) of a fashion is supremely difficult to validate, and so the suggestions here should be taken as tentative and speculative, but still, I think, probabilistic." *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, 189.

What is new in the following analytical method? In the previous analysis, I offered to imagine ourselves standing with Martin in front of Carpan's portrait, listening to what he is seeing in it, in relation to his model of the relational self. Now, I would like to imagine a different scenario in which we are standing with Biow in front of Castiglione's and della Casa's portraits, listening to what the two painted figures are saying about fashion and manners. While we are standing there, Biow (unlike Martin) is silent; however, it was his idea to approach these figures in the first place, since he considers them a source of "knowledge" and its manifestation, which can illuminate the sixteenth-century growth of beards. In the following analysis, Biow's words are cropped out of the scans of his book, so that his explicit, implicit and indeterminate MFRs are left out of our exploration of his own MFA. At the same time, our analysis of the intersections between the quotes and the portraits shows how Biow's exposition of those intersections serves him as an "Archimedean point" in his MFA: a mechanism that allows him to shift between both the MFA's verbal and visual components, and between the beards' simultaneous signification of collectivities and individuality.

Biow's utilization of Castiglione's famous book and portrait, on the one hand, and of elite and Italian identities, on the other, is an example of how he constructs an exposition for his historical narrative and explanation. Biow writes that by the second decade of the sixteenth century, wearing beards was so fashionable that "it is difficult to think of famous men of the cultural elite who did not wear one." He continues "[i]t was certainly enough of a fashion, for instance, that Baldassare Castiglione, probably among the most fashion-conscious Italians of his age, is depicted bearing a thick, lush beard, ever-so-slightly and suavely parted at the bottom, in

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the famous portrait of him by Raphael completed between 1514-1516 (fig.14)."[263] Then Biow turns to the group of courtiers that, according to *The Courtier*, met in Urbino in 1507 to discuss the ideal courtier. He points out that many of the male members of that group "wore stylish beards at some point in the early sixteenth century." After he briefly surveys the portraits that show them wearing beards (and those that show otherwise), Biow concludes: "Surely, then, if these fine arbiters of fashion were wearing beards so early in the sixteenth century, it was a broadly accepted thing to do."[264]

This sequence of premises begins with Biow's claim that Castiglione exemplified a new fashion, and it ends with the idea that the "arbiters of fashion," to whom Castiglione belonged, initiated or promoted the same new fashion. As mentioned above, Biow indicates the challenge of explaining the sixteenth-century fashion of growing beards in a direct cause-and-effect explanation.[265] Our focus, nevertheless, is on the multiform quality of Biow's MFA. The MFA's premises shift between verbal and visual representations, progressing from presentation of Castiglione's portrait that shows him wearing a certain kind of beard, to mention of figures who are represented in Castiglione's book, to a verbal account of their portraits that show them wearing beards, to the final generalization that the practice of wearing a beard was "broadly accepted."[266] The shifts between a verbal source (*The Courtier*) and visual sources (Castiglione's portrait that is displayed in *Importance* and the portraits of the courtiers who are mentioned in *The Courtier* but whose portraits are displayed neither in *The Courtier* nor in *Importance*) allows

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[263] Ibid., 188.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid., 189.
[266] Ibid., 188.

Biow to construct a framework for the growth of beards among elite men, while class and elite-fashion confine this cultural and social phenomenon. Then, Biow adds Castiglione's national identity as a factor, to claim that the growth of beards was also a reaction to insecurities among courtiers and Italian men, more generally. According to Biow, after the late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century invasions of Italy by France, Germany and Spain, "men like Castiglione" found themselves subjected to either their lord in the court, or to countries that influenced the balance of power in Italy.[267] Thus, beyond being an elite fashion, wearing a beard became a device to both signal maleness (against the femininity that was associated with subordination), and to mask undesirable facial expression in the self-controlled culture that prevailed in courts.[268] Biow utilizes Castiglione's portrait and literary work, as well as his elite and Italian identities, to construct a framework by which he can ascribe multiple meanings to the sixteenth-century Italian growth of beards.

The positioning of the quotations and the portraits of their authors side by side, and analyzing the historian's words as exposition of these intersections, raise two formalistic issues: the first is about the semantics of terms in captions and the second about marking details in the images. Surprisingly, although both issues relate to hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs between the quotations and the portraits, they illuminate varied epistemological aspects of the whole MFA. As for the terms in the captions, until now, we hypothesized MFRs from the main text to the captions and images. We saw, for example, that historians often use the same or semantically-similar terms in vicinity to the referring poles of explicit MFRs, in the main text,

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[267] Ibid., 189.
[268] Ibid., 189-90.

and the referred poles, in the captions. These "neighboring terms" are usually the name of the artist, the title of the artwork, etc., and they function as referring and referred poles of implicit MFRs. Since the following analysis focuses on the relation between the words and the image of the same Renaissance author, we will hypothesize MFRs that do not involve the main text that is written by the historian. Without the main text, how would we approach the terms in the captions? In the following analysis, the captions will be displayed beneath their illustrations; when both the illustration and caption are on the right side of the demonstration, and the text (i.e., the quotation) is on its left side. This is how we arranged the analysis of the MFA in "Questions." Since, in their books, Castiglione and della Casa relate neither to their own portraits, nor to the painters who created them, nor to the time of the artistic production, I suggest approaching the terms in the captions by assessing their semantic relatedness to the portraits displayed right above them, and only in relation to those portraits.

The "disappearance" of the main text, and the assessment of the semantics of the terms in the caption solely in relation to the image, entail a different epistemology between the terms in the caption and the image. For example, the term "Castiglione," in the caption of Castiglione's portrait, may be hypothesized as a referring pole of an implicit MFR, based on the semantic similarity between the term "Castiglione" and the visual image of Castiglione. In this case, we would highlight "Castiglione" - both the term and image - in blue, as we did with "Alberti," in "Perfecting." But how would we consider "Raphael" in the same caption? While neither of the two quotations from *The Courtier* mentions Raphael, what is the semantic relatedness between "Raphael" and the image above the caption? Although we recognize "Castiglione" in the portrait, we could also consider the portrait as a representation of its painter, Raphael; not on the basis of

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semantic similarity, but rather on the fact that Raphael is the immediate source (or cause) of his artworks, that - in turn - can be considered as his extension or representations.

According to Peirce's tripartite model of the sign, a painting can signify indexically the painter, since the painting imprints the painter's gestures. At the same time, that painting can signify the person depicted (if it is a portrait) iconically, since the image resembles by imitation the appearance of that person. This duality shows that in historical research the same artwork can represent varied phenomena; it can do so as both an object and an image. At any rate, identifying artworks as representations of the artists who created them is a common practice. When we hear "Here is Raphael," we do not expect to see the painter, Raphael, hanging out in the museum. Or when we hear "I love Raphael," we know not to take it "personally." Thus, in the following analysis, we consider the semantic relatedness between an artwork and an artist as a meronym-holonym one, while the artist's name functions as the holonym, and thus is highlighted in red.

From an epistemological point of view, once we perceive the artist as a historical phenomenon that is represented by their artworks, we open another level for thinking about cultural history, and its richness and complexity. In the technical analysis, we have touched upon the captions' ability to enrich our perception of artworks within their past and present surroundings (i.e., their own lingering history). The information that captions convey about artworks and their reproductions in the book creates contexts for the MFA's visual component, in addition to what the historian chooses to focus on. Therefore, the disappearance of the main text from the visible field of the following analysis allows us to probe those additional pathways; to see the elements that have always been there in a new, magnifying light. The contribution of

small-scale elements, such as terms in captions, is crucial for the cohesiveness and coherence of MFAs, which can be achieved on different levels of consciousness.

The second formalistic issue that arises from hypothesizing implicit and indeterminate MFRs, when positioning quotations and the portraits of their authors side by side, is the method of marking details in the images. In the following analysis, we will not highlight images in green although Biow uses explicit MFRs (and we will not highlight "fig. n" at the beginning of the caption either). Furthermore, we will not highlight images in blue, although they have semantic similarity with the names "Castiglione" and "della Casa" in the captions, since without the main text, there is no need to draw the spatial relations between the MFA's verbal and visual components. As for marking details in the images, implementing this method upon the MFA in "Questions" helped us see how Martin uses details in Carpan's portrait to support his model of the relational self. However, the quotations from *The Courtier* and *Galateo* do not refer to the portraits of the Renaissance authors, nor do they point to details in them. On the other hand, the term "beard," as mentioned above, is used in three of the four quotations, and terms such as "man," "custom" and "fashion" are used in all four quotations quite often. Thus, would our understanding of multiform argumentation benefit from marking details in the portraits according to terms in the quotations?

Marking details could surely enrich our understanding of how Biow implicitly links Castiglione's and della Casa's thought, on the one hand, with their look, on the other - to support his historical observation and explanation. Nevertheless, I think that we can gain this insight without marking details in the images. If we keep the images "clean" of marks, our attention will

not be drawn to the marks instead of what the images show; subsequently, we will see better the MFRs' subtle and associative nature as they bridge between the quotations and portraits. Further, looking at the portraits of the two Renaissance authors next to their texts without intervening in the reproductions may foster ideas and questions about the two authors' consciousness of and play with "multiform communication" in their own culture. After all, they knew which media they use to represent themselves; perhaps they also though about possible effects that the juxtaposition of those representations can create. Finally, when words and images are in spatial vicinity, they have the potential to signify meanings that words and images would not otherwise express; clear view of that potential can show how multiform argumentation can expound historical notions.

Let us now hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs, when the first of the two quotations from *The Courtier* and Castiglione's portrait are side by side. In *Importance*, the quotation is on page 190 and the illustration is on page 58.[269] These are the terms we highlight as meronyms in blue: "man;" "dress;" "custom;" "dressing;" "style;" "he;" "manner of dress;" and "fashions." These are the terms we highlight as holonyms in red: "the majority;" "Italians;" "everyone;" "Italy;" "she;" "our;" "we;" and "us." These are the terms we highlight as indeterminate MFRs in orange: "Messer Federico;" "I;" "you;" "other people;" "sign of freedom;" "augury of servitude;" "foreigners;" "me;" "those;" "whose;" "nation;" "its prey;" and

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[269] Since Castiglione's portrait is displayed in the book on page 58, it precedes his two quotations in "Facing," that are on pages 190 and 191-192. In the two analyses of the intersection of his words and image, we position the verbal component on the left and the visual one on the right. By doing so we change the order in which the book presents these components. We have dealt with this issue when we analyzed Southern's reference to the frontispiece from within the book. In both analytical demonstrations, we prioritize the structure of the MFA, positioning the reference to the image on the left, that is, "before" the image. Biow refers to Castiglione's portrait from both pages, 57 and 188, by using explicit MFRs.

"they." In the caption, we highlight these terms as meronyms: "portrait;" and "Baldassare Castiglione." These terms are highlighted as holonyms: "Raphael;" "Raffaello Sanzio;" "1483-1520;" "1514-1515;" and "Louvre, Paris" (Fig. 5.1).

Messer Federico said: "I do not really know how to give an exact rule about dress, except that a man ought to follow the custom of the majority; and since, just as you say, that the custom is so varied, and the Italians are so fond of dressing in the style of other peoples [gli Italiani son vaghi d'abbigliarsi alle altrui fogge], I think that everyone should be permitted to dress as he pleases. But I do not know by what fate it happens that Italy does not have, as she used to have, a manner of dress recognized to be Italian: for, although the introduction of these new fashions makes the former ones seem very crude, still the older were perhaps a sign of freedom, even as the new ones [novi] have proved to be an augury of servitude [augurio di servitù], which I think is now most evidently fulfilled [il quale ormai parmi assai chiaramente adempiuto]. . . . Just so our having changed our Italian dress for that of foreigners strikes me as meaning that all those for whose dress we have exchanged our own are going to conquer us: which has proved to be all too true, for by now there is no nation that has not made us its prey. So that little more is left to prey upon, and yet they do not leave off preying [così l'aver noi mutato gli abiti italiani nei stranieri parmi che significasse, tutti quelli, negli abiti de' quali i nostri erano trasformati, deve venire a subiugarci; il che è stato troppo più che vero, ché ormai non resta nazione che di noi non abbia fatto preda, tanto che poco più resta che predar e pur ancor di predar non si resta]." (2.26)

FIGURE 14. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520), *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, 1514–1515. Louvre, Paris. Reproduced by permission of Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 5.1 Paragraph 1 (p. 190) and Raphael's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, Biow's "Facing."

Hypothesizing indeterminate MFRs in this intersection of words and image points out how Castiglione's use of pronouns and the meaningful term "sign of freedom" creates rhetorical effects, that would eventually influence our understanding of Biow's MFA. In the previous analyses, we hypothesized pronouns such as "he," "him" and "his" as implicit MFRs, since they

represent the protagonists of the analyzed MFAs (such as Alberti and God). We considered these terms as meronyms that are part of broader historical phenomena and highlighted them in blue. Without the immediate context that the historian's text provides, do pronouns, in the quotation, point to the author himself, the person no longer living, or to some lingering representation of the author, whether in print or on canvas? This question reiterates a question that we have considered above, when we asked how to relate to names of artists, in captions, when the illustration is above them and the main text is cropped out of the analytical demonstration. In both cases, we focus on the possibility of identifying individuals with their work. Additionally, in both cases, we wonder how the indexicality of the sign - pronouns or painting - signifies its origin or cause, when the context changes (that is, Biow's text is removed from the analysis).

Biow himself indicates his position in relation to identifying individuals with their work, in the context of wearing a beard: "[a]lthough both Castiglione and della Casa assure the reader that their treatises should not be read as self-portraits […], we can nevertheless rest assured that both Castiglione and della Casa, so conscious as they were of how fashion affects others and passes with time, knew how to wear a beard."[270] As we can see, Biow is aware of the inclination to equate a literary work with its author, and although he recognizes the distance that the two Renaissance authors create between themselves and their work (by rhetorical devices that he details in his text), Biow does hold that what *The Courtier* and *Galateo* convey about fashion is true about their authors; and that although these books do not function as "self-portraits," we can use them as reflections of their authors as we use the authors' painted portraits.[271] So how should

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[270] Ibid., 194.
[271] Ibid.

we relate to pronouns in the quotations, when we juxtapose them with the authors' portraits? Do these pronouns represent anyone specific? If not, then, whom do they represent? If they do, whom do they represent?

In Castiglione's passages, the meaning of "I" and "you" are fluid. When Castiglione uses the term "I," does he refer to himself or Messer Federico (who is the speaker in that quote)? When he uses the term "you," does he refer to the readers of *The Courtier* or the listeners of Messer Federico in *The Courtier*? These questions are, of course, rhetorical; they are not supposed to be answered easily, if at all; but the need to assess the semantic relatedness of "I" and "you" with Castiglione's portrait, which is right next to it, adds a multiform quality to these questions. The presence of the portrait (i.e., of Castiglione's image) next to "I" and "you" underlines the authority of Castiglione on the text, and on the ideas that are expressed in it; it seems to be the effect that Biow has wanted to achieve. But this authority does not emanate from dictating a single meaning for "I" or "you," but rather from creating signs that can carry multiple identities and selves - and with the vicinity of the portrait - an aesthetical quality as well. The elusive definition and boundaries of "I" and "you" facilitate the identification of the readers of *The Courtier* with these pronouns, and perhaps the readers' acceptance of the ideas that are expressed in the text. Does the ambiguous semantic relatedness of "I" and "you" with what we see in Castiglione's portrait have the same effect on us when we observe the portrait, next to the quotation? Does the vicinity of "I" and "you" "open" Castiglione's image to other selves? Whatever the answer may be, the vagueness of the semantic relatedness of the two terms with the neighboring image convinced us to highlight both terms as referring poles of indeterminate MFRs.

How does Castiglione's use of the term "sign of freedom," when his text is juxtaposed with his portrait, create rhetorical effects that would eventually influence our understanding of Biow's MFA? The narrator in the quotation from page 190 links individuals' style of dressing with national prowess, explaining that, on the one hand, "everyone should be permitted to dress as he pleases," and on the other, without a "manner of dress recognized to be Italian" and with the adoption of foreign styles, Italians lose what used to be "a sign of freedom," signaling their willingness to become other countries' prey. Individuals' dress, therefore, can signify freedom and prowess at the national level, if individuals adhere to a recognized national fashion, which only implies individual conformity in a campaign for collective freedom. In this light, "individualism" and "nationalism" collide, while fashion expresses the tension between the two. Taking into account this tension, is Castiglione's dress in the portrait an expression of "individualism" or of "nationalism," or perhaps of both? Is the "Castiglione" who is portrayed in the painting "free"? If so, how much and at what level? And lastly, can we or early-sixteenth-century readers and observers, for that matter, really answer these questions?

Biow addresses the question of freedom, at the very beginning of *Importance*, when he tells how his teacher, the late Jacob Glick, reacted to Biow's playing of Bach's solo violin sonatas and partitas. Glick reminded Biow to do, what he refused (or was unable) to do, namely, adhere to what the composer wanted and "was written on the score."[272] Biow's reflection on this incident and on Glick's advice to keep playing solo, should he join an orchestra, so as not to lose his distinctive voice "in the all-encompassing and seductive mass of orchestral sound," make me

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[272] Ibid., 1.

think about freedom from another angle.[273] Freedom is not only a manifestation of what one does with one's individual character within social-constraining contexts - which is the dialectic that Biow points out in the scholarship of Burckhardt, Greenblatt and Martin - but also a product of what one does between words and images. If we analogize verbal and visual semiotic systems to communities, then what one does between the two systems manifests freedom outside of or beyond the individual-society dialectic.

Multiform utterances that are composed of verbal and visual signs are usually made by their creators without clear parameters for and measures of "correctness," that can be found, for example, in language. In *Syntactic Structures*, Noam Chomsky refers to a model of language that linguist Charles Hockett developed in the early 1950s. According to this model, "[i]n producing a sentence, the speaker begins in the initial state, produces the first word of the sentence, thereby switching into a second state which limits the choice of the second word, etc. Each state through which he passes represents the grammatical restrictions that limit the choice of the next word at this point in the utterance."[274] Hockett's observation that syntactic states reflect grammatical restrictions does not play a role with multiform utterances. It cannot, because it is impossible to reduce the visual component of the utterance into a single word, that is allegedly located after the last word to be read or written before the attention shifts to the visual component (or before it shifts with the referring pole of the MFR towards the referred pole). This grammatical restriction cannot function this way when the attention shifts from the visual to the verbal component either. Does it mean that there is no linearity in multiform utterances or arguments? Well, there is a

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[273] For Biow's reflection, see ibid., 2.
[274] Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 21.

linear sequence - the MFG - that combines the verbal and visual components into a unified meaning, basing it on the semantics and visibility of the words and images. MFG, however, cannot be defined in terms of "correct," "incorrect," "right" or "wrong." This fact gives its users freedom.

Let us now hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs, in the intersection of the quotation that starts on page 191 and continues on page 192 and Castiglione's portrait. This second quotation of Castiglione is divided into two parts that are combined here into one paragraph; the wider space between the third and fourth lines shows where their combination takes place. These are the terms we hypothesize as implicit MFRs, identify as meronyms and highlight in blue: "courtier;" "his;" "attire;" "fashion;" "him;" "beard;" "taste;" "he" "appearance;" "manner of man;" "dress;" "it;" "his;" and "him." These are the terms we highlight as holonyms in red: "our;" and "we." These are the terms we highlight as indeterminate MFRs in orange: "I;" "neat;" "dainty;" "modest elegance;" "feminine;" "vain;" "many;" "who;" "their;" "they;" "others;" "them;" "such a manner;" "those;" and "who." The highlighting in the caption stays the same (Fig. 5.2).

I wish our Courtier to be neat and dainty in his attire, and observe a certain modest elegance, yet not in a feminine or vain fashion [*ma non però di maniera feminile o vana*]. Nor would I have him more careful of one thing than of another, like many we see, who take such pains with their hair that they forget the rest; others attend to their teeth, others to their beard [*altri di barba*], others to their boots, others to their bonnets, others to their coifs; and thus it comes about that those slight touches of elegance seem borrowed by them, while all the rest, being entirely devoid of taste, is recognized as their very own. And such a manner I would advise our Courtier to avoid, and I would only add further that he ought to consider what appearance he wishes to have and what manner of man he wishes to be taken for, and dress accordingly; and see to it that his attire aid him to be so regarded even by those who do not hear him speak or see him do anything whatever. (2.27)

FIGURE 14. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520), *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, 1514–1515. Louvre, Paris. Reproduced by permission of Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 5.2 Paragraph 2 (pp. 191-92) and Raphael's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, Biow's "Facing."

The analysis of Castiglione's first multiform intersection raised questions about fashion as a signifier of personal freedom and of national sovereignty. This intersection raises questions about class and gender identity, and about Castiglione's understanding of the sense of vision. In the excerpt, the speaker (still Messer Fregoso) describes what the courtier ought to pay attention to, so that he looks "neat and dainty." He focuses on two ideas: first, the courtier needs to balance between the different elements in his appearance, since excessive investment in a certain element over another might signal femininity and vainness; and second, by controlling his attire, the courtier can fashion the way people consider him, even without their hearing or seeing him

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doing anything; it all depends, Fregoso adds, on "what manner of man he wishes to be taken for."[275] Interestingly, in this excerpt, the sense of vision is given priority as a tool for assessing someone, even without seeing actions or hearing voice and speech. It seems that "Fregoso" accords more authority to a still image than to other forms of representation. What does that mean about Castiglione's portrait? Is the "Castiglione" whom we see in it the "manner of man" Castiglione wished to be? Did he and Raphael think that the elements of Castiglione's attire, including his beard, are well balanced? How did they think about Castiglione: as a courtier, as a still image, or as both? Did they distinguish between the categories, courtier and image, at all? Did they have Castiglione's written ideas in their mind, while they were working on his image? And, finally, did they imagine that one day, five centuries after they collaborated on creating Castiglione's portrait, a historian would hold that Castiglione "knew what to wear"?

The next quotation is the first of the two quotations from della Casa's *Galateo*; it is on page 193 and the reproduction of della Casa's portrait is on page 195.[276] Let us hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs, in the intersection of the two components. These are the terms we highlight as meronyms in blue: "dress;" "his;" "he;" "it;" "clothing;" "material;" "man;" himself;" "sartorial style;" "costumes;" "fashion;" "hair;" "beard;" and "I." These are the terms we highlight as holonyms in red: "everyone;" "status;" "age;" and "us." These are the terms we highlight as indeterminate MFRs in orange: "other people;" "people of Padua;" "Venetian gentleman;" "their;" "other citizens;" "your;" "you;" "others;" and "other persons." In the

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[275] Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, 192.
[276] Biow refers to della Casa's portrait from both pages, 194 and 195. The portrait is also displayed on the cover of *Importance*.

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caption, these are the meronyms: "Portrait;" "Giovanni della Casa" and "detail of face," and

these are the holonyms: "Pontormo;" "Jacopo Carucci;" "(1494-1557);" "1541-1544;" and

"Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC" (Fig. 5.3).

Everyone must dress well according to his status and age, because if he does otherwise it seems that he disdains other people. For this reason the people of Padua used to take offence when a Venetian gentleman would go about their city in a plain overcoat as if he thought he was in the country. Not only should clothing be of fine material, but a man must also try to adapt himself as much as he can to the sartorial style of other citizens, and let custom guide him, even though it may seem to him to be less comfortable and attractive than previous fashions. If everyone in your town wears his hair short, you should not wear it long; and where other citizens wear a beard, you should not be clean shaven [o, dove gli altri cittadini siano con la barba, tagliarlati tu], for this is a way of contradicting others, and such contradictions, in your dealings with others, should be avoided unless they are necessary, as I will tell you later. This, more than any bad habit, renders us despicable to most other persons.[23]
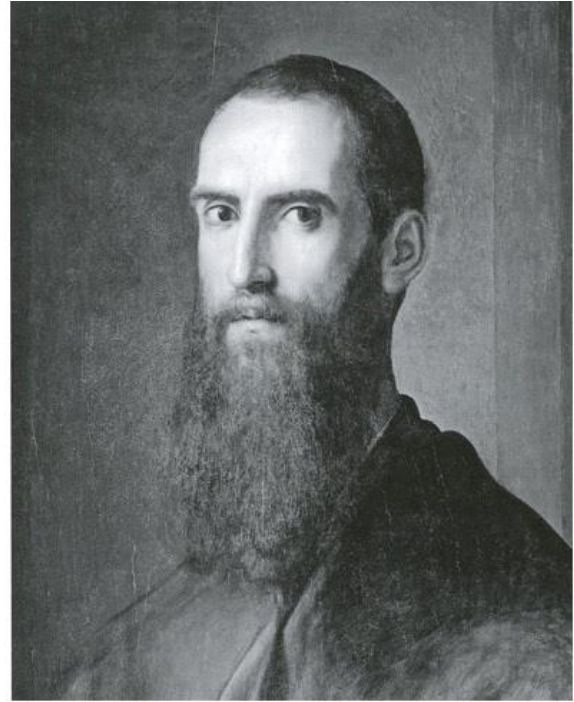
FIGURE 44. Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci, 1494–1557), *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa*, 1541–1544. Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Art. Detail of face.

Fig. 5.3 Paragraph 3 (p. 193) and Pontormo's *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa*, Biow's "Facing."

Like Castiglione, della Casa extols conformity. In this quotation, for example, della Casa

recommends that "[i]f everyone in your town wears his hair short, you should not wear it long;

and where other citizens wear a beard, you should not be clean shaven, for this is a way of

contradicting others [...]."[277] We have highlighted "hair" and "beard" in blue, as terms that have semantic similarity with details in the portrait. The intersection of della Casa's words and image draws attention to his own short hair and long beard, which - if anyone accepted his recommendation - reflect what men in his surrounding used to wear, when Pontormo painted the portrait.[278] But even if men in 1540s Florence did not wear short hair and long beards, the portrait demonstrates self-control; the conspicuous gap between the length of della Casa's head-hair and facial-hair cannot but be explained by first, a decision to look this way and second, the execution of that decision.

But the impression that della Casa was self-controlled is not evoked by his self-fashioning and Pontormo's work only; the decision of the makers of *Importance* to display della Casa's face and shoulders, while cropping out della Casa's body and the room in which he stands, emphasizes della Casa's performance of power through his hair.[279] As mentioned above, Biow utilizes Castiglione's and della Casa's verbal and visual representations to support his historian's view on what he defines as "a sudden change in fashion." His assertion of the authority of the two writers on matters of fashion strengthens the persuasive virtue of his MFA. Lastly, della Casa ends this excerpt with the idea that "contradicting others" is "more than any bad habit, renders us despicable, to most other persons."[280] His certitude about the benefit of conformism, or rather about the danger of contradicting others, raises a question regarding the

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[277] Ibid., 193.
[278] According to the National Gallery of Art, the portrait depicts della Casa in his thirties, when he was Apostolic Commissioner of taxes in Florence. See "Pontormo."
[279] There is high resolution reproduction of the portrait in the National Gallery website, and an option to zoom in into the texture of the painting, see ibid.
[280] Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy*, 193.

identity of the figure whom we see in the portrait. Is it an "individual" or an amalgam of the men who surrounded della Casa at the time of painting this portrait? Do we see a "personal portrait," as Morris has termed it, or a "group portrait"? We have highlighted the term "I," in the quotation, in blue, as an implicit MFR, based on its semantic similarity with della Casa's painted figure. And we have highlighted "you" and "others" in orange, as indeterminate MFRs, since their semantic relatedness with the portrait is vague. The more one ponders the contrast between, on the one hand, della Casa's conformist message and, on the other, the self-awareness and self-control his look reflects - especially as rendered by Biow's book - the blurrier the difference between "I," "you" and "others" becomes.

The fourth and last quotation we analyze is the second quotation from *Galateo*; it is on page 194, facing page 195 on which della Casa's portrait is displayed. Let us hypothesize implicit and indeterminate MFRs, in the intersection of these two components. These are the terms we highlight as meronyms in blue: "custom;" "face;" "fashion;" "look;" "it;" "dress;" "style;" "taste;" "hair;" and "beard." This is the term we highlight as a holonym in red: "neighborhood." These are the terms we highlight as indeterminate MFRs in orange: "you;" "the only one;" "your;" "everyone else;" "everybody;" "those;" "their:" and "who." The highlighting in the caption stays the same.

In this excerpt too, della Casa expresses the significance of following the general fashion. Interestingly, the terms "hair" and "beard" are used here as well, but in a slightly different manner. This is what della Casa writes about contradicting others through the style of dress, hair and hats: "So it is also with those who do not dress according to the prevailing style but

according to their own taste; with beautiful long hair, or with a very short-cropped beard or a clean-shaven face […], or who wear caps, or great big hats in the German fashion."[281] Looking at della Casa's portrait, his concern with "beautiful long hair" and "short-cropped beard" makes sense; he wears exactly the opposite. Perhaps when the beard overwhelms the upper hair, as we see on della Casa's head, they create a more masculine look, which della Casa might have had promoted. His association between "big hats" and "German fashion" seems to echo Castiglione's linkage between adopting foreign fashion and being conquered by other countries. No big hat in della Casa's portrait (Fig. 5.4).

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[281] Ibid., 194.

You should not, therefore, oppose common custom in these practices, nor be the only one in your neighborhood to wear a long gown down to your feet while everyone else wears a short one, just past the belt. It is like having a very pug face, that is to say, something against the general fashion of nature, so that everybody turns to look at it. So it is also with those who do not dress according to the prevailing style but according to their own taste, with beautiful long hair, or with a very short-cropped beard or a clean-shaven face [*o che la barba hanno raccorciata o rasa*], or who wear caps, or great big hats in the German fashion.[25]
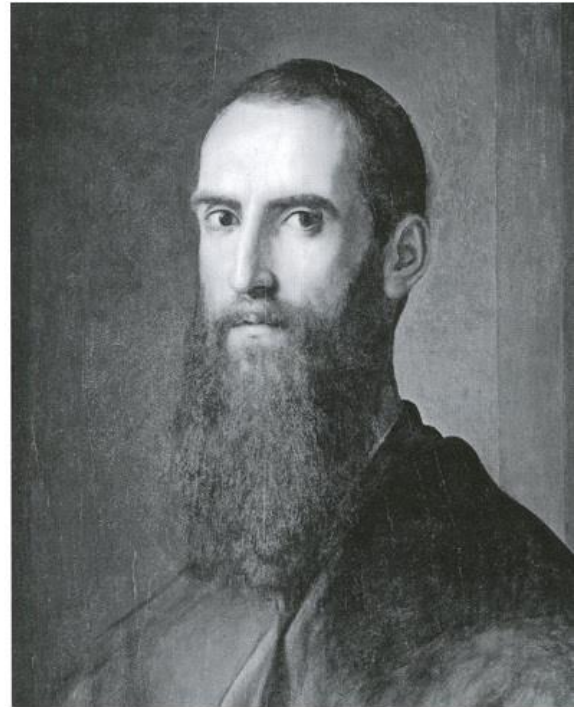
FIGURE 44. Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci, 1494–1557), *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa*, 1541–1544. Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Art. Detail of face.

Fig. 5.4 Paragraph 4 (p. 194) and Pontormo's *Portrait of Giovanni della Casa*, Biow's "Facing."

Between della Casa's first and second quotations, Biow introduces what, I believe to be the most intriguing part of the chapter. He argues that "[o]n the one hand, wearing a beard might show some general degree of conformity and could therefore be construed as a matter of selflessly deferring to the taste, judgement, habits, and general well-being and comfort of others, of a collectivity. On the other hand, wearing a certain *type* of beard also revealed, given the constraints within which one necessarily operated, something about the self, and it singled a discriminating claim that one personally and conspicuously asserted with respect to one's own

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particular identity, one's own individuality within collectivity."[282] Biow's impression that

sixteenth-century beards in Italy were shaped in different forms especially draws on

Castiglione's and della Casa's treatises and contemporary portraits. The issue is that none of the

four quotations that we have analyzed refers to a "personal beard;" in fact, both Renaissance

authors stress the importance of adhering to habits and style of local people, and even connect

codes of fashion to Italy's politics at the international level. Biow's attempt to see the dual-

meaning that beards could signify "softens" the overtly repressive mechanism Castiglione and

della Casa advocate through their words.[283] His interpretation of the ideal behavior - which the

two authors describe (or dictate), as "absence of selfishness," "worldliness," "appreciation of

others" and awareness and respect of different cultural spaces - seems to prepare the ground for

the variety of "personal beards" that we see in the many portraits displayed in "Facing."

However, this variety, that the visual component of Biow's MFA exposes us to, cannot be

explained by the unity that Castiglione and della Casa call for, when it comes to which kind of

beard to grow.

Might primary verbal and visual sources from the same time and place convey different

information? If so, would the diversity among that information result from the nature of the

sources, or from the recorded reality, which - like any reality - inclines to shape itself according

to recording tools and methods? And finally, could we hold that both, reality and media, develop

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[282] Ibid., 193.
[283] Foucault argues that since the Classic age and especially after the seventeenth century, the human body is perceived as an "object and target of power." Describing mechanisms of domination and subjection through disciplining the body, he shows how "political awareness of details" serves those in power to manipulate the body's elements, gestures and behaviors. See "Docile bodies." It seems that Foucault's framework explains well Castiglione's and della Casa's approach to beards and fashion.

in tandem and influence each other reciprocally? It makes sense that we see diversity, and even

contradictions, in ideas that were recorded in the sixteenth century, because they were shaped to

be transmitted through a certain medium, and media have their own taste and preferences. For

example, if we look at modern and contemporary media (and we will return to the sixteenth

century), we see how people who are close to recording and disseminating technologies, fashion

themselves according to the capacities of those technologies. We see pop stars coloring their hair

(and beards) after the invention of the color TV; athletes drawing the flags of their nations on

their nails or tattooing varied messages on their skin after the invention of video cameras that can

radically zoom in, and of HDTV (high-definition television). By the same token, we could argue

that book makers would not have experimented with reproductions of sixteenth-century

paintings, in illustrated historiography, without feeling comfortable using Photoshop; and that

PhD candidates would not have highlighted MFRs - in the same illustrated historiography -

without feeling comfortable using Power-Point.

If we consider changing the cause and effect relation from "events happen, and media

record and disseminate them as such" to "media and events develop side by side," we can

approach sixteenth century literature and portraiture as reflections of reality with, at least, three

dimensions, full of life and complex processes; some of them are noticeable and under control,

some are not completely or not at all. Both Martin and Biow look at portraits as if they start to

exist once they are "ready." This stance allows the two historians to disregard the influence

artistic technique might have had on the ideas and aesthetic the portraits convey. Artistic

technique, as we have discussed in the technical analysis, brings the cultural and social

surrounding of the artwork into the historical discourse and our consciousness; it gives artists and

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their assistants, models, art-merchants, and patrons a place to work together; in fact, not only with one another, but also with materials, their senses and their bodies.

Biow defines and explains the historical phenomenon he examines by categories of place and body. He is very clear about his focus on male bodies of the sixteenth-century Italian elite; it sets expectations for his study. At the core of his MFA, he turns to Castiglione's and della Casa's written ideas and visual representations, claiming that contemporaries styled their beards to signify their collectivity and individuality at the same time. I wonder if, epistemologically, this MFA would have been more convincing had it displayed portraits of bearded men from the same geography. Comparing and contrasting those beards could have illuminated - to a certain extent - how far Castiglione's and della Casa's promotion of conformism persuaded contemporaries. It could have also shown if Biow's understanding of beards as a means to perform singularity makes sense for the bearded men from that geography. "Facing" provides its readers with multiple images of varied beards; I would suggest that if there was a sudden change in fashion in sixteenth-century Italy, where men found that it would be better to wear a beard, and a beard of a certain kind, it resulted from a change in media too. Furthermore, I would venture that Biow's MFA, like any other MFA, reflects the media and technology that surrounded Biow when he created his MFA, no less than Biow's insights into the past.

Without information about artistic technique in captions (close to the image), readers are not encouraged to think beyond the image that the book or the MFA supplies. For instance, information such as "oil on canvas" under Castiglione's portrait and "oil on panel" under della

Casa's portrait could have ignited some thoughts about depicting human figures by using oil painting. Such thoughts could have inspired deeper questions about the relation between media and message in sixteenth-century Italy. More specifically, it could have been taken into consideration that painters at the time could exhibit their talent through painting hair and other textures because the media let them. With such information, we could have even pondered the similarity between brushes and beards, and asked if sixteenth-century painters knew which kind of brush to use when they painted a certain style of beard. Back to freedom; constructing an MFA is to bring together different semiotic systems, to create and communicate knowledge. If we allow semiotic diversity to benefit our epistemology, let us welcome additional forms of hybridity, whether they are cultural products made in collaboration, or portraits of authors that echo their texts, or authors' haircuts and beards that echo their portraits.

Being Effective: Epilogue

Can we have a better, more effective illustrated historiography? Can we construct and communicate historical arguments that combine verbal and visual means, considering clear nomenclature, conventions and standards? Can we develop an analytical and critical discourse about verbal-visual or "multiform" arguments and knowledge?

This study has offered a new analytical approach to historiography that combines words and images, emphasizing its semiotic hybridity and the diverse forms this hybridity can - and, ultimately, must - take. The new framework provides new terminology to describe textual multiformity and its nuances. Arguments composed of words and images or that have "verbal" and "visual components" are "multiform arguments." The mechanisms that maintain MFAs' cohesiveness and coherence are "multiform references;" as rhetorical devices they can be classified into types. "Explicit MFRs" shift readers' attention from words to images explicitly, mostly by using a well-known convention. "Implicit MFRs" - which, at this point, we can only hypothesize - shift readers' attention using not conspicuous conventions, but rather semantic relatedness based on similarity or meronym-holonym association, as well as on the visibility of the MFA's verbal and visual components (that has not been examined in this study and will be addressed again shortly, in this "Epilogue"). And, finally, there are "indeterminate MFRs" - which, too, we can only hypothesize - a mechanism that seems to shift readers' attention by using a certain semantic relatedness between the MFA's verbal and visual components, but this relatedness is, alas, hard to define; like explicit and implicit MFRs, they combine the semantics and visibility of the MFA's components. This study has also offered the concepts "referring" and

"referred poles" of MFRs, to signify the places from and to which MFRs shift readers' attention across the MFAs, implementing "pulling" and "pushing forces." The concept "middle pole" has been offered to describe footnotes that take part in explicit MFRs that start in the main text and end in the caption and image. In fact, "middle pole" can be useful to describe a "stop" within any kind of MFR that progresses in stages. Additionally, the concepts "referring sentence," "preparing sentence" and "neighboring terms" have been offered, to describe local - syntactic and grammatical structures - within which MFRs (and their poles) function. And finally, we have conceptualized a kind of reading that "zooms out" from referring poles of explicit MFRs; this reading can also zoom out from clusters of referring or referred poles of explicit and implicit MFRs, including from the caption and the image (which are poles too). Zooming out can be implemented as a complementary device to "conventional reading."

The five MFAs that we have analyzed here belong to the same discourse; although different in many ways, and sometimes contentious in relation to each other (with varied degrees of explicitness), they all share an historicizing outlook on the self. Some of these studies also conceptualize the self, either as a byproduct of the historicizing process or as an argumentative move that allows the questions about the history of the self to focus on a certain structure that is identified as the "self." The first MFA that we analyzed here is from Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, written in 1860, and illustrated by Jahn in the late 1920s. Analyzing the chapter "The Perfecting of the Individual" was an opportunity to raise questions on how illustration of a text that was not written as an illustrated one may influence its meaning. In other words, we looked at the possible effects of transforming the chapter's original argument into an MFA. Our analysis focused on Burckhardt's use of Alberti as an example of the new kind

of man, *l'uomo universale*, who, according to Burckhardt, was "born" in the Italian Renaissance. We focused on Alberti since Jahn planted Alberti's self-portrait in the midst of Burckhardt's description of Alberti; this allowed us to think about how each of the three - Alberti, Burckhardt and Jahn - created an "image" of the Renaissance and the modern era, each building on the work that has been (or will be) done by the other two.

The color coding of semantic relatedness between the MFA's verbal and visual components has revealed the importance of the terminology used in the titles of artworks and captions of illustrations, and of the information the latter convey. The importance of these aspects would be seen again in the analyses of the other four MFAs, including the physical relation between the captions and the reproductions, and the overall layout of the illustrated page. The color coding of "Perfecting" has also shown the physical distance between "Alberti" - in his verbal and visual representations - and the groups that he represents across the MFA. This physical distance demonstrates how the makers of the illustrated *Civilization* have used MFRs and MFG, more generally, to maintain the cohesiveness and coherence of the MFA in "Perfecting," taking into account the presence of two semiotic systems in the same field of vision.

The analysis then explored four MFAs that were illustrated by their authors, the first two of whom argue that pre-modern individualism developed in Western Europe, prior the Italian Renaissance. The first MFA is from the chapter "From Epic to Romance," in Southern's *Making of the Middle Ages* (1965). Its analysis has shown how Southern juxtaposes theological reflections written by Anselm and Bernard with English and Danish figures of Christ on the

Cross, to claim broad changes in the intellectual and emotional culture of France and England during the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries. According to Southern, these changes, namely, the development of tender compassion for Christ's suffering, pain and humanity, indicate dynamism in contemporaries' perception of their own and others' individuality. Additionally, Southern claims, these developments indicate harmony between contemporaries' intellectual and emotional aspects; this was, he says, a pinnacle that declined during the following period, when the tender compassion expanded into other countries in Europe. The analysis of "Epic" raised our awareness of topics in MFAs that might concentrate on metaphysical and mystical transformations. Topics such as these are reflected in the semantics of the MFA and ultimately influence the attempt to hypothesize MFRs between the MFA's verbal and visual components. The analysis has also shown that explicit MFRs, conventional as they may be, can vary in their forms. Finally, we saw how the body of the book, in *Making* (as in other books), is part and parcel of the rhetoric and epistemology of the MFA.

The second of the two "medieval" MFAs is from Morris's "The Search for the Self," in *The Discovery of the Individual* (1987), a book that supports Southern's periodization of pre-modern individualism but emphasizes other signs of its emergence during the Middle Ages. Morris's focus is mainly on "personal" representations in verbal and visual sources that express contemporaries' interest in the singularity and specificity of individuals. According to Morris, this is a shift in the vision of the self - both as a subject who sees and an object that is seen - into what he defines as "naturalism." However, through our hypothesis of implicit MFRs we saw that Morris himself hesitates regarding the adequacy of the conceptual framework with which he approaches the four artworks he uses in his MFA. His explanation of his doubt points out the

scarcity of sources and the possibility that his (or our) modern perspective on the sources might impose meanings that were not originally there. Morris's solution to the problem of such anachronism is the historicization of the terms "*pictura*" and "*imago*," to explain how contemporaries could or could have not seen. This epistemological move that places verbal and visual sources (or signs) on the same axis of time, and makes the verbal sign the cause of the visual one was practiced by Martin as well, regarding the question whether Lotto could have painted Carpan's *sincerità*. As for our task to define the space of the analysis, both "Epic" and "Search" required us to find ways to confine the body of the MFA rather than define it as the body of the entire chapter. Identifying the body of the MFA in both "Epic" and "Search" drew our attention to the chapters' subdivisions according to themes, and to the historians' utilization of the transition between the themes as a rhetorical device, to prime the readers to accept the upcoming images as "visual evidence."

After analyzing Southern's and Morris's MFAs that argue that the rise of pre-modern individualism took place in Western Europe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we analyzed two MFAs that focus on the experience and notion of the individual in sixteenth-century Italy. Our study of Martin's and Biow's historiographical approaches and MFAs shows that in the illustrated discourse - written in the United States (rather than Switzerland or England) in the early twenty-first century (rather than in the late nineteenth- and mid-twentieth centuries) - the question of where and when the "modern individual" was "born" is less urgent; in fact, the legitimacy of that question as a historical inquiry is challenged by both Martin and Biow, who liken it to genealogy and mythical work. Martin and Biow, instead, focus on the experience and

meaning of being an "individual" in varied contexts and circumstances, turning to "contemporaries' terms."

In "The Inquisitors' Questions," in *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (2004), Martin presents his model of a relational self, which encompasses five overlapping modalities of selves or identities through which contemporaries processed the dynamic relation between their internal and external worlds. Our analysis attempted to draw connections between the term "Bartolomeo Carpan," as used in six paragraphs in "Questions," and the reproduction of Carpan's portrait, also displayed and interpreted in "Questions." The positioning of the six paragraphs from "Questions" next to Carpan's portrait, the use of color coding and marking of details in the image that correspond with terms in the paragraphs allowed us to understand better how Martin uses verbal and visual sources and means to support his model of the self. We especially saw Martin's challenge to ascribe this model to more than one self at a time, and his ascription to verbal signs of a "moving force" in history, while regarding visual signs as its effect. This approach to the relational self and this perception of word and image relation in history seem to me complementary, since offering a historiographical paradigm that holds no hierarchy between human subjects, and no hierarchy between sources, can be - as it should be - perplexing. We will return to this point, before we will address the question about the visibility of MFAs.

The last MFA that we analyzed is from Biow's "Facing the Day: Reflections on a Sudden Change in Fashion and the Magisterial Beard," in *Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy* (2015). There, Biow argues that growing beards in sixteenth-century Italy, especially among elite men, signaled collective identities and individualism at the same time. His

juxtaposition of the portrait of Castiglione by Raphael and the portrait of della Casa by Pontormo, on the one hand, with *The Courtier* and *Galateo*, on the other, serves for him as evidence for the dual message beards conveyed (although Biow, like Morris, is cautious regarding how purely valid his argument is). At any rate, Biow's strategy of juxtaposing the portraits of the authors, i.e., their "look," with quotations from their books, i.e., their "voice," allows him to stake a claim for individuality reflected in their "look" and for collectivity reflected in their "voice," while maintaining the authors' identities, their authority on fashion, and the topic "beards" as invariables.

The analysis of Biow's MFA was an opportunity for us to develop the analytical method further; we have positioned the quotations and the portraits side by side, while cropping Biow's text - that surrounds them - out of the analytical demonstration. At the same time, we have followed the same analytical principles that we have used in the preceding analyses, when implementing color coding onto varied kinds of semantic relatedness. The physical vicinity of the quotations and the portraits allowed us to pay attention to the rhetoric used in *The Courtier* and *Galateo* and compare them with the way the two authors present themselves in their portraits. Ultimately, this analytical method enabled us to raise questions about the connection between media that record and disseminate information on the one hand and the content of that information on the other. More specifically, we asked whether we can flip the cause and effect relation between media and reality (i.e., "the information"), letting reality shape itself according to the availability of tools that record and disseminate its representations, instead of assuming that reality happens, and media record it and disseminate its representations simply and transparently. We also suggested that one might see media and events developing in tandem.

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Finally, the analyses of Martin's and Biow's MFAs pointed out a tendency among cultural historians to ignore artistic techniques as a factor in history. If we accept the idea that media are a cause in reality (rather than merely a transparent tool, mediator or effect), then the media's technicalities - and their own history and practitioners - should be taken into account as well.

The new terminology that this study offers is based on the analysis of the five MFAs mentioned above, which examined their creation of historical notions about the historical self in their readers' minds by using verbal and visual sources and means of presentation. The imposition of colour coding onto the semantic and spatial aspects of those five MFAs helped us realize that the continuity of the illustrated discourse about pre-modern individualism is not merely verbal but multiform as well. The multiformity that crosses all five MFAs fuses images of people's faces with words that name people; it does so by utilizing captions, the space of the illustrated page and the body of the book. This multiform continuity begins with Jahn's planting of an image of Alberti's face (in profile) in the center of Burckhardt's verbal description of Alberti, while the caption indicates that this image is, allegedly, Alberti. This semantic and physical constellation of verbal and visual signs creates the impression that the word "Alberti" and the image "Alberti" signify the same historical phenomenon that is an "individual."

This multiformity also continues in *Making*; however, it is based on a different verbal-visual code, since the historical phenomenon that "Epic" explores is contemporaries' approach to a metaphysical transformation, which requires a different solution for its representation. According to Southern, contemporary changes in the perception of God's becoming man reflect the medieval discovery of the self. The positioning of the Danish crucifixes "face to face" on a

double spread - when the earlier, "divine" representation is on the left and the later, "human"

representation is on the right - echoes Southern's reading of medieval writings about God's

metamorphosis into Christ or Jesus. The echo is manifested not only in Southern's finding of

similarities between Medieval writings and Medieval art, but also in the way both verbal and

visual representations in "Epic" are conveyed to the readers of the chapter: both verbal and

visual representations carry the same message while they are arranged from left to right. Instead

of a entitling an image of a face "God," and entitling an image of a face "Christ" - thus fusing

images of faces with names and allowing a comparison between the two multiform

representations - "Epic" offers a double spread that becomes "more human," if the readers

continue their "reading" (with and of Southern). Moreover, the double spread presents the human

side of the spectrum by showing a detail of the Tristrup Crucifix, cropping out the Cross, and

keeping Christ's face in the picture. Without the Cross the illustration makes it easier for of the

readers of "Epic" to identify with the image; this rhetorical device re-implements the code that

Southern identifies in the Middle Ages: discovering the self through compassion for Christ. In

this sense, when the readers of "Epic" observe the representation of Jesus, they use the same

mechanism that decodes Alberti's portrait in "Perfecting," but without the caption's help.

Morris's distinction between "portrait" and "personal portrait" is mainly based on images

of faces and names of the contemporaries who are represented in those images. He uses names

such as "Rudolf," "Geoffrey" and "Frederick," in the main text and captions - and one should

add, list of illustrations and index - to claim a contemporary interest in the individual. His use of

contemporaries' names that were attributed to people, and quite pragmatically to visual

representations as well, allows him to identify the "personal" aspect in the verbal-visual culture

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of the Middle Ages. Martin merges a name and an image of a face into a historical phenomenon, that is to say, "Carpan." He does so right at the beginning of "Questions," since the title of the portrait does not do this (under the image). Martin's interpretation of the social and psychological contexts represented in the portrait is modeled after the inquisitorial records from Carpan's trial. There, the notary matches Carpan's name with his physical description, creating - for the Inquisition - the historical phenomenon: "Carpan." Martin's turn to the inquisitorial records makes them a standard for what "an individual" may be in "Questions." The inquisitorial records shape "Carpan" at the representational level, to enable the Inquisition to identify and track this historical phenomenon over time and in different spaces. The records also contextualize "Carpan" to enable the identification and examination of other historical phenomena or "individuals" through "Carpan."

Finally, Biow utilizes existing combinations of names and images of faces, that are embedded in the spaces between the portraits of Castiglione and della Casa and the titles of those portraits, to expand our notion of individualism in sixteenth-century Italy. He expands this notion by interpreting written texts that bear the same names that are associated with the images of the faces. Moving from this verbal-visual hybridity, that signals individuality, to ideas that Castiglione and della Casa expressed verbally in their books - and that promote conformism - allows Biow to point out the dualistic nature of the contemporary growth of beards; its signification of individualism and collectivism at the same time. Therefore, multiform continuity crosses all five MFAs in the illustrated discourse on individualism in pre-modern Europe. This continuity is the hybridity created by merging images of people's faces with words that name people, while utilizing the physical features of the book. Nonetheless, historians' awareness of

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the problematic of the self historicizing the self has not yet developed through multiform argumentation; the practices involved in such argumentation seem to be taken for granted, as if they are not a product of the historicizing self.

The use of color coding also pointed out an assumption which Southern, Morris, Martin and Biow hold about word and image relation in the era that they explore, and about word and image relation as a means to communicate their understandings of that era to their readers, in their books (we exclude Burckhardt and Jahn from this part of the discussion). According to this assumption of theirs, if verbal and visual media indicate the same phenomenon, the chances that this phenomenon truly existed are higher than if a phenomenon is indicated by either verbal or visual media alone. This assumption can be articulated differently: if we - authors and readers - identify verbal and visual media that seem to indicate the same phenomenon, we tend to accept the existence of that phenomenon more easily. It seems that historians work with this assumption to argue for a cause and effect relation in the past. According to this framework, the cause will be a broad, abstract and intangible phenomenon (such as thoughts and feelings), and the effect a verbal and visual cultural product (such as Crucifixes, tomb-slabs, inquisitorial records and beards) that manifests this broad phenomenon. Thus, if historians succeed in showing cultural products of verbal and visual sorts, to point out a broad phenomenon, this broad phenomenon truly existed, the main assumption implies, because the phenomenon's existence was so real and fundamental that it could overcome media differences, and manifest in varied forms and materials, activating people with diverse mind sets.

If we agree that historians work with this assumption, and that its expression is mostly found in MFAs (since they are composed of words and images), then we - authors and readers - might benefit from having critical tools to approach multiform argumentation. Critical tools will not only clarify how historical knowledge is created and communicated by using words and images, but also show how our cognition is inclined to accept certain forms of expression as persuasively truthful. One example of what a critical approach to multiform argumentation can yield is the identification of another assumption, a byproduct of the assumption discussed above. This second assumption holds that - in history - words function as causes of images more than the other way around. It implies that words can stand between broad phenomena and images, that only seem to result from those broad phenomena but actually result from the use of words. This assumption also implies that although it could be helpful to argue that a certain broad phenomenon existed in the past and support it by both verbal and visual evidence, in fact, the verbal evidence validates the existence of that phenomenon more effectively than does visual or other non-verbal evidence. It follows that once the cause and effect relation between the broad phenomenon and the verbal evidence has been realized, the verbal evidence can explain - fully or partially - the visual data, instead of the broad phenomenon itself.

The assumption that, in history, words function as causes of images more than the other way around also implies that in some cases, there might seem to be no need to investigate the visual sources, prior to their becoming "evidence," with the same effort and seriousness with which the verbal sources are investigated. Thus, the first assumption (it is beneficial to work with both verbal and visual sources) and the second assumption (verbal evidence causes visual evidence and not the other way around) contradict each other. The first assumption pushes

historians to use both verbal and visual sources in their work, while the second pushes them to focus on the verbal evidence. However, any neglect of the visual sources or evidence weakens the ability to validate broad phenomena. These two assumptions are about the causality implicit in the word and image relation; while, I think, they characterize the discourse on pre-modern individualism, and establish its methodological and epistemological continuity, I wonder how much the historians whose work we have analyzed here are conscious of them.

Historians' acceptance of hierarchy among varied sources, with an eye to their ability to validate broad phenomena, indicates the historians' own preference to explore the past through a certain kind of sources or media. On the surface, this preference is fine. But if we go deeper, that is, if we look around, we realize that the world we live in is equally verbal and visual; words and images accompany our consciousness everywhere we go. Here I include other kinds of signs and media that are not "verbal" or "visual" and remind us that "verbal" can be "visual" and vice versa and I exclude meditation and other spiritual states of mind from this axiom. The preference to approach the past from a specific prism, not a prism that transmits and refracts a particular phenomenon, but one that privileges a certain kind of source over others because of the attribution of vigor of validation to the first kind - while multiple sorts of sources can serve the same purpose - is inevitably a reflection of an ideology and of power relations. Conversely, a historiographical paradigm that strives to explore the past by all available means, while holding that those means have an equal vigor of validation, is based on the core belief that the past is created by everything and everyone, all the time; literally, everything and everyone (all the time). Furthermore, this paradigm reflects the conviction that the past belongs equally to everyone; regardless of training, tradition, occupation, skills and any other identity they can be perceived

through, including the era from which they seem to become engaged with the past, and the era with which they identify. They (everyone), according to this paradigm, influence the past whether they are from the "past," "present" or "future."

A historiographical paradigm that holds no hierarchy between sources and no hierarchy between human subjects is, indeed, perplexing. It requires us (authors and readers) to set a principle that will put order into the way we create, communicate and consume historical knowledge. A possible direction is to consider visual attention as a mechanism that shifts between different stimuli, samples data and allows "higher" cognitive mechanisms to integrate them into a unified meaning. According to this approach, makers of illustrated historiography can utilize the way visual attention functions to coordinate both the semantics and visibility of the MFAs' verbal and visual components. They can design MFAs in a way that will enable the readers to explore the past (its hybrid representation) the way they interact with reality. It means that makers of MFAs harness humans' inclination to integrate the objects, events and messages that they perceive in physical and temporal vicinity, into sequences and to ascribe sense to those sequences. This approach to representing the past can manipulate readers' senses and, ultimately, their cognition within the spacetime of MFAs; yet, this approach must activate the elements of freedom, creativity and play among the varied things that surround us in reality and also among the MFAs' verbal and visual components. Freedom, creativity and play are what we, along with the makers of the MFAs, bring into those sequences: our experiences, tasks and even personalities. There are and can be no clear expectations for how reality and MFAs should be perceived and understood; there is no "right" or "wrong," "correct" or "incorrect" path between different pieces of reality and between different semiotic systems that are integrated into

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sequences; instead, there are more or less "effective" sequences, when we know what we want to achieve.
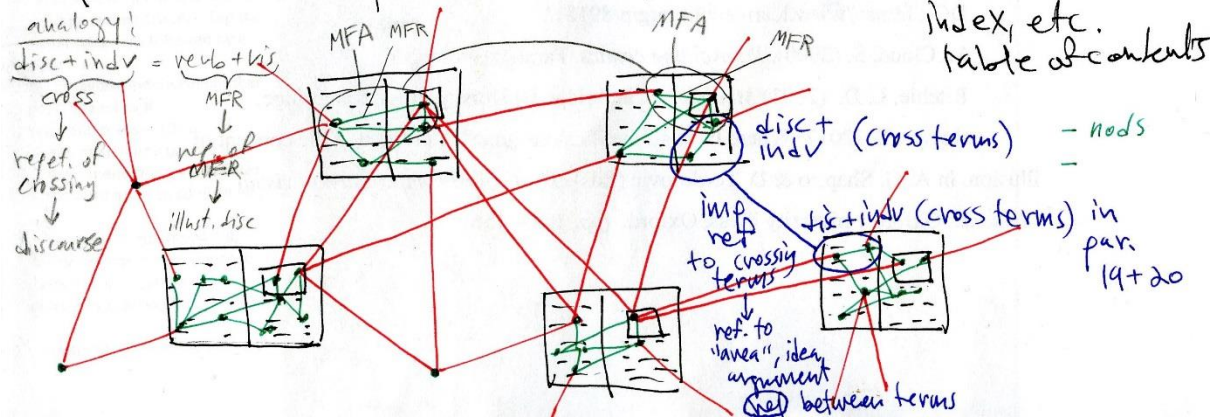
Fig. 6.1 Noa Yaari, *Being Effective* (detail), 2018. Ink and pencil on paper, 28 x 21 cm. Artist's Collection, Toronto.

The suggestion that the use of MFAs or hybrid epistemology, more generally, can be done "effectively," indeed, implies that there is a telos, an a-priori goal that is known to the makers of MFAs, according to which the MFAs are ought to be constructed. Consequently, the quality of MFAs can be assessed according to their effectiveness; their success in reaching expected results. What could those results be? And how could they be assessed? A possible result might be to create a certain impact on the readers' long-term memory. This impact could

be assessed by conducting experiments in which the researchers track readers' eye movements while they read MFAs, and then test by different methods the readers' comprehension and retention of the MFAs for the short and long terms. If the study shows that there is correlation between the readers' eye movements and their comprehension and retention of the MFAs, for the long term, we can conclude that there are different degrees of effectiveness to consume MFAs. It further implies that MFAs can be constructed in different degrees of effectiveness; the makers of the MFAs can design them in such a way that their consumption by the readers will predict the readers' scores in tests of comprehension and retention of the MFAs for the long term. Put differently, MFAs can be more or less compelling, convincing and easy to retain, like any other kind of arguments.

Another result that makers of MFAs might desire is a high number of references to the MFAs from other publications. In this case, the effectiveness of the MFAs is identified with the number of their citations. The assessment of that result could be done through the implementation of bibliometric data. The problem is that currently bibliometric methods do not track citations of MFAs, or arguments for that matter, but trace published texts in the form of articles or books. Moreover, had we had a method that tracked citations of specific arguments, in order to implement it on MFAs, this method would have to decode hybrid utterances. A brief search on Google shows that, in fact, there are no bibliometric data on citations of artworks or illustrations within discourses, let alone of multiform utterances. This only means that in order to be "effective" in academia or the publishing industry, one has to produce verbal texts that - because they are verbal - can take part in the statistic matrix. The fact that the matrix of "success" in academia is solely verbal strengthens the identification of words as causes in

history, rather than the identification of all kinds of signs and media as such. In academia, what makes one "effective" and "successful" is the echo their words produce; why should one think that it did not work this way in the past?

Throughout this study, I addressed the visibility of the five analyzed MFAs, and the bodies of their books, as features that can be explored, and thus utilized, if we track readers' eye movements, while they consume those MFAs. Readers' cognitive processes during their consumption of MFAs can be studied by integrating additional neuroscientific methods, such as imaging of brain activity (fMRI) and recording of brain electrical activity (EEG). These methods can indicate which areas in the brain are activated during processing the MFAs' verbal and visual components. These methods can be also implemented while readers' apprehension and comprehension of the MFAs are examined. Obviously, such research requires a team of experts who can design the varied examinations and integrate the varied inputs of those examinations into a valuable conclusion (as readers do when they consume MFAs). In the present, there are numerous neuroscientific laboratories, programs and equipment in universities around the world. These resources, along with the expertise of scholars in the field, could be used to raise students' and faculty's awareness of how we see what we read and observe, and how the conditions of that vision influence our creation and communication of knowledge. The same awareness can be cultivated regarding the use of multiform surrounding in classrooms and lecture halls. Research on students' eye movements in the classroom is currently done; however, without using concepts such as MFAs, MFRs and MFG.

Another educational movement that is relevant to the conceptual framework that this study offers is Universal Design for Learning (UDL), which addresses the diversity among learners and their varied talents. The main goal of UDL is to allow all learners (that is, everyone) to maximize their potential while processing new materials in learning environments. To that end, UDL looks for ways to eliminate unnecessary limitations and barriers that stop learners from maximizing their potential. One of the solutions UDL suggests is to use varied approaches to materials about the learned subject, so that as many learners as possible will be able to access this subject, and flourish. Using the concepts MFAs, MFRs and MFG can contribute to the analysis and improvement of spaces in which learners meet, as well as the materials they use.[284] Finally, the development of digital tools in the Humanities, Arts and Sciences can benefit from the rhetorical and epistemological nuances, and the neurocognitive direction that this study offers, as those tools often combine data of varied sorts and attempt to make their use easy for the researchers. I envision the establishment of The Multiform Grammar Lab which will align with those directions, continuing the exploration of verbal-visual hybridity and its numerous applications.

Have I studied myself under the disguise of studying verbal-visual representations? Of course I have. Since I started to work on this study, I have come to see myself more and more as a reflection of an MFA, and MFAs as reflections of selves. Several weeks ago, I went to a store of an internet provider to replace my modem. Consequently, I was required to show a

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[284] On December 5th, 2018, I will be giving a talk and workshop entitled "Multiform Grammar: From Illustrated Historiography to the Classroom," in the Teaching in Focus Conference at York University. This talk will integrate ideas and activities from UDL and the multiform framework, concentrating on student engagement.

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government-issued ID that proves that I am who I claim to be. I do not have a Canadian ID, only an Israeli driver's license, which the representative did not accept, and an Israeli passport, which I did not bring to the store. What we were discussing there (I got the modem) is my identity which, from the representative's point of view, has a name and face; verbal and visual components. But this identity, now I know, is not totally mine, I do not own it without a state approving it as "Noa Yaari." The means that the state uses is an MFA that combines two words and an image of my face on a piece of paper, and a signature of the state that authorizes the correctness and, no doubt, effectiveness of this MFA. Peter Burke writes that sociologist Norbert Elias explained the consolidation of the self in the early modern era by the contemporary consolidation of the centralized state.[285] Are these two kinds of consolidations the ability to combine different semiotic systems into unified meanings? Is illustrated historiography of pre-modern individualism the story and continuity of these consolidations? If so, then we - authors and readers - ought to enjoy the multiform game we all take part in, whether we direct our attention to the past, present or future; whether we do so as collectives or individuals.

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[285] Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," 19.

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