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PAPERS IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN STUDIES
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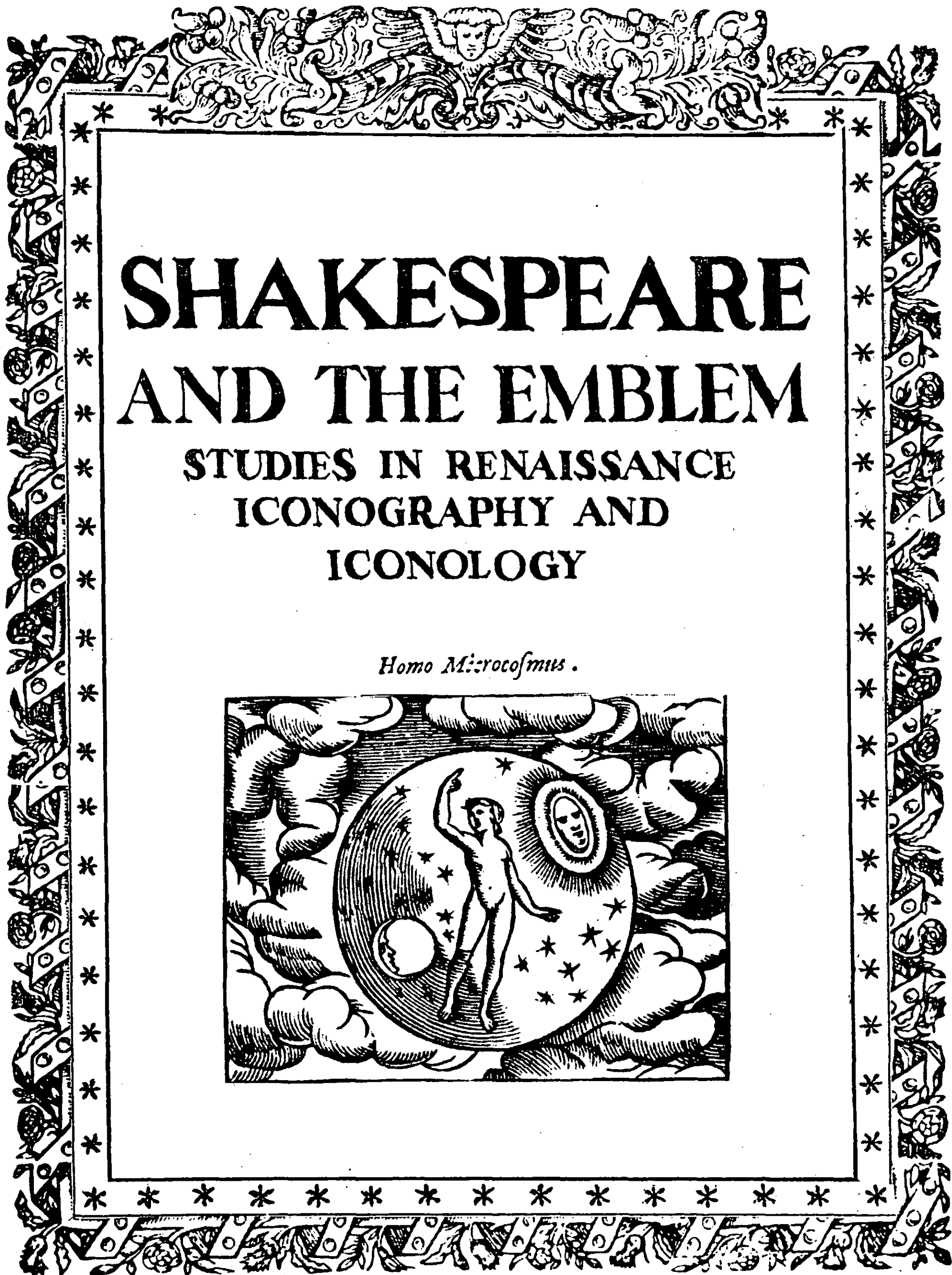

SZEGED 1984

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS SZEGEDIENSIS DE ATTILA JÓZSEF NOMINATAE

P A P E R S

IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN STUDIES

Vol. III.

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STUDIES IN RENAISSANCE

ICONOGRAPHY AND

ICONOLOGY

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1984

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P R E F A C E

This volume marks a change in editorial policy: instead of representing the current and rather diverse research in English and American studies by the Department, it offers papers devoted to one major topic in the field of Shakespeare studies.

The papers are the fruits of a two year project, which was partly launched by a deeply felt need to stimulate Shakespeare studies in Hungary. The team working on the project included both teachers and students of the Department and welcomed among its members people from other departments and universities.

The project adopted a methodological approach based on recent developments achieved mainly in the 1970s, which helped to take a fresh look at Shakespeare's dramas. It also explains the fact that this volume is rather an interim report on work in progress than a summary of a completed research.

Special thanks are due here to Professors Clifford Davidson of Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo and Peter M. Daly of McGill University, Montreal who encouraged the team by taking an active interest in the research and providing a constant supply of material. Thanks are also due to Attila József University, Szeged, without whose generous funding the project could not have taken off.

Szeged
March 1984

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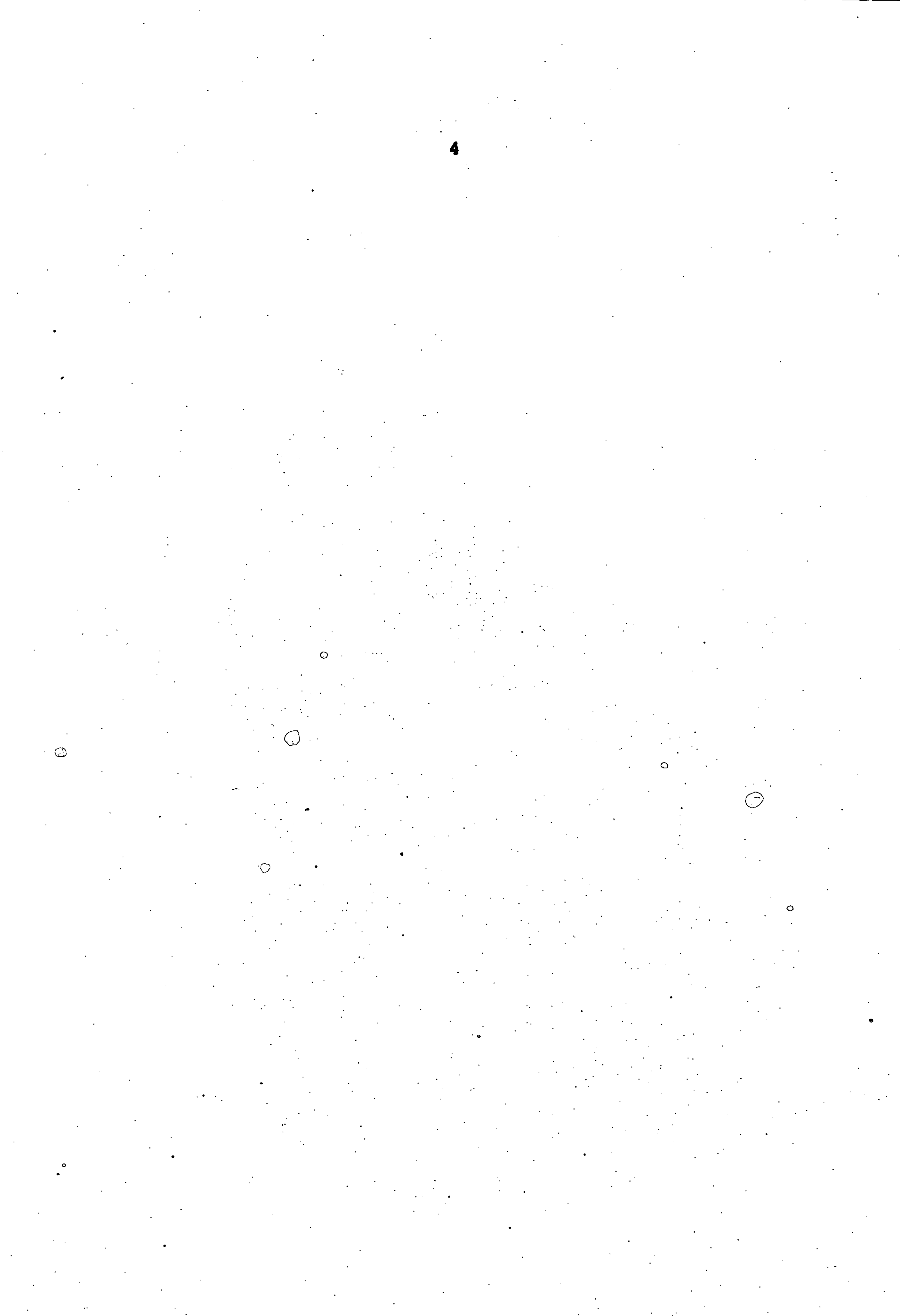

M E T H O D O L O G Y

Tibor Fabiny

LITERATURE AND EMBLEMS
NEW ASPECTS IN SHAKESPEARE-STUDIES

> "the emblem is the last attempt to grasp spiritually the world in its totality in an exegetical manner"
>
> (*Jöns*)[1]

This introductory paper will cover the following topics:

0. Preliminary Notes on the Project
1. Language - and Imagery
2. Picture - and Iconology
3. Meaning - and Hermeneutics

0. *Preliminary Notes on the Project*

The purpose of the present paper is, on the one hand, to provide an informative introduction to an undeservedly neglected chapter of Renaissance Literature in English Studies pursued in Hungary and on the other hand, to outline a possible theoretical frame of reference of emblem-research.

This volume is the outcome of a project carried on at the English Department of the University of Szeged: *"Shakespeare's Imagery and Contemporary Emblem-Books. An Iconographical-Iconological Approach"*. This approach is mainly, but not exclusively, derived from studying Shakespeare's imagery (C. Spurgeon, W. Clemen, G.W. Knight, K. Muir etc). Roland Mushat Frye in a paper on relating verbal and visual art in Shakespeare discusses two ways of utilizing contemporary iconographical lore for the inter-

pretation of Shakespeare. The first is *broadly literary* ("identifying different and relevant vocabulary of visual themes and subjects in ways comparable to the definition of words and phrases."[2]) and the other is *strictly theatrical* because "Shakespeare could also create images by the enactment of his plays on stage"[3]. The papers presented in this volume fall into both categories.

As for the case-history of the project, it is to be emphasized that the idea was conceived in literary seminars at the University of Szeged and the problem has grown out of "the reading of Shakespeare" rather than seeing his plays performed on stage. Those who do not speak English as their native language may have some difficulty in reading Shakespeare in the original even with a relatively good command of English. The disadvantages which such readers have, are obvious: their comprehension lacks spontaneity and the process of reading is rather slow. However, there are some latent advantages for the non-native readers: namely, it is unavoidable to pay sharp attention to the language, words and figures apart from the unfolding of the plot. The reader's mind is thus grasped by the vivid images and the particularities of the figurative language. What may sound archaic or appear as "dead metaphor" for the native-reader, might suddenly come to life in the non-native mind while it ponders the meaning of words and tries to decode them.

More than fifty years ago the literary historian Lajos Dézsi (1868-1932), Professor of the University of Szeged,

published an article on "Hungarian Influence on the Art of Shakespeare"[4]. Naive or anachronistic as the title may sound, Dézsi was probably the only Hungarian scholar familiar with Henry Green's book: *Shakespeare and the Emblem-Writers* (1870). Green's uncritical enthusiasm has piled up a vast amount of material and tried to establish correspondance between 16th century emblems and Shakespeare's text. Sometimes, of course, Shakespeare's plays became only targets for his source-hunting and thus his discoveries were partly arbitrary. For all that, his activity is deservedly appreciated as pioneering in this field. It was also Henry Green who edited the facsimile reprint of the first English emblem-book by Geoffrey Whitney (1586). Green attached to his edition some long "bibliographical essays"[5], one of them entitled: "Shakespeare's References to Emblem-Books and to Whitney's Emblems in Particular" (pp. 233-312). Green pointed out that Whitney took almost fifty emblems from the Hungarian born Johannes Sambucus' *Emblemata*. Probably that was the motivation behind Dézsi's biased title of "Hungarian Influence on the Art of Shakespeare", which was, nevertheless, an important article.

This orientation of research was also motivated by Barbara K. Lewalski's work on the poetics of the metaphysicals: *Protestant Poetics and 17th century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, 1979) where the author explored the poetic nature of the Bible proving how influential it was on 17th century poets. The texture of the Bible, its tropes and figures, typology as a symbolic mode, had contributed to the forming of new,

ancillary genres, such as *meditation*, *emblematics* etc. Together with the Bible these genres determined metaphysical poetry to a great extent, for they were both meditative and emblematic in nature.

It was obvious to assume that Shakespeare's poetic language may also have been influenced, if not by the religious, then certainly by the secular iconographic-emblematic background of the age. The book of R.A. Fraser: *Shakespeare's Poetics* (1961) seemed to have proved that assumption.

Having learned from the *philological* discoveries of Green and Dézsi and having received *methodological* and *intuitive* impetus from Lewalski and Fraser, a team was formed consisting of young teachers and some students to work on the project.[6] This project was given a grant by the University of Szeged.

The work of the team was given encouragement by Professor Clifford Davidson of Western Michigan University, who paid a short visit to the University of Szeged in November 1982 and Professor Peter M. Daly of McGill University, Canada, who will also visit our University in the summer of 1984 and give a series of lectures about further perspectives in emblematic studies. Without the financial help of the University of Szeged and without the regular supplies of material by the oversea scholars our project would have remained on an amateur-level.

1. *Language - and Imagery*

Literature and poetry are primarily the products of the language, for literature arrives at "meaning" by the special use of words. Language is the literary medium. In our age, when knowledge is mainly communicated via the natural sciences, it must be re-emphasized that the humanities also convey knowledge, though of a different nature. Unlike the fact-gathering, impersonal or objective and accumulative knowledge of the natural sciences the knowledge communicated by the humanities and poetry are basically "non-cumulative" for they always struggle with the perennial "big-questions" which are continually raised and perhaps never exhaustively answered. Some members of the *New Criticism* were well aware of the alternative knowledge in poetry, which, versus technical industrialization and scientific departmentalization aims at totality and penetrates into the essence of things by means of "comprehension" contrary to "explanation".

Literary language corresponding to the humanities is not a "logical discourse", a denotative-referential description, but an emotional, associative or connotative language. We are personally addressed by this language: it is the language of concern. As I.A. Richards once observed: unlike the statements of the natural sciences literature or poetry is the language of pseudostatements. By means of metaphors, symbols and myths, ambiguities, paradoxes and enigmas our mind and imagination are moved and stirred.

Northrop Frye, in his *The Great Code. - The Bible and Literature* (1982) has elaborated an

interesting theory on the three different phases of language. Essentially it is not much different from the dichotomy of scientific-literary uses of the language but he provides a more subtle and refined insight with his three-fold concept that goes back to Vico's three ages of mankind: the age of gods, the age of heroes and the age of the people. The first was for him the poetic, the second the heroic or noble and the third the vulgar age. In terms of language Frye labels them: 1. hieroglyphic or metaphoric phase, 2. hieratic phase, 3. demotic or descriptive phase, the latter beginning with the scientific revolution of the 17th century. The concept of the second phase seems to represent the transition between what we referred to as poetic and scientific language.

In the first, the *hieroglyphic phase* of language, before Plato and the pre-biblical cultures, "sign--language" dominates. The subject and the object are linked with a common energy. "All words in this phase are concrete"[7], verbal abstractions and concepts like "mind","courage", "emotion", "soul" were "solidly anchored in physical images connected with bodily processes or with specific objects"[8]. For example "kairos", the Greek abstract concept of time originally denoted the notch of an arrow. Prose in this phase is discontinous or epigrammatic and the culture is mainly oracular. The statements or aphorisms are not to be argued about but rather to be pondered. In the mythic universe of the Pre-Socratic philosophy oral teachers and gurus were poets at the same time. With this we can associate Sir

Philip Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* where the Renaissance poet similarly maintains that poetry precedes all learning, even philosophy and history. The poet, Frye suggests, has always been connected with something ancient and primitive in society and since the time of Orpheus and Hermes Trismegistus poetry has been understood as the repository of all wisdom, or as Shelley later said, the poet is "the unacknowledged legislator of the world". In each phase of the language poetry aims at recreating the first hieroglyphic or metaphorical phase. We shall see that the *emblem-tradition* is deeply rooted in this phase (concrete distinct images conveying a "meaning") and the Renaissance was permeated by an enthusiastic interest for ancient hieroglyphics.

But the question arises: why are the other two phases different and how has the metaphoric poetic mode of language been gradually forced to withdraw?

In the second, *hieratic or allegorical* phase we witness the victory of the "dialectical logos" over the "mythos". Language becomes the property of an individual elite, words become "expressions" of inner thoughts: analogy prevails, language is already the verbal imitation of reality. Instead of possessing wisdom we meet the attitude of observing it. With Plato, the discontinuous aphoristic prose is replaced by the continuous, the typical genre is commentary, instead of verbal magic we see the use of syllogism. Althogh Frye does not say this we can add that it was Friedrich Nietzsche in

the 19th century who protested against Socrates and Plato for they had, in the name of "logos", destroyed the life-giving power of "mythos". Nietzsche bitterly considered Plato as "the greatest enemy of arts who has ever lived upon the earth". Dialectical discourse and discursive reason killed the spontaneity and energy of poetry.

The third, the *descriptive-scientific phase* is only a culmination of the process of the previous phase. Bacon, Locke, Descartes, etc. mark this "demotic mode". Here subject and object are clearly separated or the subject has even withdrawn into neutrality. This neutral man is motivated to observe the objective world. The simple aim is the discerning of "scientific truth" and the method is fact--gathering and inductive. The central problem is the distinction between "illusion and reality". Symbol, metaphor, mythology are expelled as obscure, gloomy and mainly unreal because they lack the Cartesian ideals of "clear and distinct". Frye notes that in the age of Homer the word evoked things and in the descriptive phase things evoke words. Distinguishing, isolating and analysing are the key-words in this "mind-centered" universe. Frye says that in the first phase the "spirit" and in the second the "soul" were the organizing principles.

While discussing the importance of the poetic phase of language or *figurative language* we must mention some figures of speech that deviate from the standard significance of language.

The *image* is not only a mental picture, a description of visible objects and scenes but we can also speak of auditory and other sensory images and the term *imagery* in general is used to signify figurative language, especially the vehicles of metaphors and similes. For the *New Critics* imagery was understood as an essential component, a major clue to poetic meaning and effect.

The *metaphor* in its various kinds is a statement of identity while *symbol* is applied to a word or set of words that signify an object or event which signifies something else.[9] Ralph Berry in his *Shakespearean Metaphor* (1978) discusses the common origins of the metaphor and symbol and finds that both of them are rooted in the perception of association. "But the two seem to work in opposed directions. A symbol generates associations, while the metaphor grasps toward analogy. There is an element of passivity about the perception of the symbol, whereas the metaphor is an active attempt to grapple with reality. Metaphors are, or should be, striking. Symbols are, or should be, satisfying and inevitable. Metaphors are irritable, appetent: they seek an over-elusive fruiton, a state of definition.[10]

Austin Warren in *The Theory of Literature* (1949) describes *myth* as remarkably reminiscent of Frye's first phase: "the myth is the narrative story, as against dialectical discourse, exposition; it is also the irrational or intuitive as against the systematically philosophical: it is the tragedy of Aeschylos against the dialectic of Socrates"

And later he adds: "In some of its habitual oppositions, it is contrapunted to 'history', or to 'science', or to 'philosophy', or to 'allegory' or to 'truth'."[11] From this it can be seen that some thirty years before Frye Austin Warren stood for the same ideas.

Philip Wheelwright in his *The Burning Fountain* (1968) draws an interesting distinction between two kinds of imagination: *creative* and *interpretive*. The former he calls *metaphoric* which creates liveliness and freshness and the latter *archetypal* or *emblematic* which grasps particular idea in relation to something universal and perduring. The archetypal-emblematic mode of imagination creates "depth" in contrast to the "freshness" aspect of the metaphor.[12]

Wheelwright illuminates the significance of such archetypal or emblematic symbols as the "sun", the "wheel", the "four elements" the primal and the Christian "triad". He closes his chapter on emblems and archetypes by raising the question of how relevant they could have been to Shakespeare. His conclusion: "It is impossible to be sure how much of the archetypal meaning Shakespeare and the audience for whom he wrote were aware of, but I should think a good deal"[13]

2. *Pictures - and iconology*

2.1. *"Ut pictura poesis"*

In the previous section our concern was to illuminate the nature of poetic language. We have seen that the

different figures of meaning: imagery, metaphor, myth constitute what we call figurative language.

Figurative language may also be called "picture--language" and that thought has been suggested since the time of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Horace's dictum *ut pictura poesis* ie. "as is painting so is poetry" or reversed: "as is poetry so is painting". The classical theory of art has emphasized the ability of the poet to make the listener see the object, and of the painter to make his viewer understand meaning.

In the Middle Ages Gregory the Great (6th century) and in the Renaissance Savonarola and Giulio Romano asserted that "paintings are the scriptures of the ignorant".

Renaissance neoplatonism re-emphasized the importance of pictures, images and symbols. As early as 1489 Pico della Mirandolla in his *Heptaplus* submitted the idea "that the picture is a form of revelation, an incarnation of the word ... its emblematic mystery or complexity, by serving as a kind of vision lures and thrusts the viewer to meditating on truths".[14]

The idea of the poet and the painter competing with each other has also grasped Shakespeare's imagination. In the first scene of *Timon of Athens* the poet and the painter describe Fortune throned upon a "high and pleasant hill" waving to her favourites to climb the steepy mountain. But when she is in a change of mood she "spurns down her late beloved".

The painter's conclusion at the end of the picturesque dialogue:

> "'Tis common:
> A thousand moral paintings I can show
> That shall demonstrate these quick blows of Fortune's
> More pregnantly than words"
>
> (*TA 1,1, 90-3*)

This is an explicit allusion to the vast amount of iconographic mainly emblematic, representations of Fortune. Elsewhere, Shakespeare the poet again paints the portrait of whimsical Lady Fortune. Fluellen says in *Henry V.*:

> "Fortune is painted plind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is plind, and she is painted also with a wheel, to signify to you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning and inconstant, and mutability, and variation: and her foot, look you, is fixed upon a spherical stone, which rolls, and rolls and rolls: In good truth, the poet makes a most excellent description of it: Fortune is an excellent moral"
>
> (*HV, 3,6, 31-40*)

The emblems of Alciati, La Perriere, Whitney etc. vividly illustrate this "excellent moral".

2.2. *Hieroglyphics*

Frye labelled the first phase of language as poetic--metaphoric or hieroglyphic and he maintained that sign--writing preceded the articulate use of words. The Renaissance conception of hieroglyphics was based on misunderstanding: they took the hieroglyphics for ideograms, each picture representing a word.

In the Renaissance the neoplatonists revived the interest in Egyptian hieroglyphics which they considered to be the repository of ancient hermetic and esoteric wisdom. Their enthusiasm was motivated by the discovery of the 3rd cent.

AD Greek philosopher, Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* in 1419, which they assumed to have been translated from Egyptian into Greek. A Latin translation of Horapollo's work was made in 1515. The neoplatonists: Pico della Mirandolla and Marsiglio Ficino were convinced that it contained the true philosophy revealing the real and absolute of the divine principles and of the universe. These secret truths were hidden from the common people and the secret wisdom preserved by the ancient priests could only be deciphered by the initiated. Ficino wrote: "When the Egyptian priests wished to signify divine mysteries they did not use the small characters of script, but the whole images of plants, trees or animals, for God has knowledge of things not by way of multiple thought but like the pure and firm shape of the thing itself"[15]

Dieckmann (1957) observes two characteristics of Horapollo's hieroglyphics 1/ several symbols can stand for one and the same idea, 2/ symbols have a necessary relationship, there is a type of correspondance eg. between stars and metals. Correspondance exists between symbols and idea.[16]

The discovery of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphics* initiated the wide-spread fashion for similar hieroglyphics: Fr. Colonna's *Hypernerotomachi* was published in 1499 and Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* in 1556. In England John Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*

was published in 1564. Dee believed that in the common contemplation of symbols (monas) he could understand the structure of the entire universe. Jakob Typotius' *De Hierographia*, published posthumously in Prague in 1618, is an interesting exception in this tradition because he thinks that the fountainhead of hieroglyphics is not Hermes Trismegistus but God himself. The things of the world are signs created by God and God's sign-language is the creation itself.[17]

Dieckmann speaks about the boom of hieroglyphic literature between 1500 and 1700 and proves that the newly discovered genre found a sensitive response particularly in contemporary painting and literature. The popularity of enigmatic representations can also be pointed out on coins, coats of arms and printer's marks. She explains the cause of success with the unity of intellectual and aesthetic experience inherent in hieroglyphics. Soon we shall see that this twofold aspect is an important attribute of emblem-literature which is *representation and interpretation* at the same time.

Dieckmann shows the impact of Horapollo on Renaissance woodcut and drama. Dürer's portrait of *Maximilian I* with the symbolic animals and properties is perhaps the best example. Klibansky-Panofsy-Saxl's and Frances Yates' memorable analyses of *Melancholia I*[18] illuminate this tradition.

Around 1600 drama also shows the attributes of hieroglyphics: we can see it in contemporary pageantry and masque. Ben Jonson called the latter "court-hieroglyphics". The best examples are his *The Masque of Blacknesse* (1605) and *The Masque of Beauty* (1608).

When surveying the survival of hieroglyphics Dieckmann mentions the Rosicrucian pamphlets especialy, Michael Meier's *Atlanta Fugiens* (1618) where the author considers Christ to be the greatest hieroglyphic symbol. In the meantime nature came to be interpreted as hieroglyphic written by God's hand. Dieckmann finds that the last figure in the tradition of hieroglyphics is the German mystic philosopher Boehme. Though he does not use this term, his lifework is nevertheless endemically hieroglyphic. Boehme already centuries before Frye speaks of the loss of the original, universal highly metaphoric language which perhaps "Adam spoke and nature breathed out."

The dissappearance of enigmatic symbolism and hieroglyphics is explained by three factors. Dieckmann suggests that the first is the emancipation of the natural sciences in the 17th century which destroyed symbolism as obscure and "not clear and distinct". The second factor was the new interest in history and an anti-mystical tendency, a biased critical attitude against ancient Egyptian myth. And thirdly, aesthetic attacks were not long delayed: pictorial hieroglyphics and emblems were condemned by Lord Shaftesbury in his *Characteristics* as "false", "barbarous", "magical", "mystical", "monkish", "Gothic" etc.[19]

2.3 *Iconology*

Similarly to Horapollo's pioneering place in hieroglyphics, the same position is deserved by Cesare Ripa as the

founder of iconology.

D.J. Gordon quotes the recollection of the French art historian, Emile Male how he deiscovered Ripa: "I realized that with Ripa in my hand I could explain most of the allegories that adorn the palaces and churches of Rome".[20] Gordon comments on this episode: "the scholar wandering through the hundreds of churches, oratories, palaces of Rome, confronting those plastic riddles, realizing that there is before him a whole world speaking an unknown language, and suddenly in that musty library, by no tedious process of decipherment, but at one blow, indeed by chance, finding the one key to this language of art, not simply in post-Tridentine Rome, but in all of Western Europe, for, Male came to see, code and key were international"[21]

Ripa's *Iconologia*, this huge encyclopedia of symbols and mythology, a great Renaissance repository of allegorical information was first published in Rome in 1593 and with illustrations in 1603. Though the book was well-known in England, the English version did not appear until 1709.

Białostocki writes: "With the publication of Ripa's work... the humanist system of allegorical iconography was established: classical gods and personifications, hieroglyphic signs and emblems, connecting words and images: this was the material used by the artists of mannerism and the baroque"[22]

After an extended pause our century is now witnessing a new and fresh revival of iconographical-iconological studies. (I shall discuss the distinction between the two terms later.)

An international school of art-history research appeared in scholarship in the 1920s with the presiding and pioneering activity of the Hamburg art-historian Aby Warburg. As early as 1912 he presented a sensational astrological interpretation of the frescoes at Ferrara. Not only did he solve the secret image-puzzles but he also emphasized the importance of his method which purposes "to throw light upon the dark spot, clears up at the same time great interconnected developments."[23]

During the Nazi period the Warburg Institute was transplanted to London under the directorship of Fritz Saxl. Here the Institute soon became attached to London University.

Besides Warburg and Saxl, Erwin Panofsky can be considered as one of the pioneering scholars in the field of iconology. He began his activity also in Hamburg where Ernst Cassirer's Kantian philosophy of symbolic forms served as a kind of backround to his methodology.

In his famous *Studies in Iconology* (1939) Panofsky distinguishes three levels in the interpretation of a work of art.:

The first is the *"Pre-iconographical description"* where the primary and natural subject matter is the object of interpretation. Here the controlling principle of interpretation is the history of st 'e (how objects and events were expressed by form). The next level is that of *"Iconographical analysis"* which is concerned with the world of images, stories and allegories. The controlling principle

here is the history of types (specific themes and concepts]. The third level is *"Iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense"*[24].

In his *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1955) he clearly distinguishes *iconography* and *iconology*. The former "concerns itself with the subject-matter of meaning of works of art... its domain is the identification of images, stories and allegories"[25]. *Iconology* on the other hand, "considers the basic underlying principles of the symbolical values"[26]. While the former is an analytical process, the latter is a synthetic mental activity elucidating the deep-structure of a work of art. The function of iconology is to unfold what Panofsky calls the *"intrinsic meaning"* of a work of art. (I shall return to the problem of meaning as a hermeneutical question in the last section of my paper.)

Another Warburg-scholar, the art-historian E.H. Gombrich in his *Symbolic Images* (1972) is concerned with the elusiveness of meaning. In discussing iconography and iconology he proposes that the iconologist can decipher the meaning if he can get access to the intentions of the author as manifested in the genre he chooses. For the iconologist interpretation becomes a reconstruction of the author's original programme or "libretto".[27]

On the historiography of iconography a detailed and yet concise study is provided by Ian Białostocki in the *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*.[28] His definition runs

as follows: "in modern usage iconography is a description and/or interpretation of the content of works of art. "He proposes to distinguish between *"intended iconography"* and *"interpretive iconography"*. By the first he means "the attitude of the artist or contemporary observer toward function and meaning of visual symbols and images". Interpretive iconography aims at "identification and description of the content of the works of art". I understand that his first attitude considers iconography from the author's perspective and the latter from that of the audience or the critic.

Now the question arises, how we can relate iconographical and iconological research to Renaissance drama in general and to Shakespeare in particular.

One approach has been outlined by John M. Steadman who, in his article on iconography and Renaissance drama (1970) has shown that "literary critics have turned to the iconographers for support over the last quarter century"[29].

To the problem of how literary historians obtain support in interpreting literature from iconographical methods the author provides a four-fold answer.

1. Renaissance painters and poets had inherited the same ethical and mythological traditions.

2. Renaissance poets and painters held basic aesthetic principles in common. They find that the cause of both arts was "to teach and delight". Writers and painters used such poetic concepts as "imitation of action", "verisimilitude" or "decorum", conversely, pictorial terms were used in poetics and rhetorics, such as "vividness", "ecphrasis", "enargia" etc.

Horace's dictum *ut pictura poesis* was completed by Simonides' saying that poetry is "speaking picture" and painting is "silent poetry".

3. Poetry and painting not only treated the same subjects but utilized the same technical devices, eg. "exemplum", "personification", "enigma", "metaphor", "notatio" allegory etc.

4. In these "synaesthetic" art-forms we can clearly see the convergence in literature between written text, hieroglyphics and emblems, and also in drama: pageant, masque, procession, dumb-show are similarly akin.

Steadmann concludes: "In the complex mythographical tradition of the Renaissance it is almost impossible to draw a sharp line between painting and poetry, iconography and literature. Both of the sister-arts served as channels for transmitting and elaborating the same concepts and symbols and images"[30]

William Heckscher (1971) is concerned with Shakespeare's relation to the visual arts. He shows that though the only artist mentioned by name in Shakespeare is Giulio Romano (*The Winter's Tale*), nevertheless he assumes that the implicit impact of painters can be detected in his works. He approvingly quotes Panofsky in saying that Titian inspired Shakespeare with a new version of the Venus and Adonis story".

Heckscher has two theses which he then elaborates:

1. Shakespeare had a way of alluding to very real works of art in vaguely hinting references.

2. Shakespeare described in minute detail works of art which existed in his imagination.

To demonstrate his theses Heckscher first examines a *work of art explicitly described* ie. "a piece of skilful painting" in the scene about the Fall of Troy in *The Rape of Lucrece.* For Shakespeare painting is a mirror which helps us to learn the emotions which acted upon Lucrece. Heckscher contrasts Shakespeare's text with a 16th century French miniature.

Secondly, he speaks of *"works of art obliquely cited"* and quotes "Patientia" twice alluded to in Shakespeare's dramas. (*TN 2,4, 109-114, Per. 5,1, 134-9*). He juxtaposes the vast amount of iconographic material known in Shakespeare's age, one of them (*Hoefnage, 1569*) representing patience in stocks - which might be an interesting allusion to Kent in *King Lear.* Further examples are demonstrated by Breughel and Ripa. The author concludes that these are unmistakeble references to specific works of art."[31]

Ewbank (1971) writes about the uses of iconography in literature but at the same time she is fully aware of the limitations of visual symbolism: "if we were to try to say how this theatre poetry works, we could have to admit that it is both by asserting the pregnancy of words and yet also by creating on stage an image more pregnant than words. A thousand moral paintings could not do that."[32]

R.M. Frye (1980) in a recent article declares that the "relating of the visual and verbal arts is one of the exciting and productive efforts in cont mporary scholarship". In the article he discusses the relationship between portraiture and painting and characterization in literature. In the second part he turns to iconography which he defines as "vocabulary of visual images where we can discover semantic cores of meaning."[33]

His discussion of the 16th century innovation of iconography "that mannerist and baroque omnium gatherum"[34] - ie. the *emblem* has already been alluded to. I propose to write on the identity of, and the critical theories about this genre in the following section.

2.4 *Emblem*

2.4.1. *Modern Definitions of the Emblem*

I shall start with a fairly old "modern" critic in order to contrast his pioneering definition with some current and more up-to-date views.

E.N.S. Thomson (1924) gave a brief definition of the emblem: "a combination of motto, picture, and short poem, used collectively to expound some moral or ethical truth"[35] Searching for the predecessors of the emblem he finds that "the earliest known use of picture for the enforcement of moral truth... is the *Tablet of Cebes*. This painting was designed to illustrate a moral treatise, written possibly by that Cebes, a pupil of Socrates in the fourth century whom Plato and Xenophon mention"[36] Another work to prepare readers

for emblems was Sebastian Brandt's *Narrenschiff* (1495), in English *The Ship of Fools* (1509). Thirdly, of course, H rapollo's *Hieroglyphic* was relevant. Further on medieval bestiaries, the treatise *Physiologus* (2nd century AD), the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Salvationis*.

Turning to the present criticism of the emblem I shall juxtapose two recent views about the identity of the emblem. Lewalski, the American and Daly, the Canadian scholar seem to be unaware of each other's fresh insights in the field of emblem-criticism. Both of them published their monographs on the subject in 1979. Daly even published two books in the same year. Barbara K. Lewalski of Princeton arrived at emblematics by studying 17th century religious lyrics and the Bible as the store-house of poetic images and metaphors that had been a source of information for the metaphysical Protestant poetics. Peter M. Daly, Professor of Mcgill University (Montreal) relates that he arrived at emblem--literature by writing a dissertation on a German baroque poetess. Daly's outstanding significance is that he has brought to the notice of an English-speaking audience the recent German contributions to the characterization of the emblem-genre, mainly in the works of A. Schöne (1964) and D.W. Jöns (1966).

Lewalski (1979) defines the emblem as follows: "Emblems -curious amalgams of picture, motto and poem - are a minor literary kind which contributed significantly to the theories about, and particular formation of, poetic language and symbolism in the 17th century religious lyric."[37]

We should note that Lewalski considers emblems as "minor literary kinds" while - as we shall see - Daly insists on the emblem **to be** discussed as individual genre .

Daly (1979a) trying to create an order in the vast amount of material he is working with, differentiates between two groups of emblem-critics. The first group considers the emblem basically as an illustrated literary form, the essence of which is the *symbolic value of the object*, scene and the action, and this is a *verbal phenomenon:* the association of the pictured motif and abstract concepts is a *function of language*. "Those who regard the emblem primarily as a literary form, recognize the allegorical-symbolical potentialities of language as the basis of the emblem. "Such critics, of course, search and recognize "emblematic structures" in literature.[38] Schöne and Jöns belong to this group and let me add that so does Lewalski; and it is also the channel into which I have so far attempted to direct my understanding of the problem of literature and emblems.

The other group, however, considers emblems as a hybrid and mixed form, a kind of "Gesamtkunstwerk". They speak of emblems as a "synthetic art" which constitutes a branch of the pictura-poesis tradition (Sulzer and Homann).

Daly's merit is that on the basis of Jöns and Schöne he defends the genre-status of the emblems against former criticism which had considered it as enigmatic, arbitrary, "degenerate form of allegory", "allegory's bastard children", "secondary cultural phenomenon", "irritated sort of learned

genre" or "excessive baroque licence".

2.4.2. *Renaissance Emblem-Criticism*

Before proceeding with our discussions of Lewalski's and Daly's emblem-theory let me turn to some Renaissance reflections on emblem-literature.

Samuel Daniel (1585) in his translation of Paulo Giovio's *Della Imprese* addresses the "friendly reader" in his preface and illuminates the difference between *impresa* (or device) and emblem.

> "The mot of an *impresa* may not exceed three wordes. *Emblems* are interpreted by many verses. An *impresa* is not garnished with many different images, *emblems* are not limited; In *Devices* it is enacted that the figure without the mot or the mot without the figure should not interpret the Author's meaning. In emblems is more libertie and fewer lawes. *Impreses* manifest the special purpose of Gentlemen in warlike combats or chamber tournaments. *Emblems* are generall conceipts rather of moral matters then credit to the wit, then to reveale the secretes of the minde".[39]

Let me remark here that somewhat contrary to this Renaissance view, Dieckmann (1957) stresses that the three parts of the emblem should elucidate each other. The picture is not an illustration to the text, nor is the text the illustration of the picture. Their *purpose is the mutual elucidation of the idea.*[40] (it. mine)

The 16th century literary critic George Putthenam in his *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) devotes a whole chapter

to the description of devices or emblems. Unlike Samuel Daniel he makes no difference between *impresa* or *emblem*: "The Greek call it *emblema* the Italians *impresa*, and we, a *Device*. For though the terms be divers the use and intent is but one..." Their function is to "insinuate some secret, wittie morall... either to recreate (the beholder's) eye, or please his phantasy, or examine his judgement, or occupie his braine, or to manage his will either by hope or by dread"[41]

Francis Bacon in his *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623; *Bk. V, Ch.V.*) provides the following definition: "Emblems reduce intellectual conceptions to sensible images, and that which is sensible more forcibly strikes the memory and is more easily imprinted on it than that is intellectual."[42]

In the 17th century Thomas Blount translated from French Henry Estienne's *The Arte of Making Devices*. This short work of about 68 pages is divided into 23 chapters, such as: "Of Hieroglyphics", "Of Symbols", "Of Aenigma", "Of Emblems", "Of Parables and Apologues" etc. The author appreciates the sacred science of the Egyptians and presupposes that their wisest priests might even have influenced the greatest of the Hebrew ancestors (*Moses, Abraham etc.*). He holds that symbol, aenigma, emblem, fable and parable - these genres all depend upon the sacred science of hieroglyphics.

Writing of emblems Estienne differentiates three principle kinds: 1/ of manners, 2/ of nature, 3/ of history. "The chief aim of the emblem is, to instruct us. If the picture is mystic or obscure, the words clearly inform us."[43]

We can appreciate Estienne's localizing the genesis of emblem-literature in the "hieroglyphic-metaphoric phase of language." True, contemporary emblems often deteriorated into popular vulgarity in their moral didacticism but nevertheless the "true" or "original" emblems were determined by the sacred sciences. I tend to think that when Shakespeare potentially turns to the books of the emblem-writers he does not consider them as simple sources or repositories of his imagery but via the emblem he immerses himself in the same phase of the language: the "proto-language" of poetry.

2.4.3. *Lewalski's Classification of Emblem-Books*

Though Lewalski's perspective is the 17th century religious lyric she is therefore mainly concerned with religious emblem-books. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to quote her, for she sets up categories useful for the classification of the most important emblem-books. After Rosemary Freeman's *English Emblem-Books* (1948)[44] this is the most concise attempt at grouping the emblem-books mainly on the basis of their subject-matter.
These categories are as fellows:

1. General collections of discrete emblems of diverse objects

- Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (1586) is the first and most important compilation. The volume contains the most representative emblems of the age. Whitney distinguished between: 1/ natural, 2/ historical, 3/ moral emblems.

Altogether 248 plates are involved in the volume, out of these 23 were Whitney's own, 86 from Alciati, 32 from Paradin, 48 from Sambucus, 20 from Hadraian Junius, 16 from Gabriel Faerno, and 23 were related to ideas common in all these books. As Thomson remarks, it was a "book for all classes of people. A wide awake child could learn a good deal of its pages, and for mature readers, it was history, literature and sermon combined."[45]

- Henry Peacham's *Minerva Brittania* (1612) openly declares its heroic and moral purpose: "to feed at once both the minde and the eye."
- George Wither: *A Collection of Emblems* (1635)
  The author took over plates without verses from the German emblem-book of Gabriel Rollenhagen.

2. Discrete emblems and literal renderings of biblical metaphors. Lewalski mentions only foreign emblem-books in this category.

3. Discrete plates around a central theme with a constant element.

- Francis Quarles' *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638)
  The different "ages" of human life are represented by a candle which will be lit by God's hands.

4. Secular love-emblems of Eros and Anteros transfered into Christian imagery which illustrate the stages of the pilgrimage of spiritual life.

The Dutch Otto van Veen's *Amoris Divini Emblemata* (1615) and Hermann Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (London, 1686) fall into this

category and their English rendering:

- Francis Quarles' *Emblemes* (1635)

5. The "Schola Cordis" or the "School of the Heart" tradition, where the human heart is the permanent element in the pictures, represented as undergoing progressive purgation from sin via illumination to union. The Dutch Jesuit Benedict van Haeften's *Schola Cordis* (1629) and the German Lutheran Daniel Cramer's *Emblemata Sacra* (1624) influenced the English

- Christopher Harvey's *Schola Cordis* (1647)

Though these latter emblem-books take us far into the 17th century, Lewalski's classification clearly demonstrates the gradual development from discrete, discontinuous emblems to the appearance of the organizing narrative elements. These continuous didactic stories, however, completely lack the original enigmatic hieroglyphic hermetic nature of the early 16th century emblems, they seem to have abandoned their fresh originality by the end of the 17th century and they simply became illustrations of the religious doctrime.

2.4.4. *Daly's Emblem-Theory*

Daly distinguishes three approaches of emblem-description.

1. *The historical-chronological method*

This method a/ analyzes the content and the origins of the *pictura*, b/ observes the origins and the content of the *inscriptio* (motto, lemma), and c/ studies the relation between the *pictura* and the *scriptura*.

Since there is no necessary likeness between the image and the meaning, it is emphasized that there is a *tension* between these elements. Jöns' work can be included in this method.

2. *The selective-comparative method*

This method searches for the common characteristic features of the different emblems and "it is based on an overview of the developing emblem tradition" and "the individual emblems are analyzed in order to give a generic description from the essential features that they have in common... no limits are set upon analysis itself. Form, content, semantics, ontology and function may, in fact must, all be examined"[46] According to Daly this is Schöne's approach.

3. *The formal method*

This method confines itself purely to questions of form and to the functional relationships of words and picture within the tripartite emblem. The formalist in his definition of the genre tends to exclude all aspects of content, theme and *Weltanschauung*, since he considers them non-defining.[47] In fact, this is Daly's own approach which he outlines in the last chapter of his *Emblem Theory* (1979a). His utmost concern is the most accurate descriptions of all emblems. He lays down the foundations and principles of his great international team-project in his *The European Emblem Towards an Index Emblematicus* (1980)

But the question arises: how can we benefit from the different orientations of emblem-criticism? Since the ultimate aims of our project and research are not the emblems themselves

but Shakespeare's emblematic language and stage, our purely literary motivations use emblems not as an end but as means. That makes us "go back" to Schöne's selective-comparative method and to a certain extent to Jöns' historical-chronological approach, but this is highly appreciated and thoroughly discussed by Daly in his criticism.

Both Dietrich Walter Jöns and Albert Schöne began to work on the emblems in the early sixties and both of them were motivated by *medieval typological thought* and the tradition of *biblical exegesis*.[48]

Both of them started to analyze emblems in terms of the tripartite distinctive forms: *motto* (inscriptio or lemma), *pictura* and *subscriptio*. Jöns differentiates between the *art-form* (Kunstform) and *mode of thought* (Denkform) of the emblems while Schöne assumes a unity but with a twofold function. He maintains that the emblem is the genre where *representation and interpretation coincide* involving both description and explanation.

Jöns emphasizes the hidden enigmatic relationship, the so-called "tension" between the epigram and the picture.

Schöne dwells on "the potential facticity" and "the priority of the idea in emblematic picture". He finds that the basis of this *emblematic mode of thought* is deeply rooted in (1) Renaissance hieroglyphics, (2) in medieval exegesis, typology and allegory, (3) in Neoplatonic theory. Both Jöns and Schöne agree "in regarding medieval typological and exegetical tradition as the essential root of the emblem"[49].

Schöne writes that the emblematic picture hides a kind of "higher meaning" and it can be traced back "to the typological exegesis and the allegorical procedures of medieval theology which understood everything created as a sign, an indication of the Creator.[50] Appealing to the patristic--scholastic tradition of the four-fold meaning (4 senses) Schöne emphasizes the *sensus tropologicus*, which refers "to the significance of things and facts for the individual and his destiny, for his path to salvation and his conduct in the world. In this sense the emblematic mode still conceives of all that exists at the same time embodying significance."[51] Jöns understands that the emblem is not primarily art (*ars*) but knowledge (*cognitio*).

Daly concludes that "one of the signal contributions of Schöne and Jöns to emblem-theory is the revaluation of the mode of thought that derives from medieval pattern of thinkting"[52]. They agree that the "emblematic sense" is "an illustrate form of literary allegory" where the twofold function of representation and interpretation results in the "illumination of the teaching through picture and the text."[53]

Besides medieval symbolism the Renaissance hieroglyphic mode of thought (including the mode of animal-, and plant-symbolism)[54] manifests itself in those emblems where a strange inorganic combination of individual motifs can be observed. They are "assembled to represent a general notion"[55].

On the whole in summing up his train of thought Daly finally evaluates the importance of Schöne and Jöns as follows:

> "the "art-form" of the emblem may be used for variety of contents, serve a variety of purposes, and embody a variety of modes of thought, however it reaches its highest development in the interpretation of reality when working within typological patterns of thought."[56]

The principles of the Daly's emblem-theory are applied in his other book: *Literature in the Light of the Emblem* (1979b)

The above allusions to "typological patterns of thought" "sensus tropologicus" or "exegesis" already signal and anticipate that our ultimate concern is rather the deciphering of the "meaning" in literary works of art in general and in Shakespeare in particular than evaluating artistic techniques. This approach is not primarily motivated by the traditional "value-judgement criticism" but it is an attempt at "digging" into the deepest bottom in search for "meaning", which is knowledge. I consider it to be a "new" cognitive approach in Shakespeare-criticism. Motivated by the *New Critics* we start with scrutinizing the text, but the text itself unfolds a "deeper structure" (a "skeleton") which is more than the texture itself, something to do with the author's perhaps unconscious intention or "mind". This "mind" is not only anchored in the context of the age but in the context of "simultaneous existence", which we may call *tradition*.

This approach is *hermeneutical*.

3. *Meaning - and Hermeneutics*

In Part 1, I began my train of thought by suggesting that literature is language and it addresses the reader personally, as a language of concern. In Part 2, I arrived at the conclusion that the different types of figurative language convey "meaning", a kind of knowledge that can be exegetically explored. The emblem is perhaps the best example of what T. S Eliot called "unified sensibility" - the unity of aesthetic and intellectual perception. Emblem, as we have seen was both representation and interpretation: both art and cognition.

All these principles have guided us to the recognition that the interpretation of the emblematic nature of Shakespeare's language is mainly a hermeneutical-exegetical approach.

The main assumption of the German philosopher Hans Georg Gadamer is that the 19th century historical or "philological" approach to literary texts was essentially scientific in terms of the natural sciences and presupposed the neutrality of the reader or interpreter thus fully neglecting the reader's own concern or involvement However, literature and the arts constitute not dead documents but living monuments, they address the reader as *"language"*, it is a personal discourse and the reader is also involved in the communication. "Language is the fundamental mode of operation of our being-in-the-world and the all-embracing form of the constitution of the world"[57]

The humanities treat the text as a "living person" and Gadamer calls it: *Tradition*. "Literature is

rather a function of spiritual conservation and tradition, and therefore carries into every present its hidden history"[58].

I have not yet come across any interpretations of Gadamer which recognize the striking similarity between his thoughts and T.S. Eliot's famous ideas on tradition. Eliot in his *Tradition and the Individual Talent* (1919) speaks about a historical sense which "involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past but of its presence. This historical sense involvesboth timeless and temporal and it emphasizes the simultaneous existence of the whole of the literature of Europe. Therefore "no poet, no artist of any art, has a complete meaning alone. His significance is... his relation to the dead poets and artists".[59]

According to both Eliot and Gadamer tradition is the personal and simultaneous power permanantly irradiating its vitalized "message". But Eliot relates "meaning" to the past tradition while Gadamer's focus is on the reader or interpreter who can grasp this message only if he is involved in it. Understanding is not a process of cognition but participation, and application (ars applicandi) determines understanding (ars intelligendi).

Gadamer's theory of "authentic understanding" is firmly rooted in the existentialist philosophy and theology of Heidegger and Bultmann. Some of his critics maintain that his theory is mainly an extension and codification of the hermeneutical theories of Heidegger and Bultmann.

But the problem arises: if there is no stable meaning and if it is the interpreter or reader who determines this meaning, how can we find the principle which makes our interpretation valid? Readers and interpreters differ not only in the course of the succeeding ages but at the same time and place as well. There can be various readings and interpretations of the same work of art or text. If so, misreadings or misunderstandings will easily be justified. How can we arrive at a static identity of meaning behind the diversity of individual evaluations and readings? Or shall we go as far as to maintain that "meaning" as such simply does not exist? Is there no objective meaning behind the individual readings of Shakespeare? Does this way of thinking not lead us into the delicate grounds of relativism?

These questions have been raised by Gadamer's most relevant critic, the American E.D. Hirsch Jr. Hirsch's *The Validity of Interpretation*(1967) begins with the defence of the author's intention against the "heavy and largely victorious" assault of those who maintained the autonomy of the text saying eg. that "It does not matter what an author means - only what his text says". In Hirsch's opinion this literary and philosophical relativism (*New Criticism*, Eliot, Pound etc. and the *New Hermeneutics* of Gadamer and Bultmann) have destroyed the principles of validity. Value-oriented criticism and personal--experience-oriented philosophy could only tackle the questions: "howdo *I* find it beautiful" and "Why it is true *for me*"... Thus hermeneutics became the field of rather subjective and

relative, perspectivist approaches seeking only *significance* and giving up to find *meaning*. "The objective of hermeneutics," says Hirsch, "is not to find the 'significance' of a passage for us today but to make clear its verbal meaning."[60]

Finally, let us examine, Hirsch's famous distinction between *meaning* and *significance*. "*Meaning* is which is represented" *significance*, on the other hand names the *relationship* between that meaning and a person or a conception, or a situation, or indeed anything imaginable"[61].

Gadamer maintains that we can never reconstruct the author's original meaning and thus hermeneutics should be concerned wxclusively with the reader's experience and participation. Hirsch on the other hand neglects the subjective process of understanding and for him hermeneutics, strictly speaking, is "the modest, and in the old-fashioned sense, philological effort to find out what the author meant", and this is the only "proper foundation of criticism"[62].

In his other book, *The Aims of Interpretation* (1979) Hirsch elaborates his sharp criticism on the "dogmatic relativists" and "cognitive atheists" and he defends the "stable determinacy of meaning", for "without the stable determinacy of meaning there can be no knowledge in interpretation, nor any knowledge in the many humanistic disciplines based upon textual interpretation".[63] The structuring principle of this book on "meaning" and "significance" corresponds to the distinction between *"knowledge"* and *"evaluation"*. Meaning or knowledge can be gained by appealing to the author's inten-

tions. But how to find the author's intentions? Hirsch argues that it can be grasped in the category of the *genre* or the "programme" of the writer. Cognition thus plays an important role: it even prece s value-judgement. Hirsch acknowledges the importance of evaluative criticism but he is firmly convinced that "without *scientia* humanistic evaluation is empty and pointless."[64]

How to find a way out of the labyrinth of the Gadamer--Hirsch controversy, why is it relevant and how is it related to our iconological-emblematic approach of Shakespeare?

First of all we cannot but appreciate Gadamer's significance in hermeneutic theory: his idea of the tradition addressing the reader as "language" and the reader's response via participation in the "hermeneutical circle" suggest the importance of understanding *as authentic knowledge*.

Hirsch is right in elucidating how easily hermeneutical theory grounded on the reader's experience may degenerate into dangereous relativism: misunderstandings and misreadings will become legitimate. Instead of the vague existential idea of *"authentic"* knowledge, Hirsch clearly demands *"correct"* knowledge.

Emblem-literature also constitutes what we called "tradition" or a special "language" that was made to address the reader. We must keep in mind the original twofold function of the emblem: representation and interpretation. It both delights (delectare) and teaches (prodesse) the reader. In responding to the delighting-representive function the reader

is motivated by the aesthetic experience. However, when surrendering ourselves we listen to the author's meaning, intention, genre or programme. Gombrich's theory of iconology is also anchored in the hermeneutical genre-theory of Hirsch.[65]

But even if we acknowledge the hermentical nature of the emblem that "it is the last attempt to grasp spiritually the world in its totality in an exegetical manner"[66] - is it not an illegitimate approach to Shakespeare?

Since the present paper is a theoretical essay I have not been concerned with applying methodological principles to practical examples. Some of the papers presented in this volume will illustrate these principles.

However, it is not impossible to hint at the hermeneutic significance of Shakespeare both in terms of Gadamer and Hirsch.

On the one hand, when we simply utter the name of "Shakespeare" we associate not only a huge amount of diverse plays in our minds but we understand him in terms of "tradition". We are addressed by his plays and thus they constitute an organic part in our cultural heritage: his pastness is present, his dramas transcend the barriers of time and place by having a simultaneous existence. Shakespeare is both a *Living Monument* (Bradbrook) and *Our Contemporary* (Kott). This is the "authentic" understanding of Shakespeare, this is his significance.

This recognition, however, should not entail a nesessary abandoning of the "stable determinacy of meaning" of the author.

But how do we reconstruct the original meaning? Are we naive in supposing we can find the "intention of the author"? There is some truth in the fact that it would be absurd to hunt for external evidence or documents that potentially contain references by the author revealing his own intentions. Of course, this is not a path to follow.

However, as suggested above, the meaning as the intention of the author can be grasped in the *genre* he chose for his "programme".

A recent Shakespeare-critic, Stephen Kastan (1982) argues that "Shakespeare's dramas are not merely literary conventions but ethical categories" and for Shakespeare "the individual genre stands for a complete though hypothetical model of the world... genre becomes a way of imagining time as it shapes and is shaped by humankind."[67]

Besides the programme of the genre, intention or knowledge is also revealed in Shakespeare's poetic language. Caroline Spurgeon suggests that someone's speech, imagery and the figures he uses are much more informative than an autobiography. Imagery is a kind of revelation of the author's mind.

I have come to see that "meaning" can, even if not exhaustively, be explored from a close-reading and exegetical analysis of the text. In the preliminary introduction to this paper I alluded to the fact that as non-native speakers of English we had difficulty in understanding the meaning of the text. But the painstaking labour of "decoding Shakespeare's plays"has resulted in gaining "knowledge" even beyond the

verbal level. Thus this close-reading is both an aesthetic and an intellectual experience. The meaning of the text, as Hirsch suggests, has more to do with the author's intention than with the reader's. The author's intention is the reflection of his own mind. But what do we mean by Shakespeare's *mind*? Is it only his "own"? T.S. Eliot would probably give a negative answer. Shakespeare's mind carries, and is carried by, tradition.

Besides adding that Shakespeare was not only a talented craftsman as a playwright we can perhaps invite the romantics' distinction between "talent" and "genius". In the words of a 19th century American critic: "*Talent* is that which is in man's power; *genius* that in whose power man is."[68]

Shakespeare was from the very beginning considered as a "genius", even if an untutored one. He had been touched by the *enargia* of poetry and so he was an inspired poet.

If we want to "reconstruct" the meaning of his text we must naturally raise the question: whose "intention " are we searching for? The poet is more than William Shakespeare the man. The inspired poet is even more: he is possessed by the intensive spirit of poetry. Who, or what then is the author? The author is more than Shakespeare himself: it is language, poetry and tradition. The first phase of language, the hieroglyphic--metaphoric stage is revealed in his dramas. And here we are back again at Eliot. The genius, the great poet is "only" a medium, a catalyst because he exists only when he surrenders his personality by escaping from himself in perfect humility and concentration. Thus he will arrive at the border of existence, saying: "The rest is silence".

N O T E S

1 Quoted in Daly (1979a) p. 77.

2 R.M. Frye (1980) p. 16.

3 ibid.

4 L. Dézsi (1928)

5 H. Green (1866)

6 The team consists of the following members: Dr Tibor Fabiny (leader of the project, University of Szeged); Dr József Pál (University of Szeged), Dr Zoltán Szilassy (University of Debrecen); Dr Gy.E. Szőnyi (University of Szeged); Dr Imre Téglásy (City Library of Szeged) and the students who regularly attended our weekly Sambucus-Whitney seminars: Ágnes Kovács, Brigitta Lazur, Edit Nyúl, Klára Valentinyi, Erzsébet Várai.

7 N. Frye (1982) p. 6

8 ibid.

9 M.H. Abrams: *A Glossary of Literary Terms* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, Chicago etc. 1981 (1957) p. 63-6.

10 R. Berry (1978) p. 2.

11 Wellek-Warren (1949) p. 120

12 Ph. Wheelwright (1968) p. 124

13 ibid. p. 146

14 Quoted in: *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas* Charles Scribners Son NY. 1973 Vol IV. p. 466.

15 Quoted in: Lewalski (1979) p. 180

16 Dieckmann (1957) p. 308

17 Daly (1979a) p. 54

18 R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, F. Saxl; *Saturn and Melancholy* (London, 1969) and; Frances Yates; *The Occult Philosophy in the Elisabethan Age*, London (1979) Routledge and Kegan Paul

19 Dieckmann (1957) and R. Freeman (1948) p. 3.

20 Gordon (1975) p. 53.

21 ibid. p. 54.

22 Quoted in *The Dictionary of the History Ideas* Vol II. p. 531.

23 ibid. p. 536.

24 Panofsky (1939) pp. 5-7.

25 Panofsky (1955) p. 51.

26 ibid.

27 Gombrich (1972) pp. 6-7.

28 cf. notes 22. pp. 524-41.

29 Steadmann (1970) pp. 73-122.

30 ibid. p. 113.

31 Heckscher (1970)

32 Ewbank (1971) p. 118.

33 R.M. Frye (1980) p. 11.

34 ibid. p. 17.

35 Thomson (1924) p. 29.

36 ibid. p. 39.

37 Lewalski (1979) p. 179

38 Daly (1979a) p. 16-7.

39 Samuel Daniel (1585)

40 Dieckmann (1957) p. 313.

41 Quoted by Lewalski (1979) p. 183.

42 Quoted by Thomson (1924) p. 32.

43 Estienne (1646)

44 Freeman (1948)

45 Thomson (1924) p. 50.

46 Daly (1979a) p. 15.

47 ibid.

48 ibid. p. 21.

49 ibid. p. 51.

50 Quoted *ibid* p. 52.

51 ibid.

52 ibid. p. 55.

53 ibid. p. 71.

54 Cf. R. Wittkower: *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* London Thames and Hudson (1977)

55 Daly (1979a) p. 82.

56 ibid. p. 82

57 Quoted in Bleicher (1980) p. 128.

58 Quoted in Hirsch (1967) p. 250.

59 Eliot 1919 in. eg. Frank Kermode - J. Hollander ed. : *Modern British Literature* Oxford UP (1973) pp. 505-11.

60 Quoted in Palmer (1969) p. 61.

61 Hirsch (1967) p. 8.

62 Palmer (1969) p. 62.

63 Hirsch (1979) p. 1.

64 ibid. p. 158.

65 Gombrich (1972) pp. 6-7

66 Cf. Note 1

67 Kastan (1982) p. 171

68 Quoted in *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas* ...
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József Pál

SOME ICONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE POETIC SIGN IN THE RENAISSANCE

The Humanists of the *Quattrocento* generally believed that Petrarch was the first to have had that much grace talent as to discover and bring to light the antique ease of forgotten and lost style.[1] "Messer Francesco" heralds the dawn of the New Day after the barbarian and dark Middle Ages.[2] The newly born *litterae* while developing the idea of a total, new man were not restricted to the limited circle of erudites any longer: "E si chiamano *studia humanitatis* perché formano l'uomo completo".[3] The two most important values of the coming Humanism were the emphases on the harmony between the general significance of the ideal, antique style and the sensibility to the social problems. God wants people to communicate, to understand each other - precise self-revelation is possible, however, only through knowledge of classical authors. Colluccio Salutati, Petrarch's disciple, argues that the word and the thing it signifies are delivered of the same womb /*velut cum ipsis rebus nata*/ man being unable to have a serious knowledge of grammar without the latter having a fi[illegible]

connection with reality. "Ipsa grammatica sine noticia rerum, et quibus modis rerum essentia varietur, sciri non potest".[4] Thus: the discipline of grammar is a pre-condition of being admitted to the spiritual sphere. Without fully understanding the concepts and the language it is impossible to conceive God's words: the Scriptures. *Studia humanitatis* offer themselves as a tool with whose help one can attain the spirit, indivisible from its precise verbal explication, and so they are closely connected with *studia divinitatis*. The right interpretation of God's message prepares the way for conquering the spiritual society /*società spirituale*/ - manifested and preserved in literary monuments.

From the iconographic viewpoint it was the medieval mythographies that mostly managed to preserve antique tales, stories and motifs. John Ridewall, Fulgentius, even Petrus Berchorius - in personal contact with Petrarch - did not have the slightest intention of questioning the authenticity of medieval texts and those of related representations. Boccaccio was the first to try to reveal the original state of the antique poetic tales and myths; to "restore" old gods' beauty without any related religious beliefs. To do this he first had to distinguish between pagan religion and the *"favole antiche"*. The gods were not revealed to ancient poets, therefore the latter ones represented deities as *fictiones poeticae*. Their role was to change the physical and moral world by

way of imagination, thus indirectly expressing divine order, they were in this way "theologians" stupefied by Nature like "Balam's ass".

The poet of *De Genealogiis deorum gentilium* /1350-1366/ is Nature's Ape - this however is a worthy task: "In questo concederò essere i poeti scimmie della natura, perché mi sembra cosa degnissima tentare con l'arte quel che natura fa con la sua potenza".[5] The poet with his "art" tries to imitate what Nature does. The poet comes from God's lap /*viene dal grembo di dio*/, his gift is very rare among men. "Sublimi sono i resultati di quell'ardore: la mente è trascinata in un desiderio d'esprimersi, di trovare invenzioni peregrine e inaudite, di comporle in un ordine preciso, di ornarle in un contesto nuovo di parole e di frasi, di velarne il vero con belle favole".[6] Boccaccio radically changed the medieval understanding of poets and poetry: poetic furor, deliberate search for innovative expressions, reality manifesting itself from behind the veil of the tale, the imaginative creation of a new orderly world were all innovations of the mid 14th century that later in the Renaissance reached as far as *Spaccio* by Giordano Bruno and the poetical theories of Gravina and Vico.

The poetry of the ancients had, in a sense, preceded their contemporary philosophy, too, inasmuch as the poets were intuitive and original, hiding deep meanings in their poetry, whereas the philosophers had been more bound by

rationalism.

Boccaccio's collection then not only enlarged the material of the mythographies but introduced a new, scientific and critical viewpoint to Antiquity.

How can particular constituents of mythological, physical, transcendental and moral worlds be portrayed in pictures and described in texts in accordance with the scientific needs of Humanism? First, on the basis of critical analyses of the texts, the original meanings of old myths and tales are to be explored. This way - the humanists think - earthly and heavenly dominions become cognizable. The antique beauty of the form must be preserved and the symbolism of portraying and personifying must be subordinated to the antique authority. Apart from the generally accepted convention described above, the initial question was answerable in two ways in accordance with which standpoint one had taken up in the nominalism-realism debate of scholasticism. According to that principle, the dichotomy of the universal was also adjusted to two far earlier existing aesthetic traditions: whose influence points far beyond scholasticism.

The poet and the artist's relating the general and the particular in their creative processes has been stated - from "within", from the viewpoint of inspiration - by Goethe, the pantheist and nominalist. *Über die Gegenstände der bildenden Kunst* /1797/ poses an alternative: clear and definite representation very much depends on the ar-

tist's choice of subject based on his preferences: this choice contains the very dichotomy. For one type of artist the most favourable are those that define themselves by their sensual existence, first of all those from Nature - obviously represented as an artistic whole. Another type of artist would not depict objects as they are in Nature but on a level where - deprived of all individual and vulgar features - they become works of art not by way of adaptation but as fully developed ideas undergoing their embodiment. "In the first case Nature creates, in the second: human spirit creates with an innermost connection with Nature; there the artist is granted some grandeur by the effort of technical working procedure, whereas here no such efforts are sufficient enough to express the grandeur of the subject".[7] The symbolist artist sees the general in the particular; he does not presuppose the objective, independent existence of *universalia*. For him - to use the terminology of scholasticism - *universalia sunt in rebus*: the most outstanding and noble objects come together through the clear and natural feeling of the artist - this way they may become symbolical. "Things represented this way look as if they stood alone, nevertheless bearing deep meaning, the source of which is the ideal sphere always containing some generalities. If the symbolical element refers to anything else apart from representation that always happens in an indirect way". The result of the symbolist artist's activity is some sort of transcendental

idea revealed, but the ideal comes into being by a fortunate meeting of the subject and objective reality.

Conversly, the subject matters of allegorical works of art are spiritual, conceived in an *apriori* way. The function of the particular is to represent the general; the artist has some idea in his mind and is looking for the proper subjects to represent it. Putting it more precisely: the subject matter of creation is the picture, idea, conception revealing itself in the subject and which is also manifested in the natural object by way of more or less necessity. Although this theory is not identical with the "realism" of scholasticism, it can be strongly linked to it. Here we have *universalia sunt ante rem* , that is, the general does possess a real existence and precedes matter. Before the creator begins to work, the picture, the transcendental idea is fully preformed visually in his mind, taking the form of concrete, earthly objects without being dissolved in them and without renouncing its original infinite domain. Goethe has objected to this "realist" standpoint: "from these /allegorical artists/ the least good can be expected, since they break the interest in representation, make the spirit retreat into itself, not letting it see what could actually be seen. The allegorical is indirect, the symbolical is direct".

What is a picture then? Is it a holy sign, a mystical code in which the transcendental idea, or deity is

directly revealed and - as the sign of Macrocosm in Nostradamus' book, or the Faustian pentagram impriso-ning even Mephistopholes - through which supernatural powers can also exercise their power? Or, on the con-trary, is it a unity of corresponding natural subjects organized by the artist's mind? In the 15th and 16th centuries both interpretations offered their own detai-led theoretical theses and apologies. The vast emblema-tic and iconographic literature springing from Andrea Alciati's collection, titled: *Emblematum libellus* /written in 1521, publ. in 1531/ was richly sufficient for theoretical and practical needs alike.[8]

The Revelative Sign

It is a commonly known fact that side by side with the repeatedly reformed, Aristotelian-oriented universi-ty's activities in Padua, Bologna, etc., in Florence, however, a Platonic Academy came into being, delibera-tely founded and supported by Cosimo de'Medici.[9] Petrarch did not know the Greek language, for it began to be taught in wider circles only during the course of the immigration of Byzantine scholars into Italy. We know that Plato, Bessarion, Crisolora, Argiropoulos, etc. fled to Italy from the Turkish threat so that they could promote the fusion of the Eastern and Western Christian Church. The

Byzantine scholars had brought manuscripts written by antique Greek authors which they later made use of when arguing their aims. What they brought in fact was undoubtedly Plato and Platonism. Their mediating function was also very significant since - among other things - this was the way how Egyptian hieroglyphics and certain hermetic and cabbalistical apocrypha came to be known in Italy.

The cosmological and philosophical bases of all these come from the Platonic doctrine of the two worlds. Socrates says in *Phaidon* /109-110/ that human beings live in the cavities of the earth and, just like the animals deep down in the sea, they cannot rise to higher spheres, moreover they cannot even imagine them. "... because of our weakness and sluggishness we cannot rise to the surface of the air. If somebody could be lifted up, or fly there like a bird, he could have an overview - and just as, down here, the fishes that swim up to the surface of the sea can have a look at what is going on, that somebody up there could have the same look, providing his nature would bear the sight of real heaven, real light and real earth".[10] With discursive language at his disposal, Socrates is unable to reveal the actual esoteric reality. The entities there do not need language and speech, their communication is direct and purely ideal: therefore it is perfect.

The idea according to which the inhabitants of heaven

do not have to communicate in a material linguistic form was inherited by the Middle Ages, too. In the greatest linguistic theory - the product of *media aetas*, in Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* /1306/ only man felt the necessity of self-expression through words and language, whereas angels did not. "Havendo adunque gli angeli prontissima et ineffabile sufficienza d'intelletto da chiarire i loro gloriosi concetti, per la quale sufficienza d'intelletto l'uno è totalmente noto all'altro, o vero per sé, o almeno per quel fulgentissimo specchio, nel quale tutti sono rappresentati bellissimi, et in cui avidissimi si specchiano."[11] They are not imprisoned by the body and the senses, and directly comprehend concepts and symbols. The Poet, who knows language best from among the earthly mortals, must also strive /like the Angels/ to express the reality of the "other world" with the help of abstract forms and symbols, using the least possible material elements. /The heavenly hierarchy, geometry, mathematical structure, linguistic patterns and the often occuring *vocabulorum constructio*[12] of the *Divina Commedia* make it unambiguous that the author wanted to create a work in collaboration with heaven and earth "l poema sacro, al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra"./

The Platonic conception of the two worlds was not incompatible with the Christian doctrines since the Word /*Logos*/ becomes Flesh /*incarnatio*/ and God is revealed in nature, history, and in the collective spirit of Man-

kind, too. The Book of Nature complements and verifies the Scriptures that talk about the mystery of Redemption. God is symbolically present everywhere - Man must learn to conceive Him.

The Florence Neoplatonists, wanting to theoretically bring about the synthesis of Plato's teachings and Christian religion, were *in between* the transcendence theories of realism and the immanence theory of pantheism. God created the world so as to be revealed - but not to be dissolved in it. "Lo /mondo/ riempie senza esserne riempito, lo pervade, senza esserne pervaso, e lo include senza esservi incluso".[13] According to the *theologia platonica*, the Universe is a *divinum animal*, God's continuous presence, supernatural fluid, *energia* which starting from *Mens Cosmica* reaches *Materia* from where, obeying the rules of *circulus spiritualis*, it gradually returns /*ritornello*/ to the celestial sphere.

The real dignity of the arts and sciences comes from the link between them and their heavenly archetypes. These archetypes are being revealed, or else - using Ficino and Pico della Mirandola's terminology - arts and sciences refer back to and make us *remember* the Utmost Knowledge. The centrist position of the Florence Neoplatonist accounts for his not prophanizing the heavenly substance and for his trying to raise certain elements of everyday life into the realm of sanctity. The dignity of a spiritual man was then above all the previous ones.

Pico in his *De hominis dignitate* /1487/ maintains that God has provided for the germs of all qualities and capacities in Man who, therefore, can rise high to the realm of a Deity as well as sink back to the bottom of animalhood - whatever he wants.[14] God is present in things without becoming identical with them. Man can usually conceive the presence of a deity in a furor-like nervous and mental disposition.

Raphaello on his frescoes in "Camera della Segnatura" in the Vatican has represented two levels of wisdom. The four areas he pictures are: Poetry, Philosophy, Theology and Law. His iconographic program was to satisfy "ad praescriptum Iulii pontificis". According to Vasari, the painter began to work on "Camera" before 1511 when theologians tried to bring together philosophy, astrology and theology. Thus one sees "wise men of the world" disputing in different ways. We see four allegorical figures on the ceiling, under them on the side walls being presented the teaching of human history through persons whose activity helped to reveal celestial knowledge. Prototype precedes history: *universalia sunt ante rem* but at the same time, the scenes presented on the side-walls suggest that Man does not only "mirror" or passively "tolerate" the celestial, but understands the teaching. His power and capacity are able, in fact, to form ideal history: *Universalia sunt in rebus* - God influences the World from within, in an im-

manent way, too.

The four pictured ideas together with the corresponding parables are the personifications of: *Poetry - Parnasse, Philosophy - Athenian School, Theology - Disputes*, personification of *Civic* and *Canonic* Law. On the ceiling the image of poetry is a winged, laureled young Woman with a lyre in her left hand and a book in her right - to notify the spectators of the presence of the "divine", her look is directed off the perspective of the picture. The inscription is: *Numine afflatur* /Divine inspiration, ecstasy/. This *idea* is looked upon from before the under-wall where Apollon with his musical instrument appears to be imitating the celestial harmony. He is the leader of the group around him, consisting of Muses and Poets, and his way of looking up and the ecstasy of his complexion suggest that this pagan god is nearest to the prototype. The other figures watch him, or else they talk to one another. Apart from the mythological figures the members of the *Parnaso* are: Homer, Virgil, Sappho, Dante, Petrarch and many other poets all wearing laurel wreaths, the Apollonian symbol of immortality.

Fig.1.

Numine afflatur can be conceived in the literal sense of *ecstasy*, as when the mind leaves the straight and narrow paths of everyday thinking, when it is beyond its usual state. With Michelangelo the prophets are frenzied this way by their *memory* when they see the

Divine Story on the ceiling frescoes of Capella Sistina. This is what Shakespeare's Theseus states: the poet in a saintly state of madness glances at heaven and earth and he describes what he sees, embodying the heavenly idea in his imagination.

> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
> And, as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.
> Such tricks hath strong imagination.
> That, if it would but apprehend some joy,
> It comprehends some bringer of that joy.
>
> /A Midsummer-Night's Dream, V.1. 12-20./

Also by Greek mediation 15th century Europe got to know yet another tradition that strengthened theoretically the revelative function and hieroglyphical character of the sign, and thus tradition offered ready schemes to picture certain metaphysical concepts. I am referring of course to Egyptian hieroglyphics here. Their infiltration into and spread in European culture was in fact due to the Neoplatonic trend. On the one hand it was Plato's 15th century disciples who delivered the concrete material, while on the other they made the audience sensitive to this influence.[16] /We have to note here that Egyptian hieroglyphic and demotic writing had largely been misinterpreted in the 15th and 16th centuries and onwards up to 1822 when Champollion made his

discovery./

The first collection of hieroglyphics entered Italy in 1419. It was Horapollon's collection titled *Hieroglyphica* / 4th c.A.D. / in a Greek MS brought there from Greece by a Florentine humanist priest called Christophorus Buondelmonti. The book, containing 189 hieroglyphs and their explanations, soon became very popular, and was published in numerous editions, one of them illustrated by Dürer. The humanists created the theory of the ancient unity of Egyptian, Greek, Persian, Hebrew and other Near-Eastern peoples, and deduced Christian religion from the synchretism of these. They "discovered" secret links and kinships between Hermes Trimegistos, Orpheus, Zoroaster, Moses and Plato: they thought the deeper roots of Christianity went back to the *Logos* and the theory of revelation understood in the Greek-Egyptian way and that mystical, hermetic writings provided an account for this period. According to a group of Renaissance thinkers hieroglyphical emblems and symbols can at least be shown to be consistent with the hidden meaning of classical mythology and the Judeo-Christian teachings of revelation. Ficino and Pico della Mirandola were convinced that Hermes Trimegistos discovered the writing, and the Egyptian sages shared the uttermost wisdom concerning the Deity and the secrets of the world: it was from them that Moses had learnt about power over natural forces. They relied on Plotinos'

authority: "The Egyptian sages ... drew pictures and carved on picture for each thing in their temples, thus making manifest the description for that thing. Thus each picture was a kind of understanding and wisdom and substance and given all at once, and not discursive reasoning and deliberation".[17] In Ficino's opinion it was not letters that the Eqyptian priests used for expressing the mistery, but complete pictures of plants, trees, animals, etc. The divine is not conceived through a multitude of thinking processes but through the simple, clear and stable forms of the thing in question. The Egyptians concentrated long arguments in a single image.

Thus all important knowledge is hidden within a symbolic form and only the expert can recognize the real meaning. *Time*, for example is a winged snake biting into its own tail. For the well-informed circles this image *represents* time, which thus is not part of the realm of senses. The image - in Ficino's words - *incarnates* its object, it does not signify it.

Leon Battista Alberti was also fascinated by the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, medals and monuments. In his portrait /1438/ he made the artist draw a pair of winged eyes surrounded by garlands which are the symbol of pleasure and glory. The motto is: *Quid Tum* /What Then/. In his *De Re Aedificatoria* /1452/ Alberti discusses the advantages of Egyptian symbols over Etruscan and Roman writing. The Egyptians used the symbols

in the following way: they drew eyes by which they meant God, by a vulture they meant Nature, by a bee a king, by a circle: time, by an ox: peace, etc. They did so because they knew if they had written words they would have been understood only by those who spoke that language. This way, however, their epitaphs will be understood forever by all peoples, whereas the Etruscans will have been forgotten.[18] The Romans, being more prudent, did not only rely on epitaphs for immortality, but - in a sense similar to the Egyptians - they carved the significant events and figures of their history on their columns, triumphal arches and porticoes, and way these memories became independent of their language and verbal traditions.

The newly learned Egyptian hieroglyphs directly appeared in Francesco Colonna's collection of engravings, titled *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* /1499/. and from there to Bramante's and Giulio Romano's works. Colonna described 14 hieroglyphs, the symbols extending "into an additive picture-script, whose parts had to be read like words and sentences of a discursive language".[20] Undoubtedly, one of the most important works of this kind in this period was *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch* by Dürer that consisted of 1º2 blocks and was accompanied by Pirckheimer's Latin and Stabius' German text, respectively. E. Panofsky interprets the figure of the Emperor as follows: "Maximilian /the Emperor himself/ a prince

/dog draped with stole/ [:this is exactly how a monarch's dignity should be represented in Horapollo's opinion][21] of great piety /star above the Emperor's crown/, most magnanimous, powerful and courageous /lion/, ennobled by imperishable and ethernal fame /basilisk an the Emperor's crown/ descending from ancient lineage /the sheaf of papyrus on which he is seated/, Roman Emperor /eagles embroidered in the cloth of honor /endowed with all the gifts of nature, ... art and learning/ dew descending from the sky /and master of a great part of the terrestrial globe/snake encircling the sceptre/ - has with warlike virtue and great discretion /bull/ won a shining victory /falcon on the orb/ over the mighty king here indicated /cock on a serpent, meaning the King of France/, and thereby watchfully protected himself /crane raising its foot/ from the strategems of said enemy, which has been deemed impossible /feet walking through water by themselves/ by all mankind".[22] The visual and verbal symbolism, together with the literary commonplaces and evidences of the Renaissance are to quite a degree based on hieroglyphics. We know that, when beginning the Apollon-series, Dürer was fond of toying with alchemistical ideas. The Sun /Apollon/ itself is a precious metal, and what is more, in his engraving titled *The Rape of Europe* he represents *lutum sapientiae*, the allegorical figure of alchemy as wearing an Eastern turban. The description of Europe in Angelo

Poliziano's *Giostra* was the basis for her representation.[23]

A disciple of Poliziano's Pietro Crinito has shown in his *De honesta disciplina* /1504/ that there is no difference whatsoever between the hieroglyphs and the symbols. Pico della Mirandola stressed that even the Old Testament had been written in an allegorical language. Moreover, Homer's works do contain hieroglyphic signs. In Bologna Filippo Fasanini translated Horapollo's work into Latin in 1517 and offered lectures "on the right conception of the real nature of things". Among the disciples was Andrea Alciati, the author of the first emblem-collection, who, relying on Plutarch's authority, stated that ancient classical symbolism and hieroglyphics are the same thing - the Greek and the Egyptian tradition could be brought together both from the viewpoint of artistic inscription and that of "know-how", Pietro Valeriano /private secretary to Cardinal Medici, later Pope Leo X./ published his work entitled *Hieroglyphica* in 1566, in Venice. In the dedication the author explicitly stated that to reveal things in the hieroglyphical way meant no less than revealing the real nature of divine and human things.[24] The study of these signs *is* a philosophical discipline. Apart from relying on Graeco-Roman material and Horapollo, Valeriano used the cabbalistic writings and the Bible, as well. In his theoretical arguments, starting from Psalm 78:2. /"I open my lips to parable, I herald mysteries of ancient times - we heard them, we lear-

ned them - from our progeniture"/ he raised the Question: what else had God wanted to say with this except that He had been talking in a hieroglyphical language, than that He had wanted to express knowledge in an allegorical way.[25]

The mystical idea of the revelatory function of the picture/sign also had its continuity in the century of Descartes. In Italy Giarda proves the symbolical value of earthly things by using the arguments of Christian dogmatics. Relying on St. Augustine, he gives a "historical" explanation. Human beings were unable to conceive certain aprioristic qualities /knowledge, goodness, strength, beauty, truth, dignity etc./, but God still would have liked them to get to know the celestial ideas which - according to the Christian doctrine - had been placed not in the highest sphere of the Platonic world but in God's mind. *Icones Symbolicae* /1626/ still uses the terminology of humanistic "dignity". God has commanded that all things in the universe should turn into symbolical pictures. The joint property of these forms is the Library or the Theatre of the World where we all are their readers or spectators. The images are imperfect, yet suitable for the purpose of learning about the dignity of divine things. "Egli parlò, e con una sola parola tutti gli elementi, ... cose ... animali ... stelle ... luci del cielo si trasformarono in altrettante Immagini simboliche, per cosi dire, di quelle perfezioni e tutte

insieme le disegnò, le configurò e le presentò nella Biblioteca di questo mondo, o se si vuole in questo Teatro perché fossero contemplate dai tristi uomini. Vadano dunque i mortali, chiedano solo, neghino se possono, che l'accesso più facile alla contemplazione delle cose divine è aperto loro, quando tutte le cose, che possono essere percipite dai sensi sono immagini di quelle, certo imperfette, però sufficienti ed adeguate a desumere, dalla loro apparenza e dal loro modo di contenersi, la dignità delle cose divine".[26]

Before the Fall, Adam wrote the Divine Knowledge on two imperishable stelae. The Egyptian priests discovered the marble and brick column, and were able to understand its meaning, on the basis of which they created their theory of hieroglyphics. Only very restricted circle of ancient sages had been close to God, and were thus able to conceive the hermetic teaching, the symbolical language coming from God. The original Knowledge is hidden in Moses's books, in the Greek myths and tales. At that time the erudites were all poets expressing themselves in symbols, thus mirroring superior reality and making their audience and readers long for the state of perfection which they had already been part of, before their birth. /Christianity used the collective memory of Mankind instead of individual anamnesis./

With the theory of the sign directly embodying the metaphysical idea, the "wall", the principal boundary

between the two worlds had been knocked down: the picture *could* be mixed with the prototype. Visual symbolism, interpreted as above, was related to the almost unbelievable, contemporary growth of the prestige and importance of Renaissance *beaux arts* - to such an extent that the notion of "idolatry" was threathing in extreme cases. Obviously, the Church had to undertake the task of fighting these aspirations, just like it had to attack Platonism - that gained itself a "bad" reputation under the name of humanism. Some extreme wings of Protestantism breaking radically with "popery", declared deliberately "iconoclastic" principles closely connected to the teachings of "predestination" that strived in particular for theoretical annihilation of the dignity of man, as advocated by humanistic Platonism. The Counter-Reformation, too, produced very severe laws against "artistic arbitrariness" and its contentions theoretical bases. After the Synod in Trident, the official ideologists of the Church authoritatively ordered that artists should study the Holy Texts, and could represent only word-by-word equivalents of the same. "The Synod hath ordered that no unusual images /insolitam imaginem/ should be put to view in church or elsewhere without the Bishop's ready consent".[27] Supervising ecclesiastical art became the Bishop's sphere of authority. The Counter-Reformation was not explicitly anti-artistic, but it renewed the medieval teaching ac-

cording to which the pictorial images were *biblia pauperum* and, like Gregory I., it stated that their sole function was to teach the Holy Word for the illiterate. Platonism had seen its decline towards the end of the 16th century and almost all the significant theoretical representatives of 17th century thought - from those of the Roman Catholic Supreme Court through the Lutheran orthodoxy up to the leading persons of the French Academy - referred to Aristotle. "... systematical Aristotelianism was an unavoidable *proviso* of the period".[28]

Metaphorical Use of Signs

Aristotle's *Poetics* first appeared in Latin translation in 1498; in 1508 the Greek original was also published. The almost unprecedented triumph of the work began, however, only three decades later with the bilingual, Alessandro de Pazzi edition /1536/ and its numerous reprints. Some years later it made its way into university education. Its systematical interpretation began with Bartolomeo Lombardi's activity in Padua. Later on, it was basically the *commentaries* on *Poetics* that pointed the ways for the development of official aesthetics and provided for the theoretical background of critical practice.[29]

Aristotle deals with the problem and classification of metaphors in Chapter 21. of his *Poetics*. /"Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy."/ Aristotle's first example for the first case is: "my ship is standing here because to cast an anchor means to *stop* something". For the second: "Odysseus has indeed completed ten thousand glorious things", since ten thousand is a lot and that is what the Poet uses instead of "a lot". For the third one, he quotes: "he has robbed his enemy of his soul with his sword" or: "cutting his enemy with his merciless sword". In this instance: robbing means cutting and vice versa - both try to express "taking away". 15th and 16th century iconographic repertories relied, however, mostly on the concept of *analogy*. The Greek philosopher considered it an analogy if "the second thing compares with the first as the fourth with the third one; the Poet will thus use the fourth instead of the second or reversely and he will sometimes add the substantive the metaphor appertains to and stands for". The wine-cup compares with Dionysus as the shield compares with Ares. The poet will, therefore, call the wine-cup Dionysus' shield and the shield will be called Ares' wine-cup. In the same way: the evening is the old age of the day, old age is therefore the evening of

life. The adequacy between the thing and the word is not direct and closed, the elements are interchangeable. The abstract use of language demands the metaphor, but language itself can also exist without it.

The sign - in its metaphorical use - does not signify any esoteric idea, and is not in direct contact with the metaphysical world. The signifier and the signified preserve their independence: their connection is not based on necessity but on convention. The metaphor means a special use of language when the word not only nominates a thing but - using its own devices - refers to relations and laws existing in reality.

The explanation for the historical development of the metaphor was given by Cicero in his *De Oratore*. In this it is maintained that the birth of the metaphor had been necessitated by linguistic poverty and powerlessness and since the device proved to be very entertaining it came to general use in the advanced command of the language. The existing vocabulary is held to be insufficient in being able to express objects and their classifications, which is why it becomes necessary for the speaker to refer to non-standardized relations, objects, concepts etc. by way of their similarity. The phenomenon to be expressed becomes clear by the very use of the parallel. A special form of this situation is the paradox, or *oxymoron*, based on apparent surface contradiction that in fact calls one's attention to an

essential underlying identity.

In the 16th century the metaphor was found to be especially suitable for the carrying out of didactic and explanatory tasks. Moreover, there was a predilection for the *translation* in revealing the meanings of particularized relations.[30] The *trope* is of key function in our particular sphere of interest: it is a dynamic sign carrying the meaning of an object over into another. The *metaphor* is the only device, elaborated and sanctified by the tradition of poetics, with whose help an abstract thought, idea or personification was representable in a concrete and visual form without presupposing the direct and static embodiment of the idea which could have given rise to theological accusations of idolatry. In addition, *Translatio*, semantically speaking, is a precise expression of the fact that two different things are taken into consideration. Those two things are similar to a certain degree in that they have affinity but are not identical. *Translatio* did also have the advantage of not being inconsistent with the "two worlds conception" of dogmatics. In education, visual representation was well co-ordinable with the medieval *versus memoriales*. The then "audio-visual method" had used the "channels" of the two senses to acquire and preserve knowledge.

Iconographic collections - suitable for communicating practical and simple thoughts in a quite precise and clear way - appear and become quickly widespread in the

16th century. These collections deviated from the emblem-collections /the latter having been decipherable in their mystical revelation of the divine knowledge only by a small circle of experts, or else overexplained for the others/ both in their material and method. Repertories usually suggest an early genesis, as can be seen from their titles: "Hieroglyph", "divisa", "device", "devise", *emblema* /i.e. "insertion"/ - all come from Plato-oriented, Egyptian etc. authors. Père le Moine, even in his *L'Art des devises* /1666/ offers a cautious yet still Platonic viewpoint when he says: "If I were not afraid of going too far and of saying too much, I should say that the *divisa* contained something of the general images - available for superior Minds - that had always been able to express /through a simple idea and within a moment/ things that our minds could conceive only through a long series of continuous impressions...".[31] *Impresa, iconography/ iconology* are, however, key-words in the Aristotelian-originated, rationalistically-minded repertories.

Scipione Bargagli's *La prima parte dell'Imprese* /1578/ is not a collection of hieroglyphs /mystical symbols/ but a collection of illustrated metaphors, based on the comparison of certain qualities. The author has drawn pictures usually depicting everyday things, tools and objects related to man's physical work, whose functions refer to the qualities of the abstract theoretical and moral world. By way of an example we quote "Per te

surgo". In the picture we see a hand holding a whip /*frusta*/ and a gyroscope. From the text we learn that the "whips of outrageous fortune" cannot knock a man down, and in fact, they can make a man rise - just like when a gyroscope is being hammered, it rises.

The two approaches are clearly separate in depicting Time, too. According to the Platonic, Gnostic and Egyptian conception Time is *Aion*, the principle of ever-existing and inexhaustible divine creation /Timaios, 37/, "an ever-existing image of still eternity constantly proceeding by numbers" /with which we can associate circulatory motion/. Its adequate emblem - as previously alluded to - is the winged snake biting into its own tail, the symbol of cosmic powers. The picture thus has very little - if any - moral didaxis, it does not offer new information, and is of self-defining nature. In the verbal tradition the same idea is expressed by the cosmic continuity of building and demolishing. This kind of Time is described in Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"Thou nursest all, and murderest all that are".

/v. 229/

The *other* heritage maintains that although Time is destructive it reveals the truth and rewards virtues.

Here it is not Time appearing in abstract form but instead our perceptions of change in the world caused by it. Its personification is a bearded old man whose attributes usually are the wing, the scythe, along with the

snake biting into its own tail which often appears by way of identification. His daughter is Truth /*Veritas filia Temporis*/. In Bronzino's painting titled *L'innocenza riscattata* he is taking the veil off her - thus Time reveals the naked Truth. In F. Perriere's collection the iron tooth of time is about to destroy the very Roman and Greek sculptures.[32] /The wings signify the flying of time, the scythe signifies the constant stasis of the present, the cutting of the individual's life-yarn; the snake biting into its own tail - in contrast to these - represents continuity and constant regeneration. These "imprese" are well applicable for moral interpretation, teaching and memorizing of abstract concepts. In practice the two traditions were, of course, easily reconcilable: the winged old God in Torquato Tasso's work is at once a metaphysical power, building and destroying, *and* also one revealing the truth. The first four lines of the sonnet entitled *Al Tempo* /cca 1579/ represent the cosmic power in itself, whereas the last strophe shows the mundane truth-revealing *effect* of the same:

> Vecchio ed alato dio, nato col sole
> Ad un parto medesmo e con le stelle,
> che distruggi le cose e rinnovelle
> Mentre per torte vie vole e rivole,
> ...
> E tu la verità traggi dal fondo
> Dov'è sommersa e, senza velo od ombra,
> Ignuda e bella a gli occhi altrui si mostri.

/Rime. [687] 188./

The best known collection was probably Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* /1593/. For about a century and a half this work determined the method of visually representing and, consequently, verbally defining certain abstract concepts, aesthetic features and qualities. The ideological reason for Ripa's popularity was that his work was fully suitable for the pedagogical aims - taken in their widest sense - of the Counter-Reformation and Jesuitism. It parallelly offered easily understandable, memorizable and exact knowledge of abstract things *and*, with its naturalism, intensified the emotional response to religion and mysticism. The first edition in the course of the following thirty years was followed by eight /usually enlarged/ ones. It is not mere chance that *Iconologia* was attacked in the second half of the 18th century particularly because of its emotional - religious affinity. Lessing under the aegis of antique serenity in his *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet?* /1769/ opposed the "badly conceived religion" of "obscure" Ripa which showed the personification of death as a horrible person. Lessing argues that with the classics death was an aesthetically pleasant figure, Thanatos, Hypnos' brother being a most beautiful young man. It also becomes clear, however, from Lessing's study that Ripa's work still strongly determined visual tradition and knowledge.

Ernest Gombrich has recently pointed out how desultory the allusions to Egyptian hieroglyphs are in *Iconologia*, and how far Ripa, in fact, was from this approach.[33] Iconology - states the Italian author - is essentially "linguaggio figurato", the discipline of the language taken in a figurative /metaphorical/ sense. It is usually characterized by a double methodological aim: the images are described in the accompanying text in accordance with the syllogisms of formal logics, whereas in the representations of the drawings the metaphorical technique is used. Since every *single* thing contains something of the *whole*, therefore the picture - as *pars pro toto* - may refer to the abstract general notion. Ripa precisely defines his task: the task of iconology is to represent first of all moral concepts /Amicizia, Severita, Morte, Genio, etc./, whereas the world of nature /"processi di generazione e curruzione e la disposizione dei cieli"/ does not require a specific treasury of images since it had already been suitably represented by the tales and myths about gods. Following the same logic, pictographic signs of different kinds are also omitted. Abstract notions can best be represented with the help of the human figure since it has a long tradition, its features and qualities are well classifiable and understandable and each of these can be used as *differentia specifica*. The concrete question of

"how" is answered by Ripa with a reference to Aristotle's four reasons. Since the qualities, causes, properties and other additional features of the notion to be defined are clearly visible, on the basis of similarity,others can be found in the sphere of the material world. "Da poi, quando sappiamo per questa strada, distintamente la qualità, le cagioni, le proprietà, e gli accidenti d'una cosa definibile, acciocché se ne faccia l'Imagine, bisogna cercare la Similitudine, come abbiamo detto nelle cose materiali, la quale verrà in luogo dell'Immagine, o definizione dei Retori".[34]

The illustrated metaphor does not have a direct revelative function, and it cannot be considered as a metaphysical idea hidden in matter. The image in its whole is an objective attribute of some concept carrying a suitable amount of information for precisely defining the contents signified by it. *Severity* is expressed by the stable cone, whereas the ball and the wheel make the spectator associate incertitude and the mutability of Fortune.

The notion of strength can best be represented by the column, because the function of a column in a building corresponds to physical strength in man. This is to say the column and strength have a similar structural function within the whole. Pictorial, illustrated metaphors of this kind are far clearer and more

dynamic than the epithet structures /an example of the latter is when generosity is represented by a lion, since this quality has traditionally been attributed to lions/. Nevertheless, the epithet structure is also acceptable if it defines the essential quality of the notion. The *icon* based on direct adequacy is *not* acceptable, however, and must not be recommended; Friendship cannot be represented by a depressed human figure, since these are illustrations of individual cases and as such are not of defining nature. Beauty cannot simply be represented by a wonderful naked female body, either, since this is the case of *idem per idem*.

Because of the obvious advantages, the metaphorical use of signs became more and more widespread in the 17th century. From among the thirty-one premises put down by Emmanuele Tesauro the first one was: *la perfetta impresa è una metafora*. By way of a metaphor we can learn a lot with little effort: "E quinci nasce il diletto che si recano le Imprese: però che l'Obietto significato per propri termini, non ci'nsegna se non se tesso: ma il significato per metafora, ci'nsegna in un tempo due Obietti, l'un dentro l'altro... il che all'human genio, naturalmente cupido di saper molto, senza molta fatica; è cosa piacevolissima".[35] Moral concepts personified with the help of human figures, visual schemes expressing intellectual messages were indispensable for the artist. By way of an example we can re-

call Nicolas Poussin's painting, titled *The Dance of Human Life*. The picture depicts two scenes: in the heavens the Sun, unshakeably quiet, is driving its chariot along the path of the clouds; down on the earth, however, in the grove/s/ and field/s/ everything changes from one state into another. The four female figures, holding one another's hands, form a circle as if humanizing the idea of the *Wheel of Fortune*: metaphysical determine the necessarily cyclical nature of man's social fate; the cycles run into each other. Poverty gives her hand to Work, Work to Richness, Richness to Luxury, Luxury again to Poverty and so, on and so forth. They dance to the music of Time. The winged, naked, bearded old man, sitting in the bottom right corner has been transferred to Poussin's picture from the iconographic collections almost without any change. Time is playing on a lyre - this way the painter gives a secondary allusion to the immortality of poetry. Beside him there is a little boy holding a sandglass in his hand, while another is blowing soap-bubbles: the motif connotes change and transitoriness. On the left of the picture, the composition is enclosed by a column on which we see the Janus-like face of Past and Present. The latter is the portrait of an old man, the former that of a young one. There is an interesting doubly directed circulatory notion in the picture: realized horizontally "down here"

Fig.4.

and vertically "up there", but what *we* see is only the arc of the circle. This is as much as can be conceived in the terminal perspective of human life.

The Poet/Poetry as a Swan Fig. 2.

In general, the 16th and 17th centuries did not make a clear distinction between the personification of poetry and the representation of the poet. How did the poet visualize himself and both his art and profession and what was the common opinion of these? What kind of a figure represented the essence the best? These questions were answered in several ways. From among the possible solutions we have chosen the one that seems to have been the most characteristic.[36] We analyze three aspects of this simile; for want of space we disregard the others, for example the interpretation relating to the bird's whiteness very often referred to in the period in question. One of our aspects is mythological, according to which the swan is Apollon's sacred bird. The second point to be mentioned is its self-referring, intransitive activity - tradition suggests that it sings most wonderfully before its death. The third factor is the swan's charitable effect on the world: from the stream of oblivion it takes out those who deserve it.

The *fons et origo* of the simile was Plato's lifework.

Two instances are worth mentioning: he states in *The Republic* that Orpheus's soul has chosen the life formula of the swan, since he had come to hate the female sex which had caused his death and in his real life, he did not want to be born of a female womb. Then in *Phaidon* he gives an explanation for the mystery of death giving birth to life: that is, the soul is freed from its bodily jail and returns to God. The swan foresees its death and "it is then when it gives the most voice to its song - also voiced previously - since the swan is glad to return to the deity he has always been in the service of". /85/ The virtual temporal/mundane immortality of the Poet is represented here.

The hieroglyphic emblem - collections were a bit obsessed with stating that the swan was offering its most beautiful sound before its death because of being near to real life and consequential pleasure. This idea - already present in Horapollon - was further developed by Valeriano. The swan preparing for death sings even more beautifully than the nightingale. "Omnino autem quod de morte narratur, falsis aliquot experimentis competrum est: tametsi Lucretius poeta pervulgatam tangit opinionem, cum eos nece detortos, ac anxie cruciatos, liquidam lugubri voce querelam attollere ait ex vallis Heliconis. In quo illud etiam animadvertendum, ad hoc et Horatium et alios respexisse, cum poetas Cygni symbolo noncuparunt".[37]

When near to old age, Sophocles wrote in a more elegant, clever and beautiful way; his most renommed work was *Oedipus in Colonos*.

The idea of "poet as a swan" also occupied the minds of *Pléiade* School, Ronsard applies it in his very last poem *(Derniers vers de Ronsard)*. The simile appears in the third and fourth lines of sonnet, the poet about to leave the world:

> Et chanter son obsèque en la façon du Cygne,
> Qui chante son trespas sur les bords Meandrins.

The simile is continued three lines below: the feather flying towards heaven is a sign of the fact that far from the cheating world something must remain: the work of art, the *signe* is immortal. (With Valeriano it is also the flight of feathers that suggests Zephyrus' presence, the bird sings: "Olorum vero plumae identidem afflatu es surriguntur, quippe quae repercussu venti commoventur."[38])
Plume, in its objective reality, is a fortunate choice to reveal the idea of poetry and it brings together the poet and the swan in a single symbol:

> Ma plume vole au Ciel, pour estre quelque signe,
> Loing des appas mondains qui trompent les plus fins.

The second quoted line repeats the basic contradiction suggested by this poem, that between the world and real values. It does so, within a single line, for the first time in the poem. The contrast is expressed in the clearest way by the last strophe: in this earthly life Man is a toy for Fate, Fortune and Destiny, but the soul, when discarding the

burden of the body and the earthly dirt, becomes a pure idea *(esprit)* among others in a world of ideas.

> Laissant pourrir çà bas sa despouille de boue,
> Dont le sort, la Fortune, et le Destin se joue,
> Franc des liens du corps, pour n'estre qu'un esprit.

The identity of the poet and the swan was interpreted by Geronime Ruscelli *(Le imprese illustri*,1580) with the help of mythological tradition. The best poets aiming at glory are rightfully called swans, since Apollon's sacred bird is devoted to the Muses and sciences. Giulio Cesare Capaccio (*Delle Imprese*,1592) relies on the authority of the ancient Egyptians. It was Capaccio who popularized the thought, similar to Rabelais[39] as well, that swan is *cycnus musicus;* it does sing, no matter what others may say about it. "Plinio et Eliano dicono che non canta, benché han contrarii gli Egitti, che fingendo un Musico Vecchio, si servivano per Impresa de Cigno, perché Cigno, Re della Liguria fu mutato in uccello, et era gli celebre nella musica."[40]

Cesare Ripa also expresses the *communis opinio* according to which the poetic voice can be achieved by one's old age through constant improvement, perfection and polishing. "il Cigno in vecchiezza và meglio articolando continuamente la voce, per estenuarsi la gola, et cosi i poeti vanno migliorando nell'arte loro con gli anni, come si racconta di Edipo Coloneo, et di altri."[41] Ripa has described, classified and explained the various *species* of poetry. *Poesia* is a middle-aged woman in the right position having the right sort wear and requisites. The drawing shows us a laureled woman in a

Fig.3.

dress ornamented with stars, her naked breasts swelling with milk, and a radiant look upon her face *(viso infiammato)*. Just like in Raffaello's paintig at Segnatura, divine inspiration is presented here, too, since poetry is "the expression ofdivine things in the human mind stimulated by furor and divine grace." The stars directly refer to the celestial origins, the full breasts signify richness and productivity of thoughts and inventions, while the woman's physiognomy is radiant and thoughtful because the poet's soul is always full of quick movements resembling furor. This furor is different from the Neoplatonic conception of ecstasy. A work (of art) is not an irrational miracle – coming into existence at a moment beyond time as a consequence of the activity of metaphysical forces and revealing the transcendental idea – it does not have to be interpreted in its relation to the prototype only. It is *facitum*, a product (in its original meaning), and as such it can be compared to other similar works, analysed and classified.

In the remaining part of the entry this classication is carried out by Ripa. Taking into consideration the earthly aspect of poetry, he essentially discusses theoretical questions of literary genres. They do not appear in the picture but it can be learned from the text that four figures represent the four genres of poems: the pastoral, the satirical, the lyrical and the heroic. The lyrical poem is represented by a young woman holding a lyre in her left, and a zither in her right hand. She is wearing a tight,coloured, well-tailored costume expressing "sotto

una cosa, piu cóse vi si contengono." The motto is: "Brevi complector singula cantu." The heroic poem is represented by a man wearing a heavy suit – the pastoral poem is signified by a beautiful young man, the satirical poem by a naked figure.

In his territory and with his tools Ripa wanted to achieve some sort of synthesis between the idealistic and the realistic aesthetic tendencies. On the head of the woman symbolizing poetry there are both wings and laurels. The former refers to the capacíty of receiving the divine and to quick inspiration, while the leaves of the latter refer to the fact that only those works bring glory for their author which were created through much toil, diligence and even bitterness. *Numine afflatur* is not revealed in this world by its own power. The poet, in order to achieve something perfect, has to add to it his talent perfected in the course of diligence and his observations of reality.

According to Ruscelli, and others the swans swim in the river Lethe, where they save the poets from the river of oblivion, thereby assuring the poets' immortality, whilst Time constantly tries to submerge the poets, so as to wipe out the "famous names" from the mortal memory. The impresa-writer[42] believes that this idea comes from Ariosto, where Time and the Poets are treated in the 35th Canto *Orlando Furioso* (1507-1533). Many would like to fly above the waters of Lethe but their strength is

unable to support them - many worthy people are forgotten by posterity. Only two white swans swim in the river and they cannot compensate enough for the evil destructions of Time. Still, whenever they manage to rescue somebody, they fly with him to the Temple of Immortality standing on a nearby hill. It is often the nymphs of the sacred place who come to the bank of the river - signalled by the motion of the swan's wing, and the flight of the feathers - to take the poet's name out of the bird's bill and place it in the temple.

> Cosi contra i pensieri empi e maligni
> Del vecchio che donar li vorria al fiume,
> Alcun ne salvan gli augelli benigni:
> Tutto l'avanzo oblivion consume.
> Or se ne van notando is sacri cigni,
> Ed or per l'aria battendo le piume,
> Fin che presso alla ripa del fiume empio
> Trovano un colle, e sopra il colle un tempio. /15/

The happily singing swans redeem those who are worthy of the name poet:

> Ma come i cigni che cantando lieti
> Rendono salve le medaglie al tempio;
> Cosi gli uomini degni da'poeti
> Son tolti dall'oblio, più che morte empio. /22/

Astolfo would like to know the great mystery and asks the Nymph who the old man with the beard down to his chest is and why he is trying to force everybody under water. From the answer we realize that each

earthly object has an equivalent celestial pair and there exists a relation between them, just like Plato says:

> Tu dèi saper che non si muove fronda
> La giu, che segno qui non se ne faccia.
> Ogni effetto convien che corrisponda
> In terra e in ciel, ma con diversa faccia.
> Quel vecchio, la cui barba il petto inonda,
> Veloce si che mai nulla l'impaccia,
> Gli effetti pari e la medesima opra
> Che 'l Tempo fa là giù, fa qui di sopra. /18/

On one side of the Wheel of Fortune fame is rising, on the other side - together with human life - it comes to its end, descends and sinks below the surface.

"In quo totum continentur"

The teaching of the correspondence between the celestial and the mundane worlds - although theoretically elaborated by the Florentine Neoplatonists - was not new in the 16th century. The realism of the scholastics had established a fundamental relation between the cosmology of the physical world and metaphysical values. With Dante the afterworld, consisting of three parts, is divided into circles in accordance with sins and virtues. The Universe created by God is ever-existing, and Man alone occupies this predetermined framework with his earthly and posthumous fate. The other

world *does* have a real existence. Ulysses, during his last voyage, had almost reached the Mountain of Purgatory standing in the Southern Hemisphere - he had even already seen the outline of the hill, when, in accordance with divine law, a monster destroyed his defiant ship.

The pre-existential truth is inherent in books whose creation is partly due to deity itself. A work is sacred because - as Dante has put it - God has left His fingerprints on it. The metaphysical world is conceivable through reading and learning. For Dante the book is God's image; the book consists in the whole Universe, the visible Entirety. The poet's first and foremost task is to inform his readers about his voyages in the other world. Dante promises to his ex-Master, Brunetto Latini that he will remember his words and - together with his own text - he will give two books to Beatrice:

> Ciò che narrate di mio corso scrivo,
> e sebolo a chiosar con altro testo
> a donna che sapra, s'a lei arrivo.
>
> /*Hell*, XIV. 11.88-90/

The Poet describes an *inner* suggestion /*Purgatory*, XXIV. 52-58/, he is the notator of a vast subject-matter /*Paradise*, X. 27/ and he is also a preserver of Memory /*Paradise*, XXIII, 52-54/. In the garden of human wisdom's castle Aristotle is the "maestro", all

the others - including Socrates and Plato - expressing their acknowledgments to him. That is why we have to quote what Dante says about philosophers' Physics - which is to say that Art is grandchild to God:

> e se tu ben la tua Fisica note,
> tu troverai, non dopo molte carte,
> che l'arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
> segue, come 'l maestro fa il discente;
> si che vostr'arte a Dio quasi è nepote
>
> /*Hell*, XI. 101-105/

The "book of books" contains everything, it is deity itself. Curtius comments on Dante that with him the book is the symbol of utmost survival and quality. The metaphors in the *Divine Comedy*, referring to the book, are no mere intellectual games but have an important role in communicating the Essence.[43] These reflections give an insight into Dante's world-view and poetics, too.

In Dante's book the *created* world is mirrored, *id est*: the static and ordained Universe, the correlatedness of the celestial and the mundane. This is how the reference to Aristotle becomes clear: Art is indeed grandchild to God, since Art does not picture God in the act of creation, but all those things created by Him, and this way - in accordance with the viewpoint of realism - the other world is pictured, too. This interpretation basically differs from that of the Neoplatonic artist who wants to picture the

process of creation. In this case art is a child of the "creating" God. /Here we shall not undertake the task of contrasting this view with what Plato has said about it in *The Republic*./

In accordance with the Platonic /Neoplatonic/ tradition, it is the writings that stimulate the soul to achieve spiritual reality, and in way it can return to its real home /*Dionigi L'Areopagita*/. From viewing mundane things, we can step over in to the celestial sphere: correspondences create a real symphony /Pico della Mirandola/. The Word /*Logos*/ has appeared on the Earth, has become Flesh and is divided into three parts: /in accordance with human history/: *ante legem*, *sub lege*, *sub gratia*. The Scriptures tell us about the Word descending "down here", but this is not the only way of divine revelation - there are other more indirect examples in the created world and history. The book of continuous creation strengthens and supplies the Scriptures.

In frescoes on the ceiling of the *Cappella Sistina* Michelangelo's prophets or sybilles hold either a book or a reel in their hands. They either read or write the collective memory of Mankind. Proceeding towards eschatology /Christ's second coming, the Last Judgment etc./ the gift of *anamnesis* gradually increases in the prophets and decreases in the sybilles. The figure of Zachary shows the starting phase of mystical recogni- Fig.5.

tion; he is deeply immersed in the book. It is Joel, (Fig. 6.) the antique philosopher, in whom we can first recognize the presence of *memory*. He is reading a reel but something else attracts his attention. Isaiah meanwhile (Fig.7.) rests his hands on a *closed* book, nevertheless he is under the spell of a scattered vision. Ezekiel is in (Fig.8.) a state of ecstasy /*furor divinus*/, and his garments are filled by a mysterious breeze; in addition he also holds a reel in his limp left hand. Above him, in the uppermost, central part of the arch of the ceiling - the place of *real* history - God makes His first appearance by creating Eve. The next prophet, Daniel, has a (Fig.9.) large open book in his lap. With his right hand he is writing something in another book, trying to concentrate on some memory running through his mind. Jeremiah is fully immersed in contemplating the Deity /above him God is about to divide darkness and light/, but there is neither book, nor reel in either of his hands. Jonah is sitting above the Altar, raising his eyes to God's last apparition. /The fresco places the three forms of existence in three, clearly definable, zones: at the lowest level are the vegetative, brainless and colourless figures of life, depicted in a bronze colour; in between are the prophets and sybilles armed with books and able to conceive God; and dominating all these is represented in the upper part the history of

creation together with the Creator./ As they near the main wall the ability for *anamnesis* gradually decreases: for example, the Sybilla of Delphoi trembles under the spell of the event. She would undoubtedly like to describe the vision on a folio, but her right hand - together with the writing instrument it holds - is limp. The Erythraean tries to leaf the book, the Cumaean reads it but, as in the case of Joel, the event they are wareling obsesses them too much. The old Persican is almost blind - the writing is hard to decipher. The young and beautiful Libyan woman has completely lost her visionary talent - she simply drops the open book.

The function of the book in the hands of the prophets and sybilles is double. On the one hand, it enables its reader to conceive truthful reality, since - according to the theory of correspondences - there *is* a correspondence between *ideal* and *described* history. On the other, the fifth prophet, Daniel, undertakes an active role; he not only understands but is able to describe what he has seen in the ecstasy of "theophany". He was the Old Testament prophet to personally meet the Messiah /Daniel, 7, 13-14/, and with his prophecy he came to be part of the course of divine revelation. And what Daniel accomplishes is not only prophetical, but also artistic. As far as composition is concerned, it is he who weares a tight connection between the two books, one of which he holds in his left hand while he

writes into the other with his right.

In the 16th century more and more connotations were attached to the book /in connection with the general strengthening of nominalism/, and its autonomous value, its function of offering enjoyment and beauty, came to the forefront. The Book - in the course of the century - signified itself less and less as the true revelation of *the* divine, or of *the* natural, but it came to reveal the general laws of Nature. This was in parallel with the last phase of Italian Humanism - when it became clear that the dignity and greatness of Man did not lie in his "external" /linear/ knowledge of the falsely imagined "static" Universe, but in his conveying and realizing the laws and imminently changing metamorphoses of the same, with a view to endlessness, constant change, perpetual motion and relativity. The learned Galileo stated that the "Book of Nature",with its triangles, circles and other formulas, had been written in a "mathematical" language signs:[44] In Giordano Bruno's anguished vision the world has fallen apart into pieces as well as grown into endlessness, nevertheless each unique somehow mirrors unity /Uno/: the same laws are applied everywhere. With the knowledge of these laws Man can control them.

At the very end of the century Shakespeare used this metaphor in numerous shades of meaning. In *Romeo and Julie* he says:

"This precious book of love, this unbound lover
To beautify him, only lacks a cover:
The fish lives in the sea, and 'tis much pride
For fair without the fair within to hide:
That book in many eyes doth share the glory,
That in gold clasps locks in the golden story"

/I.3. 87-92/

and in *As You Like It*:

"And this our life exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

/II.1. 15-17/

The book has a specific importance in *The Tempest*. Prospero always talks about one *particular* book signifying control over transcendental forces brought into motion by the power of poetry, first and foremost. Prospero while excercising this power satisfies even the highest ethical standards. In Act III. Scene 1 he reveals his secret: the connection between the book and the spell and that between poetry and magic:

"I'll to my book;
For yet, ere supper time, must I perform
Much business appertaining."

/III.1. 93-95/

He repeats this "positive" statement in a "negative" form in the last scene of the drama. The fairy world, controlling the good and evil forces of Nature, vanishes, the earlier order of the world begins to regenerate. Prospero dispenses with the two symbols of his

power, the staff and the book, letting them return to the two primeval materials, which constitute Man's surroundings: Earth and Water:

> "But this rough magic
> I here abjure; and when I have requir'd
> Some heavenly music - which even now I do, -
> To work mine end upon their senses that
> This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
> Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
> And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
> I'll drown my book."
>
> /V.1. 50-57/

Nature, lending its existence and supreme power to art, regains its total control, and Ariel is free. Due to the staff and the book, to *influence* and *cognition*, Prospero himself has become part of creative nature. When these symbols are again in their proper place, the unity of *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* is made perfect once more, undisturbed by Man.

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Fig. 1 – 4.

Raffaello: Numine afflatur

Whitney, G: insignia poetarum

Ripa, C.: Poesia

Poussin, N.: The Dance of Human Life

Zachary

Joel

Isaiah

Ezekiel

Daniel

S T U D I E S

Peter M. Daly

SHAKESPEARE AND THE EMBLEM: THE USE OF EVIDENCE AND ANALOGY IN ESTABLISHING ICONOGRAPHIC AND EMBLEMATIC EFFECTS IN THE PLAYS[1]

A Note on Terminology

Literary historians now use the terms "emblematic", "iconographic", "iconological" and even "iconic" to describe visual effects in drama and literature. Since all these terms, with the possible exception of "iconic", were developed by art historians and have been appropriated by their literary colleagues, it behoves us to be careful in their application to literary works. Improper usage of terms leads to their debasement; our intellectual currency is devalued through inflationary spending.

Unfortunately, some critics employ these terms as though they were virtually synonymous; before observing their application to literary studies, it might be as well to begin by reminding ourselves what in fact they do mean in the study of art history.

We can hardly do better than return to Panofsky[2] for a definition of terms. Iconography is, properly speaking, the identification of motifs, stories and allegories, with their associated themes and concepts. Thus the female figure holding a peach in her hand is the personification of Truth

(see p. 54). Iconographical analysis "presupposes a familiarity with specific themes or concepts as transmitted through literary sources, whether acquired by purposeful reading or by oral tradition" (p. 61). In general, iconography depends on "a stable connection between object and meaning, and requires shared knowledge about the symbolic meanings of physical objects and their arrangements."[3]

The mere discovery of iconographical motifs or representations in a Shakespearean play does not necessarily lead to a better understanding of that play. Assuming that the literary scholar has correctly identified an iconographical motif he must still integrate his discovery into an interpretation of character, theme or the play as a whole.

The application of critical terms such as "emblem" to literary works can only be of value if there is a consensus on their meaning and if their application enriches our understanding of the literary work in question. "Emblem" derives, of course, from Alciatus' invention of a tripartite form that combines a brief motto, a picture and an epigram into a single structure. On this there will be general agreement, but thereafter much disagreement. Basically, my conception of the emblem derives from the work of Heckscher and Wirth, Albrecht Schöne, Dietrich Jöns[4] and a number of other scholars who have refined these theories or applied them to particular emblem books. My views can be found in *Emblem Theory* (Nendeln, 1979) and *Literature in the Light of the Emblem* (Toronto, 1979).

When reading emblematic interpretations of literature I always ask myself two elementary questions. Firstly, am I convinced that the subject under review is emblematic? Secondly, have I learned anything new from the emblematic discovery?

The first question assumes a coherent theory of the emblem and its analogue in literature. German scholars view the emblem as both an art form and a mode of thought. As an art form it properly denotes the combination of graphic picture with verbal text. This combination is based upon the symbolic value of the object, figure, scene or action depicted by the picture. As a distinct mode of thought the emblem has its intellectual origins in medieval traditions of exegesis on the one hand and in the Renaissance fascination with hieroglyphics on the other; and like iconography, it depends upon a shared knowledge of concepts associated with motifs and things. For a visual and symbolic effect in literature to be emblematic in the proper sense of the term the passage must be both strikingly visual and bear a meaning which can lay claim to a general validity that transcends the immediate, concrete and particular situation. Whether the concept or meaning associated with the emblematic eagle or snake is explicitly stated is neither here nor there. The full emblem will state the concept, whereas frequently the poet leaves the meaning unsaid, implied by the context. Such contracted word-emblems belong to the subtler uses of emblematic image and argument. Because unexplicit such emblems

sometimes go unnoticed; their discovery can be revealing.

Forms and Functions of the Emblem and Iconograph in Drama

Generally speaking the function of emblematic and iconographical details in a work of literature is to clarify, deepen and even complicate the contexts in which they appear. Emblems may enrich the meaning of a character, theme or dramatic grouping on the stage.

Since the emblem is a mode of thought as well as an art form, combining picture and word, it is natural that drama, itself a combination of the visual and the verbal, should reflect the influence of iconography and emblem in many ways. For ease of identification, however, these various manifestations may be subsumed under four general headings. Firstly, there is the emblem as we find it in emblem books, used as a *stage property* and incorporated into the dramatic and thematic action. Secondly, there is the emblematic *word*, which may function as image or rhetorical figure, argument or exemplum, sententia or even stichomythia. Thirdly, *characters* and personifications may be emblematically conceived. Fourthly, the *stage* itself can be emblematic with its backcloth, setting, stage and hand properties, its costumes, gesturing and staging, its dumb shows, mimes and tableaux. It is tempting to try to organize Shakespeare's use of emblem and iconograph under these headings for such an approach will demonstrate the extra-ordinary versatility of iconographic and emblematic forms. Thus the torch that Othello carries as he walks towards his

wife's bedroom, intent on murdering her, is a thematic device with its implied comment on life and death, but it may also be regarded as a reflection of the paradoxical nature of Othello's love for Desdemona, which alternates between love and admiration on the one hand, and hatred and jealousy on the other. But when we recall that Othello is not merely talking about a torch, but actually carrying one in his hand, it becomes clear that the character on stage is holding an emblematic stage property. As an object the torch is comparable with the picture in an emblem book, and Othello's commentary functions as an epigram to the motif.

While there is no doubt that Shakespeare's plays reveal visual, indeed, iconographical and emblematic elements, critics continue to disagree about the extent to which emblem and iconography shaped his words and his stage patterns. Certain critics may even question the usefulness of these discoveries, some of which are real, some supposed.

It is well known that in the 1870's, with the uncritical enthusiasm of a pioneer, Henry Green[5] drew attention both to many examples of what he considered to be emblematic imagery and to the use of emblematic sources in the plays of Shakespeare. Then, in the 1930's, Mario Praz[6] provided a broader-based study of emblematic imagery in Elizabethan literature. Rosemary Freeman's[7] monograph on English emblem literature, which dates from the later 1940's, remains, however, the only study on the subject to this day. During the last two decades a goodly number of articles and books has been dedicated to

various aspects of the emblem tradition, which have a bearing on Elizabethan literature in general and Shakespeare in particular. This growing interest is also reflected in the *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, 600-1660,* published in 1974. Whereas the first edition (1940) dedicated only two columns to the subject, the new edition devotes six columns to primary and secondary literature, which include the standard works in German by Albrecht Schöne,[8] and Heckscher and Wirth,[9] as well as an expanded version of Freeman's bibliography.

The most recent general work on Shakespeare is probably the *Shakespeare Handbuch,* edited by Ina Schabert and published by Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart, in 1978. The reader seeking an introduction to Shakespeare's use of iconography and emblem will, however, be disappointed with the *Handbuch.* Although one thousand pages in length and dedicated to the times, Shakespeare's personality, the works and the history of Shakespeare influence and reception, the *Handbuch* has virtually nothing to say on Shakespeare and iconography. Since some of the most important developments in emblem theory and in the application of that theory to literature have come from German scholars, it is all the more surprising that this work is not reflected in the new German *Shakespeare Handbuch.*

If the *Shakespeare nandbuch* says too little, then the *Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare* (New York, 1966) says too much. In her article on "stage imagery", Martha H. Fleischer rightly stresses the importance of emblem books in the trans-

mission of imagery and the emblematic "habit of mind", but she asserts far too much in suggesting that all stage imagery and indeed the stage plays themselves are emblems. She makes the very large claim that "all of the basic stage action of each of Shakespeare's plays is not only significant but emblematic, as a whole and in parts" (p. 819). She explains this further by saying that "each *scene* ... each *stage property* ... each particular *gesture* is emblematic - any *tableau* or *movement* may be emblematic ..." (p. 819). Such expansive claims are based either on too broad and flexible a definition of the emblem, or on no definition at all. Imprecise categories are unhelpful; the value of any critical term is at least partly determined by its precision, which alone allows us to make useful distinctions. Lacking a definition, the term "emblematic" means different things to different people.

Critics have used their knowledge of emblematic tradition and iconographical conventions in order to elucidate many aspects of Shakespearean plays. These include:
source hunting in emblem books for the use of words,
the actual use of the term emblem, impresa and icon,
the significance of emblematic images and arguments,
the use of stage properties,
the creation of stage tableaux, groupings of characters, dumb shows and mimes,
the use of personifications,
the creation and use of characters,
the meaning of whole scenes,

the meaning of whole plays.

In the space available I can only comment on some of these.

The Emblem Book as Source

Source hunting was a major pre-occupation of critics from the time of Henry Green well into the first half of this century. Especially during the last two decades, however, the search for sources has lost much of its attraction, partly because source hunting was usually carried out in a rather positivistic, indeed at times naive, manner, and partly because wider questions have proven both more interesting and more fruitful. The problems involved in establishing evidence and proof are too wellknown to merit rehearsing here.

Still in the spirit and tradition of Henry Green, Joan Larsen Klein in 1976 published a note on Shakespeare's supposed source for Hamlet's reference to the sponge and ape in his conversations with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.[10] Whitney is suggested as the source because of similarities both in motif and interpretion. Somewhat uncritically Klein cites the five Whitney emblems that Green associated with *Hamlet*, to which she adds four more that "seem to be closely related" and yet another seven that seem to be "related somewhat to Hamlet" (p. 158, n. 2). The relationships would appear to be superficial at best. Although her discussions of the sponge and ape image in Whitney and Shakespeare are plausible, the parallels can hardly constitute evidence of a source relationship.

Joseph Kau is on safer ground in suggesting that Samuel Daniel's *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Jovius* (London) is the source for the emblem of an inverted torch in Act 1, Scene 2 of *Pericles*.[11] Shakespeare quotes the Latin motto "Quod me alit, me extinguit". This wording provides the evidence of a precise source. Whereas Henry Green had proposed that Whitney's emblem book was the source, where the motto begins with the word "Qui", Daniel not only describes the inverted torch, but begins the motto with "Quod ..." If the critic is going to hunt for sources, then this is the kind of evidence that is convincing.

Although the impresa of an inverted torch is but a detail, there is an interesting implication. It seems to indicate that Shakespeare knew and used theGiovio tract, which might suggest that Daniel, and therefore also Giovio, were more important influences than has hitherto been suspected.

The Emblem as Parallel or Analogue

Most critics, however, consult emblem books in search of parallels rather than sources, using the emblematic or iconographical tradition to elucidate the meaning of verbal images and stage effects. In some instances, where the passages have remained obscure or controversial, the emblem or iconograph supplies a solution to the puzzle or disagreement. John W. Velz discusses "two difficult passages" in *Julius Caesar* where Brutus contemplates the assassination of Caesar

and later in conversation with the three conspirators commits himself to that action.[12] Meditating on Caesar and the corrupting influence of power, Brutus considers the ambitious Caesar a "serpent's egg" and concludes that it were better to "kiss him in the shell" (II.i. 32-34). Earlier in the same monologue Brutus had observed that

> It is the bright day that brings forth the adder,
> And that craves wary walking.
>
> (*II.i. 15*)

D.J. Palmer has argued that this "metaphorical language" shows that Brutus has abandoned reason for passion.[13] As Velz points out, the snake metaphor has "emblematic implications" and "a richer suggestiveness for Shakespeare's audience than for us" (p. 308). More than that, I would suggest that Shakespeare is using here the form of emblematic argument, designed to appeal through so-called facts of nature to valid notions, higher truths, which transcend the immediate situation. In all emblematic argumentation truth is established by reference to authority, whether that be an appeal to nature as God's second book, to the Christian fathers or classical tradition. In Shakespearean usage and in received tradition the serpent and adder are emblems for evil masquerading under a fair disguise, and because of their proverbial deafness they signify "unrepentant men" (Topsell, cit. Velz, 311, n. 12). The point is not only that there are indications that Brutus' fear of a potentially tyrannous Caesar is well founded, but also that

the references to adder and serpent's egg are, in fact an appeal to emblematic truth, which supports the other evidence in the text.

In the case of Brutus' reference to Caesar as an adder and a serpent's egg, the passage had been misinterpreted because the emblematic implications had not been recognized. It is, however, not only in connection with cruxes, riddles or apparently incomprehensible passages that the iconograph and the emblem can be of assistance. Many images in Shakespeare appear deceptively simple, even unimportant. For example, we recognize the surface meaning when Tubal tells Shylock that his daughter has bought herself a monkey with a ring that the Jew treasured. But is the monkey no more than a chance purchase indicating the girl's frivolity? Similarly, Banquo's speech on approaching Macbeth's castle, where amongst other things he points to the "temple-haunting martlets", has long been praised as an atmospheric piece, an interlude not without its ironies. But does the martlet add nothing more to the context than notions of creativity?

R.B. Waddington[14] suggests that the monkey is more than an exotic pet; it conveys to Shylock's suspicious mind the thought that his daughter has abandoned the life of "religious austerity for one of hedonistic luxury" (p. 93). The ape's proverbial sexuality was well known to Shakespeare, and Renaissance iconography frequently employed the ape as an iconograph for sin, so much so that the ape can supplement and even replace the serpent in the Garden of Eden (see p. 94).

Thus the medieval association of ape and woman with misogynous undertones is well documented and relevant here. It matters little whether Jessica bought a monkey or not; what is important is to recognize that Shylock reacts in accordance with his perceptions of his daughter's character. The iconographically loaded reference to the monkey becomes, then, an aspect of characterization.

In other contexts an emblem or iconograph may have no association with character, but it may be relevant to a theme which threads its way through the play. It is my contention that Banquo's martlets have such a thematic significance.[15] Arriving at Macbeth's castle, King Duncan comments on the pleasant situation and Banquo points to nesting martlets, which he takes as a good sign. Unknown to both, Macbeth and his ambitious wife harbour treacherous ambitions. What strikes Duncan and Banquo as wholesome is in fact a place of evil. The positive values of order and good governance, of justice, trust, honour, nobility and loyalty rewarded, are about to be overturned by Macbeth. It seems to me that within this wider thematic context Banquo's martlets play a significant, if not fully appreciated role. Renaissance ornithology is a conglomeration of diffuse information deriving from many different sources, and emblem books are a repository of much of that information. Camerarius' emblem 85 in his *Symbolorvm et emblematvm ex volantibvs et insectis* (1596) bears the title "Concordia Regni", which is illustrated by a swallow or house--martin feeding its young. The epigram exhorts the ruler to

"cherish [his] subjects with the same trust [and love]" that the adult bird bestows upon its child. The ruler who does this will achieve "harmony in the hingdom", as stated in the motto. Henkel and Schöne see in this emblem an exemplification of "justice" (col. 873). Reusner's emblem 37 in book 2 of his *Emblemata ethica et physica* (1581) has the title "Fide sed cui, vide", suggesting prudence in the exercise of trust (see Henkel/Schöne col. 874). In the picture the nesting activities of the bird exemplify that meaning. Finally, another emblem of Camerarius shows the swallow or martlet sitting on the roof of a cage, the door of which is open to entice the bird inside. The motto "Amica non serva" is extended in the brief epigram, which explains that the bird accepts hospitality and protection but avoids man, since servitude is hateful to her (see Henkel/Schöne, col. 875).

The nesting activities of the martlet may be regarded as an emblem of prudent trust, a virtue Duncan and Banquo will need if they are to survive (see p. 36). The emblem stresses "the need for justice and protective caring, which will ensure harmony in the realm; but safety demands that one exercise prudent trust" (p. 37). The martlet becomes, in short, an emblem of Duncan's world and the values which Macbeth will shortly destroy.

A little iconographical knowledge, however, can at times be dangerous, leading to the discovery of iconographs and an iconographical dimension of meaning where none exists. With

Panofsky's discussion of Titian's painting "The Allegory of Prudence" in mind, Anthony J. Lewis goes off in pursuit of dogs, lions and wolves in Shakespeare's description of night.[16] Titian's painting depicts the three heads of, respectively, an old man, a middle-aged man and a young man, beneath which the heads of a wolf, lion and dog are grouped. Lewis begins with a number of assertions for which he never supplies supporting evidence. We are told that "the three animals appear with conspicuous frequency in descriptions of night-time" and this "only partly because they are predators" (p. 1). It is, however, a mistake to call the dog a predator; furthermore, the lion is not primarily considered a preditor in emblemat and iconographic tradition. Lewis looks for evidence of dog, lion and wolf in Shakespearean descriptions of time and we are told that "Shakespeare, like his colleagues, found the animals useful only when describing night-time, and only those nights during which death was either present or a distinct possibility" (p. 3). I should like to pause here not only to consider the implications of that statement, but also to make some comments on scholarly method. A critic usually starts with a hunch, an intuition, or an idea, which he must then translate into the terms of a proposition. Lewis's proposition is that dog, lion and wolf denote time, and specifically night-timc. This statement contains, in fact, two propositions and each needs to be followed through in terms of image and meanings, even if the results are finally negative. The images present no problems; concordanoes

provide acoess to words in context, and it requires diligence but not ingenuity to categorize the contexts and meanings for lion, dog and wolf. On the other hand, in order to demonstrate that these animals denote night-time it would be necessary to complement the image use with an investigation of these concepts "time", "day" and "night". Naturally one would assume that these concepts would be clear in the context in which the animals figure. But none the less, as an added safe-guard the concepts themselves should be investigated in their contexts to see whether there are not indirect allusions to the animals concerned. Lewis leaves the reader with the impression that investigation of "time" and "day" yielded negative results as far as lion, dog and wolf are concerned. However, in a careful scholarly piece, that information should be provided at least in a footnote.

In the construction of a proposition or hypothesis, the wording is important and should be as neutral as possible. In suggesting that Shakespeare uses the animals "only when describing night-time", Lewis encourages the reader to assume that the animals do not simply occur *in* a night context, but in fact carry with them the meaning of "time" or "night", and that they occur nowhere else.

And now to Lewis's demonstrations. In *Henry VI, Part 2* both dog and wolf appear in speeches about night. Bolingbroke refers to "screech-owls" and "ban-dogs" (I. iv. 13) when describing "deep night, dark night", and later the piratical Captain refers to "loud-howling wolves" in his description

of "tragic melancholy night" (IV. i. 1). In neither context, and in no other context that Lewis is able to cite, do dog, lion and wolf appear together as they do occasionally in hieroglyphical tradition as either a three-headed monster or as three animals in a tight group. Only such a threesome would allow us to hazard the iconographical equation of these animals with time or night-time. Lewis then proceeds to a speech by Antonio in John Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* in which the speaker invokes wolf, lion, toad and "night-crow" as the prelude to his murder of Julio. Again Lewis tells us "the animals were traditionally associated with time and night" (p. 4) and proceeds to a tentative conclusion which is a non sequitur: "Antonio would seem to say that lions (though not the wolf) are creatures of the night-time because they too destroy life" (p. 4).

For Lewis, the animal images create a "compelling identification of Richard as time, night-time" (p. 5). Of course, Richard III as Duke of Gloucester has been associated with winter and night from the beginning. However, that does not establish dog, lion and wolf as images for time and night. When Shakespeare describes Richard III as a "hell-hound" (IV. iv. 48) and "dog" (l. 49) and "carnal cur" (l. 56) the references are to evil and sensuality. Lewis has not succeeded in establishing them as "part of the pagan conception of time" (p. 6), and therefore his assertion that Richard III is a "time figure" (p. 6) lacks foundation. Lewis's discussion of Macbeth is equally unconvincing and for the same reasons.

Lewis attempts to place Richmond's epitaph for Richard "the bloody dog is dead" (V. v. 2) in the context of summer, time and night. This, however, like the other dog references, has little if anything to do with "time" and "night" but rather should be seen in the context of the dogs of war, which in late medieval warfare, were trained to wreak havoc. It is the dog as destroyer, not predator or time-figure, that is important here.

Iconography applied to Shakespearean plays in this manner is not only unhelpful, but misleading. Dog, wolf and lion may, indeed, occur in night-time scenes of munder and destruction, but they underscore death and evil rather than notions of time and night. Lewis asserts but does not establish that the animals in themselves connote time and night. David Kaula[18] offers what he calls "an emblematic reading" of Edgar's speech on Dover Cliff in *King Lear*. This is the speech that precedes Gloucester's imagined suicidal plunge and apparently miraculous salvation. The speech reads:

> Come on, sir; here's the place. Stand still.
>   How fearful
> And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes so low!
> The crows and choughs that wing the midway air
> Show scarce so gross as beetles. Halfway down
> Hangs one that gathers sampire - dreadful trade;
> Methinks he seems no bigger than his head.
> The fishermen that walk upon the beach
> Appear like mice; and yond tall anchoring bark,
> Diminished to her cock; her cock, a buoy

Almost too small for sight. The murmuring surge
That on th' unnumbered idle pebble chafes
Cannot be heard so high. I'll look no more,
Lest my brain turn, and the deficient sight
Topple down headlong.

(*IV. vi. 11-24*)

It is the meaning of the images - the birds, the samphire--gatherer, the fisherman, the boat and the unnumbered pebbles - that concerns Kaula. He seeks to establish a spiritual, indeed, scriptural interpretation for all the visual details in Edgar's speech. Unfortunately, the argumentation is thin and the evidence insubstantial. The interpretation depends on an initial act of faith. We are told that the three central images of the samphire-gatherer, the fisherman, and the bark are "most clearly biblical in origin" (p. 379), and that, because of the similarity that exists between Edgar's description of "the fishermen that walk upon the beach" and the New Testament account of Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee (Matt. 4-18). However, this hardly suffices to establish a Biblical origin. The connection between Christ and Edgar's fisherman is supposedly "reinforced by the samphire" (p. 37) by virtue of the implied reference to St. Peter. Although Kaula can show that Elizabethan herbalists were aware that the word "samphire" derives from Saint Peter's name, this only establishes the possibility of a verbal association. To be communicati effective, however, such etymological associations need to be signalled in some way in the text. Kaula

continues to build up his Biblical interpretation, one image upon the other, by suggesting that the "spiritual connotations of the samphire" (p. 380) may be relevant to the figure that in Edgar's description is hanging "Halfway down ... no bigger than his head". The words "hangs" and "head" suggest to Kaula an allusion to Christ. The "tall anchoring bark" becomes the "familiar emblem of the Church" (p. 381) since it follows the samphire-gatherer and the fishermen. The "crows and chough that wing the midway air" although "not as clearly scriptural in origin as the other three" (p. 381) are integrated into the religious reading. Like the birds of Revelation that will eat of "the fleshe of mightie men", Edgar's birds also fly "by the middes of heauen". This Biblical reference to Armageddon suggests to Kaula that crows and choughs are particularly significant because they are scavenger birds elsewhere associated with the kite.

We have now come a long way from Dover Cliff. Instead of allowing Shakespeare's context to determine the meaning of images, Kaula has allowed his initial Biblical association to establish a new context, the prelude to Armageddon, to establish the meaning supposedly implied by Shakespeare's birds. But crows and choughs are not only scavengers. In *Macbeth* the crow which, "Makes wing to th'rooky wood" (III. ii. 51) belongs to the "Good thing of day" rather than "Night's black agents".[19] Crows, as I have shown elsewhere, were praised for their conjugal fidelity, parental love, and harmony. Alciatus, as Topsell observes, employs the crow as

an emblem of harmony in the realm. My point is that birds, like any other object of nature, could be interpreted *in bonam partem* and *in malam partem* and the immediate context, whether dramatic or thematic, will determine which of the potential meanings are relevant. I find no "ominous overtones" (p. 382) in the bird images and also none in the image of unnumbered pebbles. Edgar's comparison of the fisherman with mice may possibly dehumanize them although the primary reference is surely to their tiny size. However, the suggestion that the simile may have "diabolical connotations" (p. 383) strikes me as fanciful and in no way supported by Doebler's interpretation of the devil's mousetrap, which Kaula cites. The mouse may not have enjoyed a particularly good press, but not every Shakespearean mouse is diabolical. For the Clown in *Twelfth Night* Olivia is a "mouse of virtue (I. v. 61). On the basis of the religious interpretation of the images in Edgar's speech Kaula concludes that "the orthodox means of salvation - Christ, the apostles, the church - are totally inaccessible to one who desperately needs them, the despairing man at the top of the cliff. The two surrounding images of the scavenger birds and the 'unnumbered pebble' add a premonition of apocalyptic catastrophe" (p. 383). Whether or not one accepts this Christian reading, it is difficult to see in what sense either Edgar's speech or Kaula's interpretation is emblematic.

Stage Properties

Occasionally the Elizabethan or Jacobean dramatist may introduce into the dramatic action of the play an actual emblem or *impresa* as a functional element. In Webster's *The White Devil* an emblem depicting a stag that weeps for the loss of its horns is the anonymous revelation of cuckoldry (II. ii. 5f.). Marlowe succeeds in weaving two heroic *imprese* into the tense action of *Edward II:* Mortimer and Lancaster reveal their hatred of Gaveston through their choice of *impresa* to celebrate the "stately triumph" (II. ii. 12) decreed by the king to mark Gaveston's return. In *Pericles* Shakespeare does something similar. Before entering the lists in honour of Princess Thaisa the six knights each express their love for her, displaying on their shields a visual device accompanied by a brief motto in a foreign tongue. These devices fulfill the conditions set down by Giovio for the perfect *impresa.*

While the number of actual emblems and *imprese* incorporated into Elizabethan and Jacobean drama may be extremely small, there are count less instances of stage and hand properties, the full meaning of which will only be discovered when seen in the light of iconographical and emblematic traditions. Readers will find a useful compendium of information on iconographic stage and hand properties in the dissertation "The Iconography of the English History Play" (Columbia, 1964) by Martha H. Fleischer (née Golden). The unrevised text, accompanied by new indices and a selective

bibliography of works appearing up to 1974, was published under the same title in Salzburg in 1974. The author is concerned primarily with the "stage image" as opposed to verbal iconographical images, focusing attention on such settings as the garden, such stage properties as the tree[20] and such hand properties as book and sword. The value of Fleischer's book lies in its compilation of material rather than in its interpretations, which, by the very nature of the undertaking, remain piecemeal. In Panofsky's terms the book is a collection of iconographical information rather than iconological interpretations. The elucidation of meaning conveyed by the motifs tends to broaden into such sweeping generalizations as the assertion that in garden scenes "Gethsemene is invoked through the posture of prayer" (p. 99). Finally, because she lacks a firm theory of the emblem, everything visual that appears to embody some meaning or other becomes iconographic or emblematic for the author.

Some of the "iconic stage images" discussed by John Doebler in his book *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures* (Albuquerque. 1974) centre on iconographically significant stage properties such as the cauldron and the head in Macbeth, and the caskets and rings in *The Merchant of Venice*.

The cauldron is not only a piece of equipment essential to witchcraft, but alsc as Doebler reminds us, "an emblem of hell-mouth" (p. 124), which appears frequently in medieval paintings and illustrations. The cauldron is, in fact, the entrance to hell through which both the damned and the devils

pass. This iconographic association of cauldron with hell-mouth is activated in Act IV, Scene I when Macbeth demands to know the future of the witches, and the answers to his questions are given by apparitions that appear from the cauldron. The armed head, the bloody child and the child with a crown and tree in its hand appear from the cauldron and "descend" after delivering their ambiguous prophecies. The stage direction "descends" suggests that they return the same way as they came, through the cauldron, which was presumably an empty bottomed cauldron set over the trap door in the stage.

Some scenic properties, required by the stage setting or implied in the text, become the focus of iconographical or emblematic meanings that sometimes pass unnoticed. I would argue that the mole hills upon which the Duke of York is forced to stand and upon which King Henry sadly sits (*Henry VI, Part 3*) are a case in point. Although not actually mentioned in the stage directions, these mole hills are named in the speeches of Queen Margaret and King Henry, thus becoming an important aspect of the staging of these scenes.

In *Henry VI, Part 3*, the defeated Duke of York is forced to sit upon a mole hill and wear a paper crown on his head. The indignities are compounded with an inhuman act of vengeance when Queen Margaret takes a napkin covered with the blood of his youngest son and wipes its across his face. It has frequently been noted that the mistreatment of York is reminiscent of the persecution of Christ before Pilate. Indeed, it could be argued that the association of York with Christ is

reinforced by an association with the crucifixion deriving from Margaret's act of covering the father's face with the blood of the son. The mystery of the Trinity requires that the believer recognize God in the "person" of Christ, so that the shedding of the blood of the Messiah, and His death, involve both Father and Son.

However, no one appears to have noticed the symbolic reverberations of the mole hill. The contrast of mole hill with throne is obvious, but equally important are the meanings which were traditionally associated with the mole, namely its blindness, lowly status, humility and helplessness. Inwardly cowed by his defeat and capture, the Duke of York none the less challenges Northumberland, Clifford and the rest to one last fight rather than surrender. Clifford regards this challenge as the desperation of the coward:

> So cowards fight when they can fly no further;
> So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons. (I. iv. 41).

Rather than fight they simply overpower York who struggles in vain to free himself, which prompts from Clifford the response: "Aye, Aye, so strives the woodcock with the gin" (l. 61), and Northumberland tauntingly adds: "So doth the cony struggle in the net" (l. 62). Not to be outdone, York replies in similar vein: "So triumph thieves upon their conquered booty" (l. 63). In the mouth of the victors "woodcock" and "cony" are images of cowardice and weakness. The single line exchanges are almost emblematic stichomythia. At this point Queen Margaret forces York, the man "that would be England's king" (l. 70),

to "stand upon this mole hill". She proceeds to rub the napkin stained with the blood of his son, Rutland, across his face after her earlier attempt to "mock" (l. 90) him does not produce the rant and grief that would nake her "merry" (l. 86). Queen Margaret completes the insult by crowning York with a paper crown.

The weakness, helplessness and blindness of the mole were proverbial;[21] they form a grouping of concepts that is a relevant comment on York's present situation and are underscored by the other animal images, woodcock, cony and dove. However, one further association may be relevant if nowhere explicitly required. In the emblematic imagination of the period, the mole was also associated with the eagle,[22] but not necessarily in a predatory fashion. There is, of course, a contrasting pattern in that the eagle was proverbial for its sharpness of sight and the mole for its blindness, the eagle for its high flight and power and the mole for being a humble burrower. Furthermore, in the heraldic and hierarchical sense the eagle is the king of the birds and the mole the lowliest of earth-born creatures. We recall that York is the man that would be king. At the end of the first scene, King Henry anxiously meditates on

> ... that hateful Duke
> Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,
> Will acost my crown and, like an empty eagle,
> Tire on the flesh of me and of my son!
>
> (*I. i. 270*)

In referring to York as an eagle, King Henry is not merely pointing to the predatory instincts of his adversary -- the vulture or "hell-kite" would be more appropriate -- he is also recognizing York's strength, ambition and perhaps potential kingship. In Scene 4 with his armies routed, overcome by his enemies, York the eagle has become York the mole. There are other contrasting patterns in Shakespeare that include the mole. In *Cymbeline* Shakespeare contrast "Olympus to a mole hill" (*V. iii. 30*). York, the "proud Plantagenet" (l. 30) has fallen from his greatness as did "Phaethon" (l. 33), frequent emblem of ambition and *superbia*, and the fall of kings.[23] At the end of the scene Clifford and Queen Margaret stab the helpless York to death.

Later in the same play, in Act II, Scene 5, King Henry is sent off the battle field by Queen Margaret and, as personally powerless as York was in the earlier battle scene, King Henry sits on a mole hill to meditate dejectedly on his lot. The ironic parallel has frequently been noted. However, those meanings associating the mole with weakness and helplessness, a reflection of King Henry's situation, have passed unnoticed.[24]

In her essay on *Titus Andronicus* Ann Haaker[25] sets out to analyse "the emblematic nature of the spectacle" which for "an alert audience" gradually unfolds the "unified and total conception" (p. 143) of the play. Shakespeare's emblematic method is said to consist in presenting his pictures (a tableau, setting or descriptive passage), having a character "voice

the motto" (p. 144), which is then followed by a juxtaposition of commentary and symbolic action. Haaker seeks to demonstrate the emblematic quality of this dramatic method by citing emblems as evidence of a similar mode of thought and presentation. The emblematic method emerges already in Act I, where three Roman buildings, the Senate House, the Pantheon and the tomb of the Andronici function as a backdrop to the action. Whether a "painted cloth"[26] depicting these buildings was visible to the audience or not, as is the case with many German Baroque dramas where they are called "stille Vorstellungen", or whether the only references are in the speeches of the characters, the buildings may, none the less, be regarded as representing ideals of civic, spiritual and personal worth. These ideals are transcendent and universal values, against which the "pageant of human affairs" (p. 146) is played out and the concrete particulars of men's actions are judged. Although the general argument is appealing, Haaker's comparison of stage directions, groupings of characters and action in the first scene with Alciatus' emblem on the good prince and his senate appears forced.[27] The descriptions of other emblems by Paradin, Ripa and Rollenhagen (see pp. 146-48) contribute little to the elucidation of the scene. Similar reservations must be expressed with regard to Haaker's interpretation of the funeral rites staged before the open tomb of the Andronici family. Although the monument, which may have been a stage property, can symbolize man's pride in his family, nothing

is gained by comparing it with Ripa's Fame and Honour (see p. 153).

Haaker's essay opens promisingly, arousing in the reader the expectation that she will investigate Shakespeare's emblematic method in the thematic structuring of the play. Unfortunately, we are offered little more than emblematic parallels that neither make the verbal and visual effects of the play more understandable as emblems, nor reveal dimensions of meaning hitherto inaccessible.

Hand Properties

By far and away the most frequently used and interesting theatrical properties are those carried or worn by characters on stage. Hand properties often fulfill several functions at the same time. It is, however, the iconographical or emblematic implications with which we are concerned. With the two exceptions of Fleischer's catalogue of the use of such properties in history plays, and Doebler's discussions of a few examples in some Shakespearean plays, there is, to my knowledge, only one monograph devoted entirely to the subject. That is the study of Hans-Günther Schwarz, entitled *Das Stumme Zeichen. Der Symbolische Gebrauch von Requisiten* (Bonn, 1974). Although it is a comparative work focusing on English and German drama from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, Schwarz none the less devotes about one third of the book to "the emblematic use of properties" in Marlowe and Shakespeare (see pp. 33-76).

Unfortunately, Schwarz is content with a rather superficial reading of emblematic stage properties. It is odd that he should make virtually no comparisons with emblems and devices and it therefore comes as no surprise to find that Schwarz ignores the iconographical interpretations published in the Warburg Journal and by such English scholars as Chew, Steadman and Wickham. Whereas many English literary critics blithely apply the term "emblem" to various effects in Shakespearean drama, without ever attempting either to define the term or to refer to a coherent theory of the emblem and its analogue in literary works, Schwarz has, if anything, oversimplified Schöne's theory of the emblem, at least with regard to the semantics of the emblem. Whilst it is true that the emblematic stage property both is and means, that is, transcends its value as an object, it is surely an oversimplification to suggest that even in the earlier stages the property is "eindeutig", i.e. simple, univalent or single in its meaning. Schwarz insists that the stage property which conveys a plurality of meanings ("Mehrdeutigkeit" p. 35) is no longer an emblem but has become a symbol (see pp. 35, 60, 63, 74). He is led to this conclusion because he holds too narrow and rigid a view of the emblem and its semantic workings. An emblematic motif such as the inverted torch carries a number of meanings, interpretations or applications that are well established in emblematic and iconographic tradition. In a context such as the scene in which Othello comes on stage, light in hand, to murder the woman he believes

has betrayed him, the Moor's words "Put out the light, and then put out the light", refer firstly on the surface to the extinguishing of a real light producing darkness and secondly to the extinguishing of the light of life in Desdemona. This is the single signation ("eindeutig") that Schwarz finds in the speech, although afterwards he mentions the "psychological refinement" (p. 38) and the "psychologizing elements" (p. 38) without giving us any indication what they might be. By contrast, Alan Young,[28] in calling to mind the many emblems in which this motif occurs, establishes a relevant tradition associating the motif with "the power of love and beauty either to give joy or lead to despair" (p. 3). Young's reading is more sensitive and finely tuned, as well as more firmly based in iconographical tradition, when he suggests that "we are presented not only with an emblem of the fragility and transience of human life but also with an emblem of the paradoxical powers of love" (p. 4). Throughout the play Othello has alternated between love and hatred of Desdemona, between admiration and jealousy of the woman.

Although Schwarz suggests that stage properties sometimes take on the function of commentary (see p. 65), he seems to recognize such commentary only when it is explicit. Hence, he overlooks the iconographical implications of Falstaff donning a cushion to represent the crown and using a "leaden dagger" as a sceptre in that key scene where Prince Hal parts company from his fat friend. This reveals one of the limitations in Schwarz's approach, namely that he is concerned only

with explicit interpretative statements in the texts. Frequently the dramatist uses an emblematic motif of which the meaning or meanings remain unstated but none the less evident from the controlling context if one is aware of the iconographic tradition.

When Hamlet picks up Yorick's skull, or Lear gives his crown to his "sons", the audience immediately recognizes the inherent meaning of these stage properties. No iconographical detective work is necessary to establish that the skull denotes death and vanitas, and that the crown embodies ideas of power and splendour. Furthermore, there is no need to argue that these symbols are in some special sense archetypal or "iconic". The skull and crown are essentially little different from other emblems, which would not be readily recognized today, such as the colewort, mouse, ape and partridge, all connoting lechery. Semantically, the skull and crown emblems may differ in so far as each object in its entirety is associated with one or two closely related concepts, whereas with the mouse and ape one aspect or attribute gives rise to the concept.[29] A veritable network of meanings surrounds such objects when used as emblems. Thus the snake could denote treachery, slander, sin (the Garden of Eden) and death, but also wisdom (New Testament), prudence and medicine (Aesculapius); swallowing its tail, the snake signifies eternity; and shedding its skin, it may denote spiritual rebirth. In each instance, a specific aspect or attribute of the snake becomes the basis for the concept which is then associated with the whole

creature. Since the emblematic mode of thought is closely related both to Renaissance hieroglyphs and those modes of medieval exegesis that Christian tradition passed on to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is natural that motifs from the world of nature were interpreted both *in bonam partem* and *in malam partem*.

Even though a modern audience may identify the basic meanings of skull and crown without the aid of historical research, iconographical tradition will frequently enrich our understanding of a subject we already basically recognize. As a *memento mori* the skull is indeed a commonplace, but in the graveyard scene in *Hamlet* the several Saturnian allusions to various occupations from grave-digging to law, suicide, hanging and such animals as dog and cat suggest a pattern of references to melancholy which has been largely overlooked, as Lyons observes.[30] Yorick's skull, then, is more than an emblem of transcience, *vanitas* and death, it becomes in addition a focal attribute of melancholy in its double sense of imagination and insight, as well as a dangerous mental and emotional condition. Our understanding of Shakespearean plays is often enriched by the discovery that Shakespeare was working within established iconographic traditions now largely lost to us. The assumption is, of course, that Shakespeare's contemporaries, or some of them, responded to those dimensions of meaning now laid bare by iconographic research but no longer directly accessible to the innocent modern reader of theatre--goer. Shakespeare's use of daggers and swords may be a case

in point. A number of critics have discussed these weapons in so far as they are associated with Macbeth, Shylock, Brutus, Othello, Hamlet and Laertes. Both Martha H. Fleischer[31] and Clifford Davidson[32] regard Macbeth's daggers as emblematic. Whereas Davidson is primarily concerned with their iconographic significance as the instrument of death and thus essential to tragedy, Fleischer makes the broad claim that Macbeth's daggers identify him with Cain and also with despairing Suicide (p. 820). In my opinion Fleischer jumps around too much here, from an allusion to Cain, which is nowhere supported by the text, to Suicide, which is irrelevant in the immediate context of Macbeth's vision of a dagger that becomes spotted with blood before his eyes. The immediate context is a planned murder. While Macbeth may later have moods of despair he does not commit suicide and so cannot properly be related to that personification; his death comes at the hands of MacDuff in battle. The visionary dagger is, as Davidson suggests, an iconographical motif for both murder and tragedy (pp. 78f.). And this because of the "gouts of blood". The vision of a bloody dagger, then, underscores iconographically the theme of murder and its tragic consequences.

Neither of these writers has attempted to show the significance of the dagger within Renaissance iconographic traditions, and I believe this is best done by contrasting it with the sword.[33] Panofsky (pp. 63f.) has discussed the iconographic implications of the sword, which has a heroic and honorific application. The sword is an attribute of

Judith, of many martyrs and of such virtues as Justice and Fortitude. By contrast the dagger is unheroic, base, even evil. In Ripa's *Iconologia*[34] - quoted because the collection was influential in both summarizing and transmitting received traditions - the dagger is an attribute of Despair and Suicide (1603, p. 106), Revenge (1603, p. 494), Treason (1603, p. 489), Tragedy (1603, p. 489) and Theft (1603, p. 121). These are base or evil personifications. Ripa elaborates the dagger of Tragedy as a "bloody, naked dagger" ("un pugnale ignudo insanguinato"). On the other hand the sword is an attribute of Justice (1603, pp. 187-9), and Constancy (1603, p. 86). The sword is also wielded by Rage, Contention and Murder, but in all these cases the personifications are accompanied by other attributes, such as a red cloak, which clearly single them out as the personification of evil. Dessen also points to the important role played by dagger and sword in late morality plays, where the figure of Vice carries a dagger of lath and the ministers of God's justice a "sword of vengeance" (see pp. 36-40).

It is in this context of iconographically contrasted weapons that Shylock's scales and knife take on an added emblematic meaning of which the modern theatre audience may be only dimly aware. On one level, namely from the point of view of Shylock, the knife and scales mean cutting the pound of flesh and weighing it. Shylock insists upon the letter of his agreement and he considers himself as justly executing

the details of the contract. He has cloaked his revenge in the legalistic trappings of justice. But whereas Justice carries scales and the honorific or heroic sword, Shylock carries the base and unheroic knife. Thus, as S.C. Chew[35] has observed, Shylock becomes emblematic of perverted justice. Shylock's knife and scales have then a second level of meaning which transcends the immediate context of dramatic action. Unlike the daggers in *Macbeth* which at most associate Macbeth with other murderers who use the same base instrument - and this is a horizontal association of like with like - Shylock's knife and scales associate him vertically with a different dimension of meaning, with another concept that actually undercuts Shylock's legalistic stance. The stage property provides an ironic commentary on his actions. It is, then, iconographically consistent that Macbeth should murder his king with a dagger after earlier defending king and country with his sword against both the enemy and the treacherous Cawdor. John Doebler summarizes: "as a conventional iconic stage image the dagger is the consistent Shakespearean symbol of defeat and treachery, of assassination and ambition, standing in contrast to the nobility and justice of the sword..." (p. 128). It is probably with a dagger, or with a small concealed knife that Othello finally kills himself, recognizing that he is at best "an honourable murderer" (*V. ii. 294*) but certainly not the "sword" of "Justice" (*V. ii. 17*). The jealous vengeance he wreaks upon Desdemona takes the form of unheroic stifling. And Othello dies in

despair associating himself with "a malignant and turban'd Turk ... the circumcised dog" (*V. ii. 356*) whom he had earlier killed. Seen within the context of Christian theology and the "ars moriendi" tradition,[36] and underscored by the iconographic significance of the dagger, Othello's turning the knife against himself cannot be construed as "tragic justice directed against oneself" (Davidson, p. 80), nor penance,[37] -ut as an act of self-murder perpetrated in despair.

By way of contrast the audience regards the suicide of Brutus, who falls upon his sword, as a heroic death consonant with Roman conceptions of stoic virtue, rather than an act of self-murder. However, whether one necessarily interprets that suicide in the light of the emblems of Alciatus and Whitney for whom Brutus' exemplifies "Fortuna virtutem superans" is another matter.[38]

The emblematic stage property may take on special significance by association with other motifs within its dramatic context. When Falstaff plays the role of king wearing a cushion on his head, it is a leaden dagger that substitutes for the sceptre. Fleischer observes that this "emblematic dagger" reinforces "the irreverence of his deceptive good humor" (p. 153). It does more than that. The baseness of the weapon ıs underscored, and in fact extended by reference to the base metal lead, which seems to be a variation on the wooden dagger assigned to Vice figures in morality plays.[39] Dessen calls Vice's dagger of lath "the

best known prop in the late morality plays",[40] and he reminds us of the role it plays in *Twelfth Night* and *Henry IV, Part I*, where Falstaff threatens to beat Hal "with a dagger of lath, and drive all thy subjects afore thee like a flock of wild geese, ..." (*II. iv. 136-39*).

Conclusions

The Use of Terms, and the Absence of Definition

When descriptive terms are transferred from one art form to another, there is always the risk that they will lose something of their precision in the process. Panofsky and others have provided a sound theoretical discussion of the iconograph, documented by many excellent interpretations. The literary critic who cautiously and sensitively applies such insights derived from art history to the Shakespearean text can enlarge our understanding of the plays.

The situation is perhaps more complicated with the emblem, which, composed as it is of picture and text, belongs both to art history and literature. Literary historians are almost exclusively interested in printed emblems. It is perhaps understandable that they devote little attention to those emblems that played such a large role in the graphic arts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably portraits and paintings, wall decorations (painted cloths and tapestries), embroidery, stained glass, carving, jewelry

and the like. These manifestations of the emblem art were probably more numerous and influential than were the books of emblems, especially in England. Such emblems have much briefer textual parts; they frequently lack even a motto. This may help to explain the lack of interest of literary critics, who are often primarily interested in the text, and who tend to regard the emblem as an illustrated form of allegory[41]. Furthermore, English scholars rarely define the term emblem when they apply it to purely literary texts. The tacit assumption seems to be that we all know what an emblem is, and that we are agreed upon the definition of this hybrid genre. Nothing could be further from the truth. Art historians such as Heckscher and Wirth[42] have a conception of the emblem that differs in some important respects from that held by literary scholars and especially by Albrecht Schöne, whose theory has given a new impetus to emblem studies and to the interpretation of drama in the light of the emblem.

Opinion also seems to be divided among literary scholars on the inclusiveness of the term emblem book. Should it embrace collections of *emblemata nuda* which may account for as many as one tenth of all published emblem books? Should it include books of emblematically embellished meditations by such representative writers as Joseph Hall, Henry Hawkins, Jeremias Drexel and Hermann Hugo? Are the *biblia pauperum* and those mythological works cast in the emblematic form also emblem books? And when it comes to the description of emblematic analogues in the purely literary work, the matter can become

quite confusing. The mere presence in a text of a visualizable motif, even a motif that also appears in an emblem book, does not necessarily warrant designating that motif emblematic. Yet, some critics even regard mythological allusions as emblems, which can be highly problematic[43].

In the absence of definition the term can be used so widely that it includes an actual impresa or emblem in the literary text or used on stage; an object endowed with special significance, such as Desdemona's handkerchief[44]; verbal images and arguments; a character striking a pose, or indeed a whole character such as Ophelia; character groupings, actions and tableaux; whole scenes, acts and even whole plays[45]. The spectrum of usage ranges from the precise through the vague and general to the metaphorical and the fanciful. All too often, the term is applied to visual effects, whether of language, action or staging, which can be known to have some conceptual or thematic implications. Martha Fleischer makes such expansive statements in her often-quoted article on stage imagery. John Doebler can suggest that the off-stage music in *The Tempest* is "emblematic music" (p. 18), which translates the term into a different medium that is neither verbal nor visual. David Kaula concludes that the images in Edgar's speech on Dover Cliff are Biblical in origin, and "emblematic" although he offers no definition of terms, nor argument by analogy to support the assertion.

Not everything that is visual and significant is emblematic. Many of the supposed emblematic entrances, exits,

character groupings and actions in *King Lear* may be strikingly visual and highly significant, but they are not emblematic, either in content or in form. When Lear sees in the naked Edgar an image of himself -- "Didst thou give all to thy daughters? And art thou come to this?" (III. iv. 49)-- he tears off his clothes to become such a "poor, bare, forked animal" as Edgar appears. Although this action expresses "more pregnantly than words" the reduction of king to commoner and extravagant man to essential man, the scene is neither iconographic nor emblematic. Words or concepts have been transformed into starkly visual terms to the point where the verbal has been translated directly into the visual[46].

Problems and Pitfalls: Emblems as a Source of Information

The literary scholar is venturing into territory where his own training is frequently inadequate, and his knowledge is limited. We should be aware of the possible pitfalls in consulting emblem books. In the first place, some English scholars restrict themselves to English emblem books, which, as is well known, are an extremely small, derivative and unrepresentative sample of the European emblem tradition[47]. In his unpublished dissertation on *Macbeth* E. Ninian Mellamphy[48] asserts that the martlet "has no place in emblem books" (p. 140, n. 67). Perhaps the author did not find the martlet or swallow or house-martin -- there is a terminological problem here -- in the English emblem books he consulted, but he would certainly have discovered the bird in the Henkel/Schöne

Emblemata. That the number of extant English emblem books is small is more a reflection of the state of the English book trade and the art of engraving than an indication that the emblematic mode was less pervasive in England than on the Continent. The emblem in its printed form is only one manifestation of a mode of thought, which combines visual motif with abstract meaning.

Those who read German and consult the Henkel/Schöne *Emblemata*, invaluable though the collection may be, are not always aware that they are dealing with an extremely limited cross-section of the European emblem. Opinion is divided on the question whether the forty-seven[49] emblem books that form the basis of the *Emblemata* are representative or the thousand or more titles published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Religious emblems are certainly under--represented, and no examples of Jesuit emblems are printed at all. The omission of the latter is all the more surprising since according to best estimates the Jesuits account for one-fifth of all extant emblem books[50]. What I am suggesting is that caution must be exercised when consulting individual emblem books or the Henkel/Schöne *Emblemata*. The fact that one may not find a certain motif or its use in these sources is no proof that the motif or its meaning played no role in emblematic or iconographical tradition. Furthermore, the absence of the motif in the *Emblemata*, does not mean Shakespeare was necessarily an innovator[51]. Finally, if we do find the motif in the *Emblemata*, we cannot necessarily

extrapolate on its importance or distribution since the *Emblemata* is hardly representative of the European tradition as it expanded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[52].

Difficulties in Interpreting Emblematic Meaning

Thus far my reservations have to do solely with the reliability of information, but care must also be exercised in applying emblematic meanings even when these are clearly established by the emblem book. Given the fact that an emblematic motif can convey a plurality of meanings, the controlling literary or dramatic context must be considered if we are to guard against capricious or subjective readings. Difficulties do exist, but in my view Lyons'[53] generalization about the complicated way in which iconographic allusions function in *Hamlet* is something of an exaggeration, and more of an extrapolation from the character of Ophelia than it is a valid statement about the play as a whole. She suggests that these allusions are complicated "because the world of Denmark ... cannot sustain any of the public agreement about the values and significances of physical objects on which iconography depends" (p. 63). If Ophelia is confused, this is partly because she is mad and also partly because she represents, as Lyons herself has established, the contradictory Flora. I would suggest that the ambiguity here is not so much "the gap between an ordered world of shared symbolic meanings and the murky world of intrigue and mental

disorder that exists in Denmark" (p. 63), as it is a result of the conflation of Flora the goddess with Flora the courtesan in the person of the now mad Ophelia. There is still considerable "public agreement" about such telling iconographical details as the solitary Hamlet with his book denoting philosophical speculation, and the solitary Ophelia with her book denoting religious devotion. The sex -- sexist?-- difference is interesting.

Some English scholarship still pays too little attention to the exegetical tradition which was one of the most important intellectual roots of the emblem and which will help to explain the semantic workings of this highly visual form or miniature allegory. Lyons rightly stresses that the meanings read out of flowers and the like are "not idiosyncratic" but are "rooted in social custom and common understanding" (p. 66). However, when she goes on to suggest that "the same plant can have different meanings for different people, or that it can have double meanings, perhaps sacred and profane ones" (p. 66), the author has only touched the surface ot the matter. The objects of nature were interpreted, as I have stressed elsewhere, both positively, *in bonam partem* and negatively, *in malam partem*. Thus, to take the example from Ophelia's speeches cited by Lyons, the columbine could indeed stand for cuckoldry, or the forsaken lover, while in other contexts its connotation of melancholy drew it into the association with the Sorrows of the Virgin. There is no ambiguity here, nor confusion, since the context in which

the flower appears will normally filter out the irrelevant meaning. Strawberries, as Lawrence J. Ross[54] has shown, could connote both virtue (they were also frequently associated with the Virgin Mary) and illicit love. Nor is there any Empsonian ambiguity about the strawberries on Desdemona's handkerchief either. At the beginning of the play the strawberry-spotted handkerchief is for Othello a symbol of love, chastity and faithfulness; later when she loses it, it becomes for the Moor a sign of her faithlessness and adulterous lust.

Difficulties with the Iconograph: The Obvious and the Impressionistic

My reservations concerning the use of iconography in the sense of paintings and illustrations, are of a slightly different order. No literary historian falls into the trap of offering a painting as a source for a verbal effect in a Shakespearean play. The contention is always that a significant parallel exists. The parallels, however, have to be established both in terms of visual subject matter and the conceptual meaning associated with it. It is difficult to imagine agreement on the specificity required as adequate demonstration of an analogy. At one end of the scale, the visual analogues adduced tell us nothing new (e.g. Frye's discussion of Hamlet holding Yorick's skull[55]); at the other, we may not be persuaded that an analogy exists at all (e.g. Doebler's interpretation of Orlando in the light of Donatello's

statue of David[56]. The use of an iconograph can be impressionistic.

The Iconograph is not an Infallible Code

In our enthusiasm for the new insights into dramatic configurations provided by iconography and the emblem tradition, we should be careful not to exaggerate their importance, nor should they be regarded as an infallible code for the deciphering of a text, gesture or stage property.

In many instances the iconograph or emblem will provide a clear indication of the meaning of the character or action in its specific context. Once we have recognized the meaning of Shylock's knife in the combination knife and scales, then the meaning of perverted justice is clearly established. Similarly Falstaff's leaden dagger casts the fat knight in the role of a Vice figure once the origin of that dagger has been recognized. Perhaps it should be stressed that the iconographic or emblematic meaning applies to character and action within its immediate context. To what extent that newly established significance changes the interpretation of character as a whole, or theme is another matter. The recurrent use of an emblem or icon would tend to encourage the reader to see the character as at least in part embodying the significances of that emblem. This could lead to an oversimplification. Hamlet's sword is a case in point. While the sword may generally help to emphasize Hamlet's role as an avenging - revenging? -- figure, it would be a mistake to allow the

avenging sword to simplify our understanding of the character of the prince. Indeed, iconographic appearance may even be at odds with inner complexity. Hamlet is called to an act of vengeance, and the drawn sword, especially in the hands of a figure dressed in black, would seem to underscore that significance. But, as Dessen[57] has shown, the meaning of the sword depends in some measure on the context in which it appears and the gestures that it is used to make. A "quasi--holy object" (p. 57), it marks perhaps ambiguously the oath Hamlet swears in the first act. It is certainly the avenger's sword which is held above Claudius' head, and which penetrates the arras to kill the spying Polonius. Finally it is the poisoned sword of Laertes, a revenge figure, with which Hamlet kills Claudius. It is, then, not always the same sword with the same meaning that we see in Hamlet's hand; consequently, it would be a false simplification to equate the sword and its bearer with either revenge.

The iconographic interpretation of Perdita at the sheep-shearing festival is an instructive illustration of how two critics may apply the same iconograph to the same character in the same scene and arrive at somewhat different conclusions. Both Bridget Gellert Lyons[58], and Douglas L. Peterson[59] apply the iconographic traditions surrounding Flora to Shakespeare's character in this scene. For Lyons Perdita is a "straight-forward evocation of Flora, the nature goddess" (p. 65) and has nothing to do with the urban courtesan. Perdita's very language conveys "a sense of

sexual pleasure and of fruitfulness that is in harmony with social refinement" (p. 68). Lyons, however, makes no reference to the earlier study by Peterson for whom Perdita is no goddess, nor is rural Bohemia to be equated with pastoral innocence (see p. 170), as the presence of Autolycus will indicate. Citing an Elizabethan commentator's gloss on Flora as "a famous harlot" Peterson suggests that sixteenth-century England had come to associate Flora with "grossly sensual love" (p. 178) and that by donning Flora's robes, Perdita evoked the goddess's "shady reputation" (p. 212 n. 14). The ambiguities of Flora the goddess and the harlot pervade the entire scene, although Peterson is careful not to impute adventuring or sexual license to Perdita.

While it is true that in this scene the love of Perdita and Florizel is put to the test by the passion of the prince himself, by the differences in their social station, and by the angry intervention of the king, I find no evidence to suggest that Flora, as the goddess-cum-harlot, colours the presentation of Perdita in any way. Nothing Perdita does or says contributes in itself to the ambiguity mentioned by Peterson. Peterson uses the iconographic reference to Flora to buttress an argument for audience response. In other words, he does not compare the figure of Perdita in this scene with iconographic or mythological accounts of Flora in order to establish similarities between the two, which would lead to a certain interpretation of character, but rather he suggests how an audience responded

to the goddess of flowers. The problems here are two-fold. Firstly, describing audience response is always difficult, and strictly speaking inferential. Secondly, as Lyons' discussion shows, the figure of Flora found three distinct representations in Renaissance tradition, as the goddess, as the harlot, and finally as the goddess-cum-harlot. To fasten on to one interpretation as evidenced by an Elizabethan commentator is not enough.

The Iconograph must be Integrated into the Larger Interpretation

The discovery of iconographical meanings will modify our perceptions, but they must also be integrated into a larger understanding of the drama. Doebler's elucidation of Hamlet's mouse-trap as a trap for the devil is illuminating but is must be incorporated into an interpretation of both the characters of Hamlet and Claudius, and of the other larger thematic movements in the play. Doebler does this only to a limited extent. Given the fragmentary nature of most literary scholars' knowledge of art and iconography, it is unlikely that Doebler would be able to fulfill the purpose stated in his introductory chapter, which was to offer a "critical re-interpretation of an entire play assisted by an historical awareness of the conventions of Renaissance iconography, especially as those conventions affect our understanding of a stage event" (p. 10). That is a large ambition. But to return to the mouse-trap. If the mouse-trap as a snare for the devil casts Claudius in the role of devil, this may accurately represent Hamlet's

perception of his enemy without necessarily being a true reflection of the king himself. Claudius knows both guilt and remorse as his various asides and monologues demonstrate. Furthermore, there is a sense in which Hamlet is caught in the mouse-trap just as much as is Claudius. The play within the play reveals not so much the king's guilt as it does Hamlet's desire to rack his victim, and to effect vengeance on the very soul of his adversary.

Seeing Claudius in the role of devil, by virtue of the iconographic mouse-trap, also tends to direct attention away from the fact that Hamlet himself falls victim to the very evil in Denmark that he seeks to punish. There are "hellish"[60] implications in Hamlet's reaction to the success of his play:

> ... Now could I drink hot blood,
> And do such bitter business as the day
> Would quake to look on.
>
> (III. *ii.* 408-10)

"Hot blood" carries overtones of the black mass. In the very next scene Hamlet decides against killing Claudius, who appears to be in a state of grace kneeling at prayer, because he is determined to send Claudius' soul, "damned and black" (l. 94) to hell. Hamlet would seem to be about the devil's work here as well as in the Closet Scene where, without compunction or remorse, he kills Polonius. That having been said, however, the fact remains that Hamlet is the only person

in his world capable of redeeming it, as shown in his dealings with the travelling players and the newly arrived Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Flashes of love, generosity and forgiveness illuminate, if but briefly, the contagion that is Denmark.

The Fragmentary Nature of Interpretations

Iconographical or emblematic interpretations of literature are invariably fragmentary. That is, a specific image or theatrical prop, a tableau or at most a pattern of repeated words or actions, are placed in an iconographic or emblematic context. No matter how perceptive the individual critic may be about the subject under immediate review, he is often blind to the iconographical implications of a neighbouring phrase or stage image. It is as though the critic were at once sharp--sighted and myopic. Let us take Paul Hamill's[61] interpretation of the Closet Scene in Hamlet, where the author deals at length with the iconographical and emblematic implications of Hamlet's remorseless analysis of his mother's two husbands. Hamill's discussion ranges convincingly through mythological, Christian and morality play traditions; he dwells on the Dance of Death implications, which are both vividly visual and morally didactic. And yet, sure though his grasp may be of these traditions when he discusses Hamlet and his juxtaposition of the two kings, Hamill's comment that Ophelia is "a nymph too innocent for the world" strikes one as a sentimental simplification if we concur with Lyons' interpretation. According to Lyons, the creation of Ophelia owes much to

Flora, Rome's goddess-cum-harlot. Lyons employs Renaissance iconographical traditions to elucidate Ophelia's ambivalence, indeed, ambiguity.

Examples of the fragmentary and at times haphazard nature of interpretations could be multiplied. Lyons[62] suggests in passing that Orlando carrying old Adam on his back reminded the audience of Aeneas' *pietas*, thereby adding "a dimension of epic seriousness to a scene from pastoral romance" (p. 62). The iconographical overlay, however, does more than add "epic seriousness," it has important thematic implications explored by Doebler in his chapter on *As You Like It* (pp. 33f.). In this same chapter, however, Doebler can virtually dismiss the famous exit in *The Winter's Tale* "Exit pursued by a bear" as intended "to convey a sense of romantic amazement" (p. 27). This stage business involving a destructive storm and a savage bear, which spares the swaddled infant Perdita in order to pursue and kill the fleeing Antigonus, is a piece of dramatic action that underlines the movement from destruction to rebirth. As Dennis Biggins[63] has shown the action of the bear is credible when seen in the light of emblematic traditions.

Velz has much of interest to say about Brutus' emblematic argumentation involving snakes and their eggs, and he also makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of the stage image in which Casca strikes a dramatic pose, pointing his sword in the direction of the rising sun. But his reference to Banquo's speech invoking the "temple-haunting martlets"

as "a quiet interlude amidst excitement" (p. 313) misses the point, if, as I have argued elsewhere, the martlets were associated in emblematic tradition with notions of justice, prudent trust and caring.

It would appear from these examples that iconographical interpretations are fragmentary largely because the knowledge of the literary historian is limited, even accidental. Furthermore, critics at times overlook the recent contributions of others. I have indicated above that Lyons (1977) makes no reference to Peterson (1973), who used the same Flora iconograph to slightly different purposes. Dessen (1977)[64] has some valuable comments on Falstaff's rising from the dead to stab the dead body of Hotspur (see pp. 78f.) but he makes no reference to the emblematically important configuration of the hare and the lion, a subject discussed earlier by Hoyle (1971)[65] Kaula (1979) omits any reference to Dessen (1977) and Reibetanz (1974) in his emblematic reading of the Dover Cliff scene in *King Lear*. Finally Frye (1979), in what is admittedly termed an "abbreviated part" of a larger study, recognizes Lyons' and Davidson's contributions in a footnote, but makes no acknowledgement of Dessen's important article on Hamlet's sword published in 1969.

Leaving aside such bibliographical problems, iconographical and emblematic interpretations tend to be focused on isolated particulars. What we see depends largely upon what we are looking for. Literary scholars who have read their Whitney, frequently through the eyes of Henry Green, or who,

at times incautiously, have consulted the Henkel/Schöne *Emblemata*, or who have studied their Panofsky, bring this knowledge to bear upon Shakespearean texts both as literature and theatre. But there is something haphazard about it. Thus Lewis, having studied Panofsky's interpretation of Titian's painting "The Allegory of Prudence," goes in pursuit of various Shakespearean dogs, lions and wolves, which he then interprets as representations of night in that iconographical tradition.

Since it is unlikely that any literary historian will ever bring with him a sufficiently broad knowledge of Renaissance art to recognize all the possible iconographic and emblematic dimensions in a given play, the contributions of literary scholars are likely to remain somewhat piecemeal. It would be a rewarding if demanding task to attempt to integrate the various fragmented details, facts and insights and to make of them a coherent pattern. This would be a Herculean task, possibly an Icaran temptation, since such an undertaking would have to merge art history with an exploration of the text. The critic would have to establish an overall reading of the play as literature and theatre into which the emblematic and iconographic interpretations would be integrated. Frye appears to be working on such a study with particular reference to *Hamlet*. Although his essay does little more than assemble iconographical treatments of the motif of a man holding a skull to document the well known theme of the effective life lived within the knowledge of

death -- "readiness is all" -- Frye's full study will presumably offer much more.

The Emblem and Iconograph Mediating between Page and Stage

It is the purpose, and often the passion, of literary critics to understand more fully what moves us in the literary work, by getting the text into sharper focus. Those of us who are not content to remake Shakespeare in our own image, but wish rather to expand our consciousness to embrace his work are prepared for the historical effort that is required. The literary historian is keenly aware that Hamlet does not inhabit some universal vacuum, but in a sense the England of Elizabeth I. It is necessary to explore historically the linguistic, intellectual and cultural context within which the work stands, if the text is to come alive and communicate its meaning, which has become partially silted over with the deposits of time. The iconograph and the emblem represent one dimension in that context, a set of allusions, sometimes explicit but more often implicit, a pattern of meanings that must be raised to the level of consciousness, which we assume they held for Elizabethan audiences and readers. The monkey (purchased by Shylock's daughter), the martlet (observed by Banquo), the adder and serpent's egg (referred to by Brutus) and Hamlet's mousetrap are words, motifs, animal references, which mean much more than they are. Like emblems they embody a significance established by tradition and shared by the linquistic community. However, those associated meanings are

not expressly stated in the text, nor are they underscored visually by any stage action of which we have a record. Historical research has uncovered, or re-established, the association of the monkey with licentiousness, the martlet with justice, prudent trust and protective caring, the adder and serpent's egg with the need for decisive action to avert evil. The assumption is that Shakespeare's audience or at least some of them responded to the meanings associated with these references in the same way that today in a discussion of environmental problems the mention of "Three Mile Island" suffices to call to mind a near disaster in a nuclear power plant.

Since the emblem always represents to the mind more than it presents to the eye, we can expect to find scenes in which the words and allusions, the characters and physical objects on occasions work together in such a way as to produce a veritable nexus of meanings that underlie the surface action. Lyons has shown how in the Graveyard Scene in *Hamlet* many of the verbal references carry an allusion to Saturn or melancholy. At the lowest level the gravediggers themselves represent one of the occupations over which Saturn presided. Similarly, the gardeners and ditchers, the mason, shipwright and carpenter, the gallows-maker and tanner were all regarded as Saturn's children. At the other end of the scale Hamlet himself speaks of the loftier professions subject to Saturn: the politician, lawyer and great commanders. Even the cat and dog were commonly associated with Saturn and melancholy.

The themes of time, mutability and death were closely associated with Saturn and melancholy in its double sense; they are the subject of Hamlet's meditations, and in a different key they also reverberate through the songs of the clown. The point is that many verbal and visual allusions in this scene indirectly reinforce various aspects of the theme of melancholy. The modern reader and viewer will doubtless miss most of these hints.

This close attention to the emblematic and iconographic implications of the text has also led to the re-evaluation of characters in the plays. Some of the difficulties presented by such characters as Ophelia, Cordelia and the heroes and heroines of the later plays are resolved when it is appreciated that an emblematic mode, rather than a concern for psychological and historical realism, shapes the plays in which they appear. Similarly, Falstaff, Hamlet and Richard II reveal characteristics unrecognized until they are seen in relation to emblematic and iconographic traditions.

Whether we accept the iconographic and emblematic readings will depend on a number of factors, not the least of which is our own open-mindedness. But the critic must be able to persuade the reader, both by his argument and use of definition, or reference to a reliable theory of the emblem and its analogue in literature. Finally, the evidence adduced, both from art history and from the Shakespearean text must be convincing. In these observations, I have been speaking of the play as text.

It has become something of a commonplace to complain that some interpretations of Shakespeare's imagery are too subtle and too literary, that they overlook the fact that the plays were intended to be staged for an audience. The reader can dwell on an individual word or action, relating it to earlier and later episodes, while the theatre audience is swept along by the experience of the play[66]. The iterative patterns, which the reader can pursue backwards and forwards at will, may modify the perceptions of the viewer, but we can only guess at their effect. The guesswork becomes more unreliable as we go back in time to the Elizabethan theatre. Similarly, there is no doubt that emblematic and iconographic motifs, and their attendant meanings, belong to the web and weft of a Shakespearean text; but to be effective in the theatre the audience must be able to respond immediately to what it sees and hears. The theatre does not allow for a replay, and an audience does not know the text by heart. Some iconographical and emblematic interpretations tax both the knowledge and perceptive abilities of the audience beyond what may be reasonably expected. Most of the entrances, actions and scenes in *King Lear* that Reibetanz considers emblematic would come under this category. Werner Habicht[67] considers that the oak and the palm tree in *As You Like It* when taken together indicate the "impossibility of hope for a Golden Age on earth" (p. 89) as found in Camerarius. However, as I have argued elsewhere[68], the emblematic meaning latent in the combination of oak and palm is only realized where the two trees appear

together, either verbally or visually. In Shakespeare's play the trees are separated by whole scenes. Habicht's interpretation makes too great a demand on the memory of the audience.

It would appear that the perspectives and even the experiences of readers are at times irreconcilable with those of viewers. The literary critic speaks primarily to readers when he discusses the texts of Shakespeare the poet, especially when he deals with the meaning of words, images, patterns and structures. Some of his discoveries may be of value to the stage historian, who, however, is primarily concerned with the realization of the text on stage, the translation of the printed word into the combination of speech, action and visual effect that characterizes the theatrical experience.

For the critic concerned primarily with Shakespeare as theatre, the play must provide the evidence. However, given the paucity of authentic stage directions, and our limited knowledge of how Elizabethan and Jacobean plays were actually staged, the theatre critic must rely on inference, i.e. implicit stage directions in the texts and imagination, supported by the historical knowledge often provided by the literary scholar. None the less, in the theatre the stress falls upon the visual experience. At its simplest, this may be the use of costume and hand property, such as Shylock's knife and scales, Falstaff's cushion and leaden dagger. The action may also bear iconographical or emblematic meanings as in the case of Casca pointing his sword at the rising sun, Orlando carrying the old man on his back, or Falstaff stabbing the dead Hotspur. Action merges with emblematic stage property

when Richard II dashes his mirror to the ground. In all such instances, we assume that Shakespeare was conscious of the iconographic and emblematic traditions that he was employing, which must also have been understandable to at least the discerning members of his audience[69].

Literary historians and interpretative critics, stage historians and contemporary directors have become increasingly aware of the visual quality of Elizabethan theatre generally, and of Shakespeare's plays in particular. Part of this renewed interest in the visual has led to a re-discovery of iconographic and emblematic structures and motifs in the plays. Although the conflict over Shakespeare as literature and theatre is far from resolved, this interest in the iconograph and the emblem can help to bridge the gap between page and stage.

NOTES

1 This is a much expanded version of an essay that appeared in the *Utrecht Renaissance Studies* 1 (1982), 37-56. I am grateful to the editors for permission to use material. This work on Shakespeare and the emblematic tradition is part of a larger on-going study of various aspects of the European emblem, which has been generously supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The SSHRCC also provided the necessary travel grant to enable me to participate in the Szeged meetings.

2 Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1970)

3 Bridget Gellert Lyons, "The Iconography of Ophelia", ELH 44 (1977), 62

4 Dietrich Walter Jöns, *Das "Sinnen-Bild" Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius* (Stuttgart, 1966).

5 Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* (London, 1870)

6 Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery* (Rome 1939), 2nd ed. 1964

7 Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), repr. 1967.

8 Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich, 1968)

9 William S. Heckscher and Karl-August Wirth, "Emblem", "Emblembuch", in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1959) vol. 5, cols. 85-228

10 Joan Larsen Klein, " 'Hamlet', IV.2.12-21 and Whitney's 'A Choice of Embleme" NQ (April 1976), 158-161

11 Joseph Kau, "Daniel's Influence on an Image in *Pericles* and Sonnet 73: An *Impresa* of Destruction," SQ 26 (1975), 50-54

12 John W. Velz, "Two Emblems in Brutus' Orchard", RQ 25 (1972), 307-15

13 D. J. Palmer, "*Tragic Error in Julius Caesar*", SQ 21 (1970), 403

14 Raymond B. Waddington, "The Merchant of Venice III.i. 108-113: Transforming an Emblem", ELN 14 (1976-77), 92-98

15 Peter M. Daly, "Of Macbeth, Martlets and Other 'Fowles of Heauen'", M 12 (1978), 23-46

16 Anthony J. Lewis, "The Dog, Lion, and Wolf in Shakespeare's Descriptions of Night", MLR 66 (1971), 1-10.

17 The dog emblems in the Henkel/Schöne *Emblemata*, cols. 556-83 derive from over twenty different emblem writers and denote over twenty different meanings, some positive, some negative, but none with the meaning preditor.

18 David Kaula, "Edgar on Dover Cliff: an Emblematic Reading", ESC 5 (1979), 377-387

19 Peter M. Daly, "Of Macbeth, Martlets and Other 'Fowles of Heauen'", M 12 (1978), 42f.

20 For more recent studies of tree properties, see Werner Habicht, "Becketts Baum und Shakespeares Wälder", SJ (West), 1970, 77-98, also "Tree Properties in Elizabethan Theatre", RD NS 4(1971), 69-92.

21 See Henkel/Schöne *Emblemata*, cols. 489f., and Horapollo II. 63. Shakespeare refers to the blindness of the mole in *Cymbeline* I.i.199, and I.i. 102; *The Winter's Tale* IV. iv. 836 and *Hamlet* I.v. 162

22 See Sambucus in Henkel/Schöne, *Emblemata*, cols. 489f.

23 When Richard II descends at Bolingbroke's command, he likens himself to "Glist'ring Phaethon" III.iii. 178

24 Marha Fleischer makes no comment on these aspects in her lengthy discussion of the scenes, pp. 169-174

25 Ann Haaker, "Non Sine Causa: The Use of Emblematic Method and Iconology in the Thematic Structure of *Titus Andronicus*" *RORD (1970-71), 143-168*

26 Painted cloths, frequently emblematic in design and purpose, were used extensively to decorate homes, inns, ale houses and public buildings. See H.R. Fairchild, "Shakespeare and the Art of Design," *University of Missouri Studies*, L" (1937), 147-50, and Ralph Edwards and L.G.G. Ramsey, *The Connoiseur, The Tudor Period 1500-1603* (London, 1956).

27 The edition referred to is *Toutes les Emblemes* (Lyons, 1558), pp. 179f.

28 Alan R. Young, "Othello's 'Flaming Minister' and Renaissance Literature," ESC 2 (1976), 1-7

29 For a fuller discussion of the semantic workings of the emblem, see Daly *Emblem Theory*, pp. 52-59

30 Bridget Gellert Lyons, "The Iconography of Melancholy in the Graveyard Scene of *Hamlet*," SP 67 (1970, 57-66)

31 Martha H. Fleischer [Golden], "Stage Imagery" in the *Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare* (New York, 1966), pp. 819f.

32 Clifford Davidson, "Death in his Court: Iconography in Shakespeare's Tragedies," SI 1 (1975), 74-86

33 Martha H. Fleischer mentions briefly the "favourable association" of the drawn sword noted by Panofsky. See *The Iconography of the English History Play* (Salzburg, 1974), p. 188, n. 7.

34 The edition of Ripa referred to is the Dover reprint of the Hertel text. The references to the 1603 edition derive from the Dover edition.

35 Samuel C. Chew, *The Virtues Reconciled* (New Haven, 1962), pp. 47f.

36 Betty Ann Doebler, "Othello's Angels: Ars Moriendi," in John Doebler, *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures.* Studies in Iconic Imagery (Albuquerque, 1974), pp. 172-85

37 R.N. Hallstead, "Idolatrous Love: A New Approach to Othello," SQ 19 (1968), 107-124.

38 Davidson, p. 80 and Mehl in "Visual Imagery in Shakespeare's Plays," *Essays and Studies*, 1972, p. 89. See also my discussion in *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, p. 216, n. 33.

39 See Heinz Zimmermann, *Die Personifikation im Drama Shakespeares* (Heidelberg, 1975), p. 125

40 Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye* (Chapel Hill, 1977), p. 36.

41 Daly, *Emblem Theory*, pp. 16f.

42 See Edward D. Johnson, "Some Examples of Shakespeare's Use of Emblem Books," B 29 (1945) 145-56, and 30 (1946), 68-8

43 See Lloyd Goldman, "Samuel Daniel's *Delia* and the Emblem Tradition," JEGP 67 (1968), 39-63; see also Daly, *Literature in the Light of th4 Emblem*, p. 58

44 John A. Hodgson, "Desdemona's Handkerchief as an Emblem of Her Reputation," TSLL 19 (1977) 313-22

45 See Glynne Wickham, "Romance and Emblem: A Study in the Dramatic Structure of *The Winter's Tale*" in *The Elizabethan Theatre* III (Toronto, 1973), ed. David Gallaway, pp. 82-99.

46 Dieter Mehl speaks of "the very literal use of the clothes metaphor" in this scene. See Mehl, "Visual and Rhetorical Imagery in Shakespeare's Plays," *Essays and Studies* 1972 p. 96.

47 Up to the end of the seventeenth century, emblem books printed in the English language account for only about forty-three of the known thousand or more European emblem books.

48 E. Ninian Mellamphy, *"Riddles and Affairs of Death": Equivocation and the Tragedy of Macbeth*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1975

49 Of the forty-seven emblem books contained in the *Emblemata* twenty-six are complete (but for one, two or three emblems), whereas the other twenty-one emblem books are represented through selections. Cf. Forward xxi.

50 See the hibliographical surveys of Jesuit emblem literature compiled by G. Richard Dimler published in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 45 (1976), 129-38; 377-87; (1978), 240-50 and 48 (1979), 298-309

51 Veltz, p. 314 n. 2. Similarly Michael Thron assumes that the "traditional emblem" of the wounded stag has a meaning or moral from which Shakespeare's Jaques departs. See Michael Thron, "Jaques: Emblems and Morals," SS 30 (1979), p. 85

52 I am working on an Index Emblematicus which will produce some small amelioration of the situation. See Peter M. Daly, *The European Emblem. Towards an Index Emblematicus* (Waterloo, 1980). The first volume of the Index will be dedicated to *The Emblems of Andreas Alciatus* and it will contain the two hundred and twelve Latin emblems and representative translations into German, French, Spanish and Italian. These sixteenth century translations into the vernacular are themselves translated into modern English for the purposes of the Index. There are several indexes containing keywords from the mottoes and epigrams in both the original languages and English translation, as well as an index of pictorial motifs. These volumes are being published by the University of Toronto Press.

Thereafter, it is my intention to devote the next volumes to the English emblem tradition.

53 Bridget Gellert Lyons, "The Iconography of Ophelia," ELH 44 (1977), 60-74

54 Lawrence J. Ross, "The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare," SR 7 (1961), 225-40

55 Roland M. Frye, "Ladies, Gentlemen and Skulls: *Hamlet* and the Iconographic Traditions." SQ 30 (1979), 15-28

56 John Doebler, *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures.* Studies in Iconic Imagery (Albuguergue, 1974), pp. 28-30

57 Alan C. Dessen, "Hamlet's Poisoned Sword: A Study in Dramatic Imagery," SS 5 (1969), 53-69

58 See note 53

59 Douglas L. Peterson, *Time, Tide and Tempest* (San Marino, Cal., 1973).

60 Dessen, *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye*, p. 97

61 Paul Hamill, "Death's Lively Image: The Emblematic Significance of the Closet Scene in *Hamlet*," TSLL 16 (1974) 249-62

62 See note 53

63 Dennis Biggins, "'Exit Pursued by a Beare': A Problem in *The Winter's Tale*," SQ 13 (1963) 12f.

64 Dessen, *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye* pp. 78f.

65 James Hoyle, "Some Emblems in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* Plays," ELH 37 (1971) 512-527

66 Dessen, *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye*, pp. 84f.

67 Werner Habicht, "Becketts Baum und Shakespeares Wälder," DSGW 10 (1970) 89. This interpretation is repeated in his English essay, "Tree Properties in Elizabethan Theater," RDNS 4 (1971(85

68 Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, p. 156

69 See Dieter Mehl, "Visual and Rhetorical Imagery in Shakespeare's Plays," 97; "Emblematic Theatre," 132f; Daly, "Of Macbeth, Martlets and other 'Fowles of Heauen'," 27. n. 13; Levin, "Hotspun, Falstaff, and the Emblem of Wrath in *Henry IV*," 44

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

A	Anglia
DSGW	Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft West
ELH	English Literary History
ELN	English Language Notes
ESC	English Studies in Canada
ES	English Studies
M	Mosaic
N&Q	Notes and Queries
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RD	Renaissance Drama
RES	Review of English Studies
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RORD	Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama
RQ	Renaissance Quarterly
SI	Studies in Iconology
SP	Studies in Philology
SQ	Shakespeare Quarterly
SR	Studies in the Renaissance
SS	Shakespeare Survey
TSLL	Texas Studies in Literature and Language

Clifford Davidson

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WISDOM AND FOLLY IN *KING LEAR*

Sometimes individual plays in the Shakespeare canon take on particularly strong significance in the light of events which we see taking place in the world around us. While it is unwise to see Shakespeare as a great sage, comparable perhaps to Socrates, the immediacy of some events in one or another of his stage plays will strike us particularly strongly from time to time. At this juncture in history, I am thus struck by the events of *King Lear*, which I find to challenge us in our complacent notions about the stability of the social order and the inherent goodness of men. In this sense the play perhaps will not teach so very much more than we could learn from surveying the dislocations and the terrible events of our own centruy. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's drama seems to have some further significance for us. It certainly places events within perspective, and it provides a grid against which we can examine the widom and folly of our own age.

If we may agree that Shakespeare thought of his theater as an emblem of the world,[1] then we can see the heart of the problem as one that can be translated into theatrical and visual terms. Life in a civilized society must be more than mere play-acting, going through the gestures and utter-

ing the words demanded by the script before it is time to leave this earthly stage. Hypocrisy in the pursuit of a private and sinister kind of self-defined "wisdom"--a "wisdom" that must be hidden so as to seem to be something other than actual foolishness--provides therefore the paradox around which the visual tableaux and iconography of *King Lear* are organized. Such pretended wisdom, identifying life as shadow *sans* substance, will in the play persist in violating the meaning of life, in jeopardizing civilization itself. Thus Lear, after he has fallen to Fortune's lowest point which is also the kingdom's lowest point, recognizes in his madness that the world now appears to be nothing but a "great stage of fools" (*IV.vi.183*).

Goneril and Regan, the two sly daughters of the king, are actresses whose faces do not match what is in their hearts. To use Geoffrey Whitney's words from his *Choice of Emblemes*, their "flatteringe speeche" with their "sugred wordes" will have the purpose of deceiving trust: "And few there bee [who] can scape theise vipers vile."[2] Such, then, is the widom of the deceptive Goneril and Regan, whose mastery of "that glib and oily art/ To speak and purpose not" (*I.i.224-25*) persuades the old king of their love and loyalty. But as soon as they are able to confide in each other, these two daughters drop their actors' masks before the audience as they agree to "[hit] together" to deny any authority the king might wish to retain after his abdication (*I.i.302-03*). These daughters are, like Macbeth and Lady Macbeth welcoming King Duncan of Scotland

to their castle at Inverness, hypocrites who turn to their monarch fair faces while their actual intentions remain hidden. They are, as we would say, "two faced", like Cesare Ripa's Fraude as illustrated in his *Iconologia*.[3] And they are acting out a role which conceals their malice, poisonous envy, perverse desires--qualities which only their self-love can translate into what will seem to them to be wise behavior. Goneril and Regan place self above all bonds of duty and all pretentions of love where love is due, and, as we see in the play's first scene, in order to gain their objectives they will engage in the most blatant flattery.

These two women, Lear's older daughters, may thus be said to represent the iconography of wixked femininity, which draws upon the original act of Eve in the Garden of Eden when in the Hebrew myth she succumbed to ambition and the lust for power.

Shakespeare's play depicts this iconography with very great precision. When Goneril's letter is intercepted by Edgar, the good son exclaims, "O indistinguishable space of woman's will!" (*IV.vi.271*). She and her wicked sister, in spite of their pretentions to wisdom, are dominated by their wills as these faculties in turn are influenced by their passions and appetites without any real guidance from reason. Their wills are boundless, infinitely selfish. Hence Goneril finds the limits placed on her by the marriage bonds, which hold her to Albany's bed, like a jail. And, as we are reminded by Regan herself at *I.i.69*, she is "made of that self *metal* as my sister [italics

mine]." Metal in this instance may be seen in terms of envy--a traditional association[4]--but it might also be compared to the important notion of which we are reminded in *The Merchant of Venice I.iii.134*, that metal is "barren" and hence cannot "breed" or reproduce itself. If all women were of the same "metal" as Goneril and Regan, nature would clearly be unredeemable, and Lear's mad and cynical words about them would be universally applicable:

> Down from the waist they are Centaurs,
> Though women all above;
> But to the girdle do the gods inherit,
> Beneath is all the fiends': there's hell, there's
> darkness,
> There is the sulphurous pit, burning, scalding,
> Stench, corruption ...
>
> *(IV. vi. 124-30)*

Such *double* natures present us with a feminine character which is defined in terms of the magical but deadly mouth and cave of hell.

Fortunately, one of Lear's daughters is not thus controlled by her lower nature. The iconography of Cordelia stresses the contrast with her sisters, for she lacks their empty and flattering rhetoric as well as their essential "hollowness." Despite the "Nothing" of her answer to her father, she does in fact love and respect him according to her "bond." She has no wilful desire to reach beyond the limits set by nature for parent-child relationships; she will

in all sincerity "Obey," "love," "and most honor" her father and king (*I. i. 98*). Her stance is on the side of that which makes possible the coherence holding the commonwealth together, while her sisters' individualism and selfishness tend only toward the terrible chaos that is at the iconographic center of the play. Thus Lear truly has "[one] daughter/ Who redeems nature from the general curse/ Which twain have brought her to" (*IV. vi. 205-07*). The implicit imagery which identifies the evil daughters with the Fall of Man is balanced by an explicit reference to the second Eve, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of the Redeemer in Christian tradition.

The subjection of England to this cursed "twain," Goneril and Regan, comes about, of course, through the choleric king's unfortunate decision to divide the kingdom and through his public preference for flattery over truth. In the first act, the king's "hideous rashness" (*i. 151*) seems impelled by a strange and mysterious force beyond the comprehension of rational philosophy. Blinded by his passion, Lear can only describe the intensity of his rage by the iconography of the line spoken to Kent: "The bow is bent and drawn, make from the shaft" (*I. i. 143*). The tension of the drawn bow ready to be released is appropriately analogous to the violence of the king's temperament. And it is sufficient to dislocate the precarious social balance achieved by civil society.

King Lear will be personally punished, of course, for his pride and anger. At the beginning, Lear is described in

iconographic terms as being at the top of Fortune's wheel; when he steps down from his place at the top, he causes a great spinning of the wheel. The forces which are visually described as out of control become the means by which Edmund and the wicked daughters attempt to raise themselves to absolute power, while these same forces are turned against Lear and the other good characters in the play. Therefore "the rack of this tough world" (*V. iii. 315*) itself become a source of torture to the king. As Kent notes at the end, only omeone who "hates" this formerly proud king would wish at last to see his life *stretched* out longer (*V. iii. 316*). The emblem is of a man whose body is tied or otherwise placed forcibly upon a globe or other circular intrument of torture. Thus will the proud be eternally treated, according to the account of the punishment of the seven deadly sins as told by Lazarus after his return from death in *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, translated by R. copland (*c. 1518*): "I have seen in helle wheles ryght by sette on an hylle/ the whiche was to loke on in maner lyke Milles incessauntly tournynge about by great Impytuosyte roaryinge and hurlynge as it were thonder."[5] The woodcut which accompanies the text shows the wheels in action. What we have here is Ixion's fiery wheel of punishment become a standard kind of punishment in hell. And it is a frightening vision. We are reminded of Lear's lines, spoken in the midst of the "rough" and hellish storm, in which he draws an analogy between "filial ingratitude" and "this mouth"

tearing "this hand/ For lifting food to't" (*III. iv. 14-16*).[6]

When King Lear in his insensitive rage had banished Cordelia, he had sworn by the icon of the sun's "sacred radiance"--not an inappropriate oath for an ancient Celtic king--but also by "The [mysteries] of Hecat and the Night," that this daughter was henceforth no longer to be regarded as his daughter (*I. i. 109-16*). The goddess of the witches, dreaded Hecate who presides over the midnight rites of her devotees, and dark Night, who appears widely as a vivid personification in Renaissance literature,[7] are heralds of the overwhelming tragedy that will carry the king through madness and then to the sorrowful death which he will encounter at the end of the drama. In words which comment directly on his foolishness at this point, he refuses to "See better" (*I. i. 158*), and hence eclipses the solar "radiance" that we might iconographically associate with a harmonius, ordered Apollonian existence. Indeed, "the night comes on," as Gloucester emblematically notes after the king has been refused shelter by his daughters (*II. iv. 300*). Lear will shortly experience something analogous to being hurled into "utter darknes" where there is only "weping, and gnassh-ing of teeth" (*Matthew 25.30, Geneva Version*). Indeed, the hell into which the king descends must have not only its symbols of torture but also its demons, whose power over him seemingly will be broken when Cordelia returns to take him "out o' th' grave" (*IV. vii. 44*) in a symbolic gesture of redemption.

In the sub-plot, Edmund, like Goneril and Regan, represents a principle of inversion, for he too is an agent who wishes to insure that the wisdom of order and degree in family and state is turned upside-down. To achieve his demonic ends, he must fearlessly grasp the forelock of Opportunity as she is visualized in the emblem books, and he does in fact make the most of whatever chances fall in his way. Before he is toppled in Act V, he has raised himself from an unpropertied illegitimate son without status or power to be the Duke of Gloucester who is the "conductor" (*IV. vii. 87-88*) of the English forces. He is for a time very close to the English throne which, had he achieved it, would have completed the transformation of the lowest to the highest--at least in appearance.

Thus the iconography of the world-upside-down *topos* becomes a major factor in *King Lear*[8] and illustrates emblematically what the ascendancy of Goneril, Regan, and Edmund means in the political sphere. Thus when the oily steward, Oswald, tells the "chang'd" Albany of "Glonucester's treachery,/ And of the loyal service of his son [Edmund]," Goneril's husband reacts by telling him that he "had *turn'd the wrong side out*" (*IV. ii. 6-9; italics mine*). Unquestionably, the dramatist intends everyone to *see* that with Lear's evil daughters and Gloucester's bastard son in the ascendant, all positive values have been reversed: treachery is now "loyal service," and service is "treachery". In such a world, "Truth's a dog must to kennel, he must be whipt out, when the Lady

Brach may stand by th' fire and stink" (*I. ii. 111-13*). Everything indeed is upside-down. As Ernst Curtius, who has identified this *topos* in ancient and medieval literature, observes, impossibilities are commonly strung together: "the ass plays the lute; oxen dance ... . The Fathers ... are to be bound in the alehouse, in court, or in the meat market ... . Cato haunts the stews, Lucretia has turned whore. What is outlawed is now praised. Everything is out of joint."[9] This *topos*, which was understood by Shakespeare in terms of its visual effect, survived into the seventeenth century in two pamphlets by John Taylor in 1642, a time of unprecedented political choas. One pamphlet is *A Plea for Prerogative: or, give Caesar his due, Being the Wheele of Fortune turn'd round: or, The World turned topsie-turvie*, which comments: "Thus vice is entred, virtue is thrust out,/ And Fortunes Wheele is madly turn'd about."[10] The second little pamphlet, *Mad Fashions, Od Fashions, All out of Fashions*, contains on its little page a woodcut which depicts a scene "like this Kingdome": the central figure wears a "doublet on his lower parts," gloves on his feet, shoes on his hands, breeches over his arms. At the top, a church is turned upside-down, fish fly, and a candle burns downward; the bottom of the woodcut shows a cat being chased by a mouse and a dog by a hare. On each side is another detail: a man being pushed by a wheelbarrow on the right, and on the left a cart pulling a horse. The woodcut is understood as "the Emblem of the Times": "All things are turn'd the Cleane contrary way." Similarly, in the inverted order of the icono-

graphy of *King Lear* a bedlam beggar is called "this philosopher" and "this same learned Theban" (*III. iv. 158, 161*). At II. iv. 223-24, the dramatist indeed gives us precisely one of the details illustrated in the woodcut at the beginning of *Mad Fashions, Od Fashions, All out of Fashions:* "May not an ass know when a cart draws the horse?" In power and authority, the lesser seem to have exchanged places with the greater, with disastrous results, and Lear Himself becomes "this child-changed father" (*IV. vii. 16*).

Having initially reversed the order of things in England, Lear is now surprised when his daughters Goneril and Regan expect him to be "an obedient father" (*I. iv. 235*). Edgar, legitimate and loyal, must disguise himself as a madman who possesses only a blanket to cover his nakedness, while Edmund proceeds to rise in power and glory, in influence and wealth. "Everything is out of joint." Such chaos could only be successfully communicated in the drama visually and by means of the storm which Gloucester describes in terms of one of the traditional signs of Doomsday:[11] "The sea, with such a storm as [Lear's] bare head/ In hell-black night endur'd, would have buoy'd up/ And quench'd the stelled fires" (*III. vii. 59-61*). It is in the midst of this storm that Lear becomes transformed into the emblem of the poor, mad pilgrim, who will journey to Dover to be reconciled with his daughter Cordelia. The journey is a symbol of his alienation in a hostile world which is essentially upside-down.

In her return to England to rescue her suffering father,

Cordelia is proven to be in inward substance no less than she had been in outward show at the beginning of the play when she had stood as an icon of truth against flattery. Described in terminology which implicitly links her to the "perle of great price" of the New Testament (*Matthew 23.46*), this youngest daughter is disinherited with only "truth" as her dowry (*I. i. 108*). Though she speaks only a little more than a hundred lines in the entire play, she is throughout a moving image of the true and the beautiful who is able to function iconographically in the play with all the power of a central symbol that has come to life. She must be seen as an emblem of the highest wisdom which paradoxically is also the greatest foolishness--a foolishness which is particularly underlined at the painful close of the play when her father comes on stage with her body and exclaims, "And my poor fool is hang'd" (*V. iii. 306*). Of course, the term *fool* with reference to Cordelia is meant in quite a different sense than when it appears on Goneril's lips with regard to Albany, whom she calls a "Fool [who] usurps my body" (*IV. ii. 28*). Cordelia's foolishness, however, places truth above expedience, love above glib words about love.

The opposition between Cordelia and her "dog-hearted" sisters, then, establishes the basic opposition upon which the entire play is structured. In contrast to Cordelia's selflessness and love for her father, Goneril and Regan express a strong preference for prudential behavior, which means unscrupulously advancing their own causes at all times.

Sometimes such behavior, especially when set forth visually, must shock and horrify us, as when Regan exclaims: "It was great ignorance, Gloucester's eyes being out,/ to let him live ..." (*IV. v. 9-10*). All matters are to be judged without regard to higher standards of morality: neither sister wants to be thought of as a "moral fool" (*IV. ii. 58*).[12] Curiously it is the Fool who outlines the principles of this prudential behavior in terms of iconography: "Let go thy hold when a great wheel runs down a hill, lest it break thy neck with following; but the great one that goes upward, let him draw thee after" (*II. iv. 71-74*). Yet the Fool (*like Cordelia the "fool"*) does not himself follow the rising fortunes of Goneril and Regan: "The Fool will stay,/ And let the wise man fly" (*II. iv. 8283*). Such "wisdom," defined by the New Testament as "the wisedome of this worlde" (*I Corinthians 3.19*), will be ultimately doomed, if we are to believe St. Paul who insists that God "wil cast away the understanding of the prudent" (*I Corinthians 1.19*).

On the other hand, imprudent Cordelia must be understood iconographically in terms of her father's words at IV. vii. 45-46 which describe her as "a soul in bliss." Though we should be careful not to romanticize her, she is in some sense a prefiguration of the Christian saint who later in history will imitate the way of the Christian Redeemer.[13] However, her righteousness must, unlike the virtue of the person living in the Christian dispensation, find its total expression in works of goodness in the world rather than in an explicit Christian faith.[14] Her truth, loyalty, and beauty[15] are not only marks of

Botticellian loveliness, but alos, like the three Graces in the *Primavera*, point beyond this world to transcendental values.[16] She thus stands in all the harmony of a divine presence which is associated with the heavenly wisdom of the truly "wise man". In contrast, then, is demonic foolishness, which is represented by the emblem of the "codpiece" (*III. ii. 4041*). Since it is a world upside-down, however, Cordelia's sisters have no thoughts about goodness, while their minds are very much upon Edmund's physical attractiveness. And to them Cordelia's cause in returning to England seems infinitely foolish. If we may again borrow the language of the New Testament which was clearly in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote this play, Cordelia illustrates how Providence seems to choose "the foolish things of the worlde" in order "to confounde mightie things" (*I Corinthians 1.27*).

Cordelia thus goes about her "fathers busines" (*Luke 2.49*) as would any Christian saint:

> O dear father!
> It is thy business that I go about.
> (*IV. iv. 23-24*)

Her own ambition is set aside (*IV. iv. 27*), and, motivated by love,[17] she returns to her native land for the purpose of expressing her feelings in merciful acts. However, unlike her sisters, she is "queen/ Over her passion" (*IV. iii. 13-14*), an iconographic example of rational goodness triumphing over all selfishness. Her will is in harmony with her reason. To those who lack the perspective of such regenerate reason,

however, Cordelia's actions are destined to be thought merely self-destructive and absurd, for such "Wisdom and goodness to the vild seem vild" (*IV. ii. 38*). In an upside-down world which can neither trust nor hope, she is a seeming fool because she is saintly. Such a fool also was Milton's Abdiel in *Paradise Lost*, for he was the one among the angels who rebelled against his leader Lucifer's perverted plot to turn heaven upside-down (*PL, Book V*).

The central paradox of Cordelia is again derived from the New Testament, as the following quote from the Geneva Bible will make clear:

> If anie man among you seme to be wise in this worlde, let him be a foole, that he may be wise. For the wisdome of this worlde is foolishnes with God: for it is written, He catcheth the wise in their owne craftines. (*I Corinthians 3.18-19*)

Goneril, Regan, and Edmund are implicitly like crafty spiders who have caught themselves in their own webs.[18] On the other hand, Cordelia seems on the level of iconography to be clearly a divine instrument, a fool for the sake of higher values. The wicked ones, in contrast, are surely "fools of time" who have "liv'd for crime" (*Sonnet 124*).

Sealed as she is within the sphere of a totally temporal perspective, Goneril in particular represents a royal irresponsibility diametrically opposed to Cordelia's sense of duty: she diabolically places herself above justice and insists to

her husband Albany that "the laws are mine" (*V. iii. 158-59*). This "monstrous" statement is reminiscent of the lines spoken by "that old white-bearded Satan," the fool and jester Falstaff, when he hears that Hal is now Henry V: "Let us take any man's horses, the laws of England are at my commandment" (*Henry IV, Part I, V. iii. 135-37*). In the end, however, Albany's assessment of his wife's arrogance and ambition (*I. iv. 346*) is proven correct: "Striving to better, oft we mar what's well." Finally, the fabric of her reversed values and power crumbles even at the moment in which military victory has been achieved over the invading French army. Despairing, she ends her life with her own hand. It would seem superficially that Shakespeare is dramatizing a maxim found in the Elizabethan *Homilies:* "although God [may] suffer sometimes the wicked to have their pleasure in this world, yet the end of ungodly living is at length endless destruction."[19]

As the above analysis shows, the first four acts and part of the fifth act of *King Lear* will bear interpretation as a conventional Christian drama, showing the hand of Providence working for good in the lives of individuals and the nation as well as countering the machinations of the wicked. But, especially in the light of iconographic study, portions of Act V are most disturbing; indeed, the whole dramatic thrust of this act seems in a different direction. Our emotional attachment to Cordelia is not diminished, and it is true that the wicked have their judgment here. For Edmund and the two wicked daughters, the wheel of Fortune has come round "full

circle" (*V. iii. 175*). Yet the bitter, woefully tragic deaths of Cordelia and King Lear mean that somehow the neat iconographic pattern of Providence and its alleged redemptive action have gone all awry. Edgar, of course, looks down on the fallen Edmund and with justification proclaims: "The gods are just..." (*V. iii. 171*), but this statement comes before the disclosure which reveals the martyrdom of saintly Cordelia. When he learns of her death, Kent, speaking for all of us, asks, "Is this the promised end?" and Edgar, in words that surely qualify his defense of justice among the gods in V. iii. 171, adds, "Or image of that horror?" (*V. iii. 264-65*). The apocalyptic language is continued by Albany even as he signals the group of characters to be quiet: "Fall and cease" (*V. iii. 265*).

Lear, who has been brought back from the hellish chaos of his "untun'd and jarring senses" (*IV. vii. 15*) by the harmonious music of a consort of viols[20] and the redemptive presence of his saintly daughter--it is as if he is being extracted from hell--has been brutally sent to prison by the villain Edmund, the tough-minded and ambitious general of the English forces. This is the man who has told his subordinate officer that he must not question "Thy great employment" (*V. iii. 32-33*) as he is given written orders to do some terrible deed without a name. The officer, of course, stands in direct contrast to Cornwall's servant in III. vii. 72-75; he will do whatever he is told to do. Then we learn that, as we had suspected, Edmund's "commission," signed also by Goneril, has been "To hang Cordelia in the prison, and/ To lay the blame

upon her own despair,/ That she fordid herself" (*V. ii. 254-56*). Act IV does not, therefore, actually involve the release of Lear from hell through the divine instrument Cordelia, but appears only to be the ironic prelude to a most disturbing final act. Albany's prayer that "The gods defend her" (*V. iii. 257*) is not heard in heaven, for Cordelia has been killed.

In a drama that has focused to a large extent on the theme of wisdom *versus* foolishness, the iconography of its conclusion involves a serious probing of the veneer of civilization and its theological underpinning. Shakespeare, of course, does not overtly attack the religious beliefs of his time, and he has no intention of letting his unbelieving villains go free at the end. Like Iago, Macbeth, and Hamlet's uncle Claudius, the wicked sisters and the ambitious brother must receive the justice that is their due. Shakespeare also insists, as he almost always does, on some remedies to heal and sustain "the gor'd state" (*V. iii. 321*). But when he has Lear hold a feather before dead Cordelia's lips and say,

> This feather stirs, she lives! If it be so,
> It is a chance which does redeem all sorrows
> That ever I have felt
>
> (*V. iii. 266-68*)

the playwright seems through his iconography to be mocking all certainties. The possibility of being redeemed "from the general curse" seems to be insubstantial in the face of such words. There is no chance that Cordelia will live, and somehow the order of nature itself suddenly seems infinitely less benign.

No one can deny that, on "this great stage of fools" which is the world we live in, the gods allow men and women to be tortured needlessly, though in the joyless and woeful moment of Lear's words at the end it also becomes impossible to believe that they do it in sport. But it may be worse: the gods may be indifferent. If human existence is never perfectly orderly, so also can it never be without its elements of chaos and pain. In the final tableau of *King Lear*, the pain overflows all measure.

When we last see Cordelia alive, her father is telling her:

> Come, let's away to prison:
> We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage;
> When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
> And ask of thee forgiveness. So we'll live,
> And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
> At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
> Talk of court news; and we'll talk with them too--
> Who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out--
> And take upon's the mystery of things
> As if we were God's spies: and we'll wear out,
> In a wall'd prison, packs and sects of great ones,
> That ebb and flow by th' moon.
>
> (*V. iii. 8-19*)

There is irony here too, for the villain Edmund simply will not allow them together to "wear out ... packs and sects of great ones." No time will be given to them to sing like a pair of

tamed birds in a cage, for they have been caught in the dangerous snare of the great fowler. This demonic figure appears with his limed line in the borders of one of the illuminations in the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves.[21] The birds are being attracted to the line by a pair of caged birds who serve as decoys. In the symbolic language of the illuminator's art, the birds are, of course, souls jeopardized by the snares of Satan. The iconographic meaning becomes especially clear when the illumination itself is examined, for it shows an angel leading five souls out of the flames of hell-mouth into safety. Such an outcome is promised in Psalm 91, which tells men that God will deliver them from the snares of the fowler. But in *King Lear*, the gods are silent and acquiescent: no angel will come in this, the final act of the play to release Cordelia from the cage which is Edmund's prison. "She's gone forever," Lear laments, as he carries her body onto the stage (*V. iii. 260*).

But there is a sense in which these two will be like "God's spies" even here, for the honesty of the fifth act of this drama may be said to reveal to us the world's most perplexing paradoxes. The "mystery of things" is thus to be regarded as a much more complicated secret than the heart of Hamlet's "mystery" which will remain forever closed to the small-minded Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. The "mystery of things" must be the complex and contradictory reality which the world itself reveals to us. Surely it involves the ever-present temporal dialectic between wisdom and foolishness, between topsy-turvy and right-side-up.

Edgar in his final speech (*V. iii. 324-27*) speaks of "The weight of this sad time" and the necessity at this moment to be absolutely honest about the realities of the emotional life as it gazes upon the woeful Death ("Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say"). Then, in words that underline precisely the audience's feeling at this point, he notes: "The oldest hath borne most: we that are young/ Shall never see so much, nor live so long." But then, after we have returned home from the theater or closed the pages of Shakespeare's play, we may wonder with dread if we too might be asked to bear "so much." Our divided world, like Lear's, is seemingly out of joint and in need of reconciliation, but having larger means to destroy and ravage, we have a very special reason to value Shakespeare's analysis of wisdom and foolishness.

N O T E S

1 See especially Frances A. Yates, *Theatre of the World* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969), *passim*.

2 Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), p.

3 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603), p. 174; (Padua, 1630) pt. 1, p. 276, sig. R6^{v}.

4 See *Henry VIII* III.ii.239.

5 *The Kalender of Shepherdes* (London, [c. 1518]), sig. E5^{v}.

6 Caroline Spurgeon, in her *Shakespeare's Imagery* (1935; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), p. 339, noted how pervasive in this play is the imagery "of a human body in anguished movement, tugged, wrenched, beaten, pierced, stung, scourged, dislocated, flayed, gashed, scalded, tortured and finally broken on the rack."

7 See *The Faerie Queene* I.v. 20-45, for example.

8 See William R. Elton, *King Lear and the Gods* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1966), p. 130.

9 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Ser., 36 (New York: Pantheon, 1953), p. 95.

10 Quoted in Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1962), p. 44.

11 The first of the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday in *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (London: Longman, Green, 1941), I, 4, is as follows: "On the first day, the sea will rise fifty cubits higher than the mountains, and will rear up as a solid wall." This event receives illustra-

tion in fifteenth-century glass in All Saints, North Street, York.

12 See also G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, 5th ed. (New York: Meridian, 1957), p. 204.

13 See especially Elton, pp. 75-114.

14 Ibid., pp. 83-84.

15 These are the traditional attributes of Cordeilla (Cordelia). See J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1950), pp. 382-83.

16 See Edgar Wind, *Pagan Myteries in the Renaissance*, revised ed. (New York: Norton, 1968), pp. 117-26.

17 According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, she had lived while in France in Karitia, a city most appropriately named. See Tatlock, pp. 92-93.

18 See Edmund's speech at II. i. 15: "This *weaves* itself perforce into my business" (italics mine). With such a net he will catch his father and his brother, and he will make himself duke. Cornwall and Regan are likewise described in terms of thread put to no good use when they come to see Gloucester "out of season, threading dark-ey'd night" (II.i.119).

19 *Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1816), p. 70.

20 On the usefulness of music as therapy for mental illness, see Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (London: Nelson, 1964), pp. 46, 85, 267ff.

21 John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: Braziller, n.d.), pp. 10-24, 347, Pl. 48.

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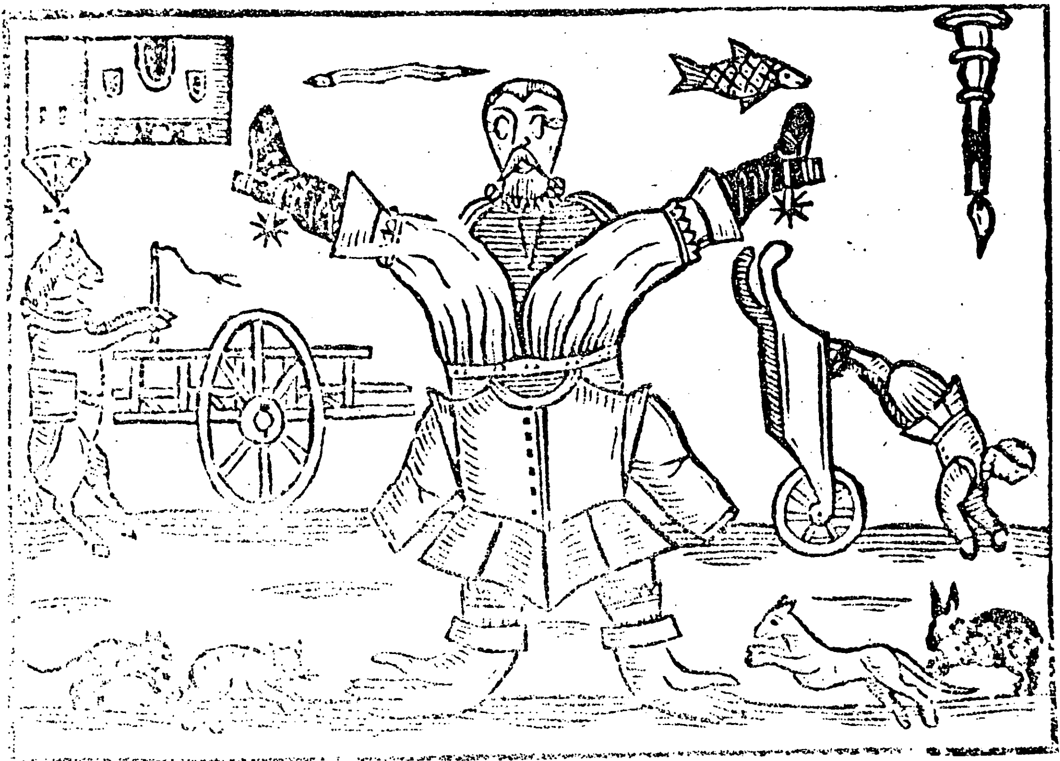
FIG. 1. "Fraude" Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1630)

FIG. 2. Hell Mouth. Wall painting,
Guild Chapel, Stratford - upon - Avon
From Thomas Sharp, *Dissertation on the Pageants* (1825)

FIG. 3. The World upside down
From John Taylor, *Mad Fashions* (1642)



Tibor Fabiny

"VERITAS FILIA TEMPORIS" THE ICONOGRAPHY OF TIME AND TRUTH AND SHAKESPEARE

When Caroline SPURGEON explored Shakespeare's imagery she found that time appeared in the texture of the dramas as a "destroyer", "bloody tyrant", "fruit being ripened", life-giving nourishing power", and as the "revealer and disentagler of truth" (29: 158). In a previous paper of mine I concentrated on the organic or the *cyclic view of time* and history, I studied the predominant images of "ripening" and "rottening" and I reached the conclusion that the imagery of the "wheel of time", the idea of eternal recurrences, - as analogous both to the seasonal cycles and the medieval wheel of fortune - seemed to be more evident than the *linear view of time* based on the Christian or Biblical tradition (9).

The purpose of the present essay is to re-consider the problem beyond verbal imagery and apply the methods of iconography (I); to survey the most important representations of time and truth ie. *"Veritas filia temporis"* on different levels of Renaissance imagination (II); to show how the connotation of time and truth makes the linear view dominant even if not in the surface-imagery but in the hidden homogeneous structure of Shakespeare's last plays (III).

I. Two Aspects of the Renaissance Iconography of Time

Iconography seems to be a proper hermeneutic tool for us for "it concerns itself with the subject-matter of meaning of works of art ... its domain is the identification of images, stories and allegories" (25: 51). When we go a step further and consider the basic underlying principles of the symbolical values we enter the domain of iconology (25: 58). The former is an analytical process and the latter is a synthetic mental activity that tries to elucidate the unconscious sphere or the "deep-structure" of a work of art. We shall both describe and identify configurations of time and truth and try to explain their internal function in the dramas. Imagery is also an essential component in poetry as a major clue to poetic meaning and contemporary iconographic representations - particulatly emblem books - are the gold-mines of imagery.

Erwin PANOFSKY discusses various visual representations of time and suggests that during the Renaissance time (Kronos) had two main attributes. He was both (1) Devourer and (2) Revealer. When we have the devouring or destroying aspect of time in mind we may think of the ever-recurring images of "devouring time" in Shakespeare's sonnets (55, 60, 63, 64, 65, 73, 74, 76, 77) or of the poems "thou nursest all and murderest all that are" (RL, 929); and of the dramas "cormorant, devouring Time" (LLL 1,1, 14), "Time is the king of men / He's both their parent and their grave" (P 2, 3, 45) etc.

The sensuous dead-metaphor "the tooth of time" alludes to the mythological figure of Saturn or Kronos eating up his own children, (Figs.1-3).

When I had the vision of the endless, purposeless and cruel rotation of the wheel of time I imagined something similar to the pagan fatalistic, inevitably destroying aspect of the child-eating Saturn.

There is, however, a less cruel and more personal and domesticated image the notion of "Father Time". He is not a devourer but a *revealer*. Time was very often depicted as a Father-like man, whose constant attributes were the wing, the hour-glass, the scythe and sometimes the sickle and the whip. The illustration from Giovanni Gilio's *Topica Poetica* reminds us of Hamlet's monologue "the whips and scorns of time" (Ham. 3, 1, 69) (Fig. 4). If Time is a Father, he must be benevolent and his main task is to elucidate the hidden or concealed meaning of things. His task is to reveal and redeem his daughter Truth as in the Latin proverb: *Veritas Filia Temporis* (henceforth: VFT). The revelation or redemption can only be attained after a long series of adventures. The unfolding of truth at the end of time reminds us of the structure of the biblical revelation and redemption.

In the following part when we survey the iconography of time and truth we emphasize that the Horatian *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting so is poetry) was a self-evident practice not only in the Middle Ages but in the Renaissance too - as Ben Jonson put it: "Whosoever loves not picture is injurious to truth" (Quoted in: 10: 3).

II. *The Iconography of Veritas Filia Temporis*

1. *Biblical origins*

Before giving a detailed survey of the most important representations of time and truth let us elucidate why their mutual presence in iconography bears witness to the biblical or linear view of time. The basic difference between the pagan or classical and the Christian view of time is that the latter believes in the *meaning* of the time - or historical process. Time has a definite beginning and an end. Salvation or providential history (*Heilgeschichte*) covers a panorama of history from Creation up to the Last Judgement. Biblical history is a linear sequence of events in the course of which God's promises are continually being fulfilled. Prophecy foreshadows future: what is concealed in the Old Testament is revealed in the New; and what is hidden in the New Testament will be disclosed on Judgement Day. Emblem writers often quote Matthew 10, 26: "There is nothing concealed that will not be disclosed, or hidden that will not be known". A certain amount of time is needed until Truth is unveiled. Apocalypse means, as N. FRYE writes: "uncovering, taking the lid off, and similarly the word for truth *aletheia*, begins with a negative particle which suggests that truth was originally thought of as also a kind of unveiling, a removal of the curtains of forgetfulness in the mind." (14: 135). Time has a definite meaning whose function is to bring hidden Truth to light. As we can read on the title-page of Robert Greene's *Pandosto*

(the source of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*) "The Triumph of Time. Wherein is discovered by a pleasant History that although by means of sinister Fortune Truth may be concealed, yet by Time in spight of fortune it is most manifestly revealed" (Quoted in: 18: 29).

So the meaning or substance of VFT accurately expressed Christian doctrine, though the form and iconographic representation was taken from classical mythology.

3. *Renaissance and Early Reformation*

It was Fritz SAXL who wrote an epoch-making study on the subject of VFT. He tried to trace the source of the Latin motto back to classical antiquity but his main concern was to explore the widespread use of the emblem in the 16th and 17th centuries. He emphasized, however, the political rather than the biblical associations of the emblem. VFT expressed the political convictions and prophecies of the Italian writer Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) and it became the conventional woodcut of his Venetian friend, Marcolino (Fig. 5). Truth was a watchword in the life of Aretino and his political enemies are represented by the figure of the dragon-tailed naked figure: Calumny. But VFT means: "Time conquers Calumny; Time is the deliverer of Truth from persecution and oppression and in the end it brings honour and reputation" (27: 202).

G. BING gives evidence that Francesco Doni, a former friend of Aretino used the same emblem in his *Moral Filosophia* (1: 304) (Fig. 6).

In early Protestantism the biblical origins of the emblem were reemphasized: the mark of the Strasburg-printer John Knoblouch alluded to Psalm 85, 11: "Veritas de terra orta est". The picture shows a woman rising from the tomb (27: 202) (Fig. 7). The motto appears in England in 1535 on the title-page of William Marshall's *Goodly Prymer in Englishe* (Fig. 8). It depits how Protestants have delivered Christian Truth from the captivity of Roman Hypocrisy. This picture and especially the motto, taken from Matthew 10, 26 expresses the apocalyptic sense of VFT: "Nothing is covered that shall not be discovered and nothing is hid that shall not be revealed". The third fugure in this case is not Calumny but Hypocrisy. In biblical iconography apocalypse or the eventual revelation of Truth (Christ's Second Coming) is preceeded by the fierce combat of Christ and Satan. Satan is both Calumny and Hypocrisy. This eschatological event is given an emblematic illustration in Lancelot Andrewes' *The Wonderful Combate betweene Christ and Satan* (Fig. 9) (Quoted in: 7: 76).

SAXL suggests that the early Venetian VFT of Aretino was understood only in the secular or philosophical sense while the Protestant representation is established in Christian iconography and sometimes VFT bears resemblance to Christ's descent into Limbo (26: 206). This aspect is affirmed by Clifford DAVIDSON: "Conventional illustration of *Temporis Filia Veritas* shows Time bringing his daughter Truth out of a cave in a manner reminiscent of the Harrowing of Hell when Christ

on Saturday of the Holy week grasps the forearm of Adam as he steps forth from darkness following the soteriological work on the cross which has made triumph over time bondage possible." (7: 76).

3. Political pageantry

Following the history of iconographical representations of VFT we can understand how the originally biblical notion was more and more translated into political terms. It began to mean and signify the triumph of the new King or Queen who succeeded to the throne. It became the personal emblem of both the Catholic Mary Tudor and the Protestant Queen Elizabeth.

We are informed that there was an anonymous broadside entitled *The Welspoken Nobody* during Edward VI's reign which accused the Catholics of having locked Lady Truth in a cage but it also affirmed that Time, the "Father of Verite" "will not suffer her to be hidden by any coloured fraude or deceit" (4: 19).

When the Catholic Mary Tudor succeeded to the throne in 1553 she was hailed by Cardinal Pole as a naked, helpless virgin, as defenceless as Truth who had been oppressed during Protestant dominion. This explains why Mary Tudor chose for her personal device the Latin motto VFT which was printed even on her state-seal and coins (27: 207).

An interlude *Respublica* was written in honour of Queen Mary which introduces Truth as the daughter of Time ("veritee

the daughter of sage old Father Tyme, shewith all as yt ys, bee it vertue or cryme"). In this case Time is understood as Nemesis while Truth is not delivered from captivity but she starts up out of the earth in keeping with the Psalm "Veritas de terra orta est" (16: 228).

Five years had passed when Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558. During the coronation process there was an allegorical side-show demonstrating VFT (27: 207). "The Catholic Queen dies, a Protestant suceeds, but the image ... remains constant. When Elizabeth enters London, a street theatre offers for her instruction a tableau of two kingdoms, figured by hills, one prosperous, one failing. From the cave which divides them emerges Truth who carries in her hand and presents to the Queen the Verbum Dei, the Bible in English. The darkness of false faith is irradiated in time, by the light of the true." (15: 42).

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth Robert Greene wrote his *Pandosto, the Triumph of Time* (1588) which contained the motto on the title page.

IWASAKI maintains that a religious tract was written by an anonymous author in 1589: *Temporis Filia Veritas. A mery devise called The Troublesome travell of Tyme, and the dangerous delivery of her Daughter Truth.* This tract was a dialogue reporting a debate between a Catholic, a Protestant a Puritan and a plain Plowman. Contrary to the sophisticated arguments of the Catholics and the Protestants the plowman

represents "plain truth" and he is connected with love, unity, peace and concord. As early as 1589 this debate-tract propagated the ideas of tolerance: "Unfortunately, however, *Temporis Filia Veritas*, perhaps because of its tolerant neutrality amid the strifes of the keenly factional parties, seems to have been buried in oblivion..." (20: 253).

A long allegorical poem in royal stanza was written by a Peter Pett in 1599 entitled *Time's Journey to seeke his daughter Truth; and Truth's Letter to Fame of England's Excellencie*. The poem describes that Truth had lived in England during Henry's and Edward's reigns but when England was mislead by Envy, Truth had to flee. The Catholic inter-regnum is explained how Superstition's son living in Rome and his sister, the Whore of Babylon attacked England. But when these enemies were dead and the glorious Virgin ascended to the throne of England Truth returned to that happy land and has been living ever since (3: 75-76).

Most of the details are known to us from CHEW's two important monographs on iconography. He also informes us about Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1594) which contains a dumb-show in the prologue. Here the audience is asked to revert in memory to the first days of Elizabeth's reign. Time and Truth appear dressed all in black signifying Mary's reign. When Elizabeth's reign begins they alter the customs and put on light-coloured dress. Time and Truth expel cardinals and friars, and some other great men, who had been banished during the former reign, are restored (3: 70-71).

The iconography of Time and Truth was also applied to the reign of King James, the successor of Queen Elizabeth in an anonymous account of a murder which many years earlier had shaken London society. The title of the account is *Truth Brought to Light and Discovered by Time*. Though it was published as late as 1651 we are told in the sub-title that it is the "Historicall narration of the first XIII yeares of King James Reign." The engraver of the title page, John Droeshout depicts King James behind a curtain (Fig. 10). We find naked Truth on his right surmounting error with his crutch and Time on his left treading on a skeleton, the image of death. The meaning of the engraving is obvious: the murderer will be found, only a certain amount of time is needed to unfold truth. In the bottom of the picture history is treading upon Sloth and memory upon oblivion (4: 20-21 and 10: 43).

The Jacobean playwright Thomas Middleton wrote a play entitled *The Triumph of Truth* which was performed as a Lord Mayor's show in 1613. Middleton identified Truth with the Protestant religion and it was associated with the expansion of the English trade. Truth rides on a chariot upon whose frame sits Time (3: 71-72). This may remind us of Brueghel's engraving where the globe is carried on a cart signifying that everything is subject to devouring Time (6: 170).

An interesting iambic poem is attributed to Thomas Peyton *The Glass of Time in the first two ages* (1620).

The woodcut of the title page shows Father Time with the usual attributes (scythe winged hour-glass etc.).But he has the foot of a hind (or satyr-legs) and his tail is carried by his daughter Truth (Fig. 11). He is also present in the Garden of Eden when the first couple commit the mortal sin in consequence of which they must enter the world of Time, Fortune and Death (4: 10-11) (Fig. 12).

We meet different representations of Truth among the engravings of the Dutchman Jacob Cats (1635). In the first case Truth is rising from the tomb, reminiscent of Christ's resurrection (Fig. 13); and in the second case Time is holding a mirror to Truth. Here Time is bifrons with the attributes of the wing and the hour-glass while Truth is naked (Fig. 14) (4: 19).

The German Daniel Meisner presents a unique image of Truth in his *Sciographia Cosmica* (1637) where Truth appears with the attributes of Time (Fig. 15) (3: 88).

There are several other poems which describe the relation between Lady Truth and Father Time. John Davies of Hereford's poem *Humour's Heaven on Earth* is worth mentioning. Here Truth Lady Aletheia is said to be living in the mansion old of father Chronos (3: 78).

To close our short survey of VFT as a political emblem or coronation pageantry let us mention a poem written for a Lord Mayor's Show at the restauration of Charles II in 1660. The author is John Tatham, and the title is *London's Glory Represented by Time, Truth and Fame*. Here Time drives a chariot

again declaring that he has brought secrets to light and restored Peace and Truth (4: 20).

4. Fine Arts

The iconography of VFT was not only a subject - matter of political broadsides, demonstrative pageantry or second-rate literature, but the motif was used by masters of fine arts both in painting and statues.

We have already alluded to Brueghel's *The Triumph of Time*. PANOFSKY discusses Bronzino's *Innocence* where Justice rescues Innocence who had been captured by the wicked powers. Winged Father Time is also present unveiling his daughter Truth (Fig. 16). "The composition is therefore a fusion of three interrelated versions of one theme: Truth rescued by Time, Truth unveiled by Time, and Innocence justified after persecution." (23: 157-9).

SAXL juxtaposes the Protestant representations of VFT with the counter-reformational baroque paintings by Rubens and Poussin. The first painting by Rubens is of political significance, he uses the traditional image for promoting the reconciliation of Maria Medici with her son Louis XIII. (Fig. 17). His other painting, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* represents Time as the final triumph of the Catholic religion over Protestant heresy. Truth treads upon Luther and Calvin (!). Rubens uses the pagan mythology of Demeter's daughter to illustrate church doctrine.

Poussin's painted ceiling-decoration for Richelieu illustrates Father Time ascending with saved Truth towards the sun (Fig. 18). SAXL suggests that the composition reminds us of Aretino because the negative figures are Envy, Calumny and Flattery. Bernini's statue is again associated with the quoted Psalm: Veritas de terra orta est. (27: 211-218)

WITTKOWER has demonstrated that the compositional structure of Saturn and the naked woman appears in France too, but conveys a different meaning: in Le Marchand's ivory the naked woman is identified with Chance or missed Opportunity who kills herself for not having been used (Fig. 19). The same composition is represented in the statue of Th. Regnaudin (1678) but the title is mythological: the abduction of Cybele by Saturn (Fig. 20). Cybele in classical mythology was Saturn's wife. WITTKOWER says that the actual meaning of the group was forgotten within twenty years and when the model was shown in a salon in 1699 its title was again: "Le Temps qui decouvre la Verité" (33: 316).

5. *Emblem-books*

The iconographic representation of Time and Truth was a recurring motif in 16th-17th century emblem-books. The first emblem-book, published by Alciati in 1531 was a great Renaissance innovation and it soon became a popular "mannerist and baroque omnium gatherum" (15: 17). The first English emblem book appeared as early as 1587 by G. Whitney and there is

evidence that his *A Choice of Emblems* must have been known to Shakespeare (17). Whitney's emblems, eclectic as they were must have served as a kind of source-material for Shakespeare; anyhow "Shakespeare's mind has vitalized the pedestrian treatment of Whitney" (15: 18).

The great popularity of emblem-books can be attributed to their capacity of uniting the intellectual and imaginative spheres of the mind. Sir Francis Bacon wrote: "Emblems reduce intellectual conceptions to sensible images, and that, which is sensible more forcibly strikes the memory and more easily imprinted in it than that which is intellectual (Quoted in: 7: 73).

One of the earliest emblem-books is the French La Perriere's *Theatre des bons engins* 1539 . This contains an interesting emblem of Father Time who is in search of his daughter Veritas. He is told by the philosopher Democritus that Veritas is to be found in a well. The emblem depicts Truth rising from a well and Time is a witness of this resurrection (19: 1816).

Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* was published in Antwerp in 1565, and this also contains a VFT emblem. GORDON maintains that Hadrian Junius had strong contacts with England, he visited England several times and even wrote a Latin poem on the occasion of the marriage of Mary Tudor with Philip of Spain in 1554 and the dedication explicitly contained the notion of VFT which explains, perhaps, why the Queen chose it as a personal device (16: 236).

The motto of Hadrian Junius is "Veritas tempore revelatur, dessidio obtruitur". The emblem represents Saturn or winged Time who descends into the cave to rescue her daughter Truth (Fig. 21). There are three malevolent ladies at the entrance. The short poem attached to the picture begins with two questions: why is Saturn lifting the naked virgin into the air and why have these three ladies covered up the entrance of the cave? The answer is given: Time's daughter, now being liberated from the dark cave has been oppressed by threefold pestilence: Discord (Lis), Envy (Invidia) and Calumny (Calumnia) These three forces still try to conceal the naked virgin. GORDON finds that it is a definitely pessimistic emblem. There is nothing apocalyptic here, there is no assertion that time reveals Truth (16: 238).

How different is the poem of Whitney attached to the same picture which he took from Hadrian! (Fig. 22-23) Whitney writes that Envy, Strife and Slander had enclosed Truth in a dark dungeon. "But Time... setts aloft his daughter dear" ..."Who things long hidd reveals and brings to light." The encouragement in the last two lines reinforces the original meaning:

"Dispaire not then, thoughe truthe be hidden ofte
Bycause at lengthe, shee shall bee sett aloft."

In Whitney's poem we have a more optimistic end with an apocalyptic tone. There is a prophetic element involved that foretells the final triumph of truth. In comparing the two

emblems GORDON writes as follows: "In 1553 Hadrian had accepted the conventional use of the motto in applying it in compliment to the Queen who had taken it to herself. In 1565 he had reshaped it pessimistically, refusing to give it an absolute meaning. In 1586 after Hadrian's death, Whitney took his device, but interpreted it conventionally and made it assert that 'Time will prevail' - so unknowingly repeating the assertion that Hadrianus Junius already made in England, but had afterwards rejected" (16: 238).

Considering other emblems of Whitney related to our subject-matter we find that many deal with time: eg. *Cum tempore mutamur* (we are changed with time -167); *Quae sequimur fugimus* (what we follow we flee - 199); *Tempore cuncta mitiora* (with time all things become more mellow - 206); *Tempus omnia terminat* (Time determines all things - 230).

However, the one which bears most resemblance with the VFT emblem is devoted to divine Truth: *Veritas invicta* - Truth unconquered - 166) (Fig. 24). The emblem depicts divine revelation ie. the Bible with the inscription: "Et usque ad nubes veritas tua". (Your Truth reaches even the clouds). The biblical Truth is emanated and illuminated from above. The drawing and the poem attached to it are analogous to the structure of VFT.

"Thoughe Sathan strive, with all his maine, and mighte,
To hide the truthe, and dimme the law devine:
Yet to his worde, the Lord doth give such lighte,

That to the East, and West, the same doth shine:
And those, that are so happie for to looke,
Salvation find, within that blessed booke."

Now it is Satan who tries to hide truth similarly to Calumny, Envy and Discord who concealed the naked lady. Father Time is identified with the Lord himself (There is even a wing in the picture protecting "law divine", and the traditional emblematic element of "Truth brought to light" is expressed by saying "to his worde the Lorde give suche lighte." There is a strong Christian significance here and thus the ultimately biblical origins of all VFT are re-vitalized.

A 17th century emblematic representation of Truth reminds us the *Psalms*. George Wither in his *Collection of emblems* (1635) depicts Truth in the image of a palm-tree which "Depressed with a *stone*, doth shew to us / The power of *Truth*: For as this *Tree* doth spread ... when weights presse downe the head; / So God's eternall *Truth* / which all the pow'r / And spight of *Hell*, did labour to devour / Sprung high ... (Fig. 25). The allusion is to Psalm 92, 12: "The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree."

CLEMENTS maintains that Truth was familiar to earlier iconographers: Ripa's Veritas, for example, bears also a palm-branch signifying the force of Truth (2: 108).

III. Shakespeare and "Veritas Filia Temporis"

How are we to apply iconographic studies in discussing literary works of art? What is, after all, the relation between

the visual and the verbal arts? To what extent can we utilize the Horatian formula *ut pictura poesis*? Roland Mushat FRYE maintains that "the relating of the visual and the verbal arts is one of the exciting and productive efforts in contemporary scholarship" (15: 11). In discussing Shakespeare and visual iconography he suggests two ways in which we can use the iconographical lore in interpreting Shakespeare: The first is broadly literary which means "identifying different and relevant vocabulary of visual themes and subjects in ways comparable to the definition of words and phrases" (15: 16). The other way is "strictly theatrical". "Shakespeare could also create physical images by the enactment of his plays on stage, by the moving tableaux of his theatrical action" (15: 16).

As for the first use DALY speaks about the *word-emblem* which he defines as a "verbal image that has qualities associated with emblems" (5: 55). It has been accepted ever since Mario PRAZ published his work on 17th century imagery that emblem-books can be considered as sources of poetic imagery (25). But DALY is right when he warns against "naive instances of positivistic source-hunting" (5: 55-56) and finds that "critics have been more successful when they interpret literature against the general backround of emblem-books, using them not as sources but as parallels, or keys, to the understanding of literature. In this perspective the emblem-books are viewed as repositories of visual motifs and their attendant meanings" (5: 61).

When DALY discusses literature in the light of the emblem

he distinguishes between emblematic poetry and emblematic drama. He suggests that "during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drama in its various forms was the most emblematic of all the literary arts" (5:134). Such an approach to drama should take into consideration within the texture of the plays the "emblematic image" and, to use SCHÖNE's phrase: the "argumentum emblematicum" (Quoted in: 5: 140) and the so-called sententiae and stichomythia.

Under the heading of "emblematic character" he speaks about personifications in masques and pageants, the emblematic function of more complex characters. He also studies the emblematic stage such as the "dumb-show" or "pageantry", which according to WICKHAM, "is itself the quiatessence of emblematic art" (Quoted in: 5: 155). Drama can be considered as an "extended emblem", particularly in the case of the Jacobean innovation, the masque, which is, "the most emblematic of all the forms of drama" (5: 163).

These recent theoretical observations are the groundworks for our discussions of VFT and Shakespeare. We shall explore it as a word-emblem; as an implicit structural device in individual dramas; and as an archetypal principle in Shakespeare's last plays. The last plays, Shakespeare's romances were written during the Jacobean period when the emblematic taste seems to have revived especially in the appearance of the masque.

1. VFT as a word-emblem

Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* abounds in emblematic imagery, there is a strong emblematic focus depicted on the tapestry representing the Trojan war. Elsewhere long meditative stanzas are devoted to Opportunity, Fortune, and, of course, Time. Time's glory and Time's office is enumerated in three stanzas (936-95) where we can recognize the traditional VFT emblem:

"Time's office is to fine the hate of foes;
To eat up errors by opinion bred,
Not to spend the dowry of a lawful bed,
'Time's glory is to calm contending kings,
To unmask falsehood and bring truth to light,
To stamp the seal of time in aged things,
To wake the morn and sentinel the night
to wrong the wronger till he render right." (936-43)

The word-emblem of Time as a revealer or disentagler of Truth appears in *Twelfth Night*.

"O time, thou must untangle it not I" (2,2,41)

The iconography of Truth being naked is echoed in the verbal art of Shakespeare: "against her maiden truth" (ADO, 4,1,164); "the naked truth of it is, I have no shirt" (LLL, 5,2,710); "the truth appears so naked on my side" (1H6,2,4,20).

The firm belief in the revelation of Truth is a motif or word-emblem in *The Merchant of Venice*:

"truth will come to light; murder cannot be hid long;
a man's son may, but in the end
truth will out" (2,2, 79-81)

VFT as a word-image is, of course, as old as human wisdom. Thales said: "The wisest thing is time, for it brings everything to light", or Horace: "Time will bring to light whatever is hidden". VFT was used by Erasmus and re-affirmed by Bacon: "The inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth". The idea of "Time trieth truth" was a well-known proverb and was used by, among others, John Heywood the great playwright. (All quoted in: 29: 2005). Shakespeare's predecessor, Thomas Kyd wrote: "Time ... the author both of truth and right ... will bring ... (all) sins, all treachery to light" (*Spanish Tragedy* 2,4,174)

2. VFT as an structural principle in individual dramas

It is a danger of image-hunting that when we recognize images or clusters of images endowed with a certain meaning we may be misled in forgetting "dramatic propriety" ie. the place of the text within the context of the whole poem or play. If, say, we neglect the ironic tone of the sentence we shall misinterpret the work of art.

VFT as an emblematic structure seems to be present in

the denounement of *Measure for Measure*. Izabella is one of the most charming female characters in Shakespeare's gallery of Chastity, Innocence or Truth. When the Duke (reminding us of Father Time) returns her cry is an echo of Veritas being locked up in a cave: "Let your reason serve

> To make the truth appear where it seems hid,
>
> And hide false seems true." (5,1,65-7)

The Duke feigns disbelief but Izabella firmly holds that Truth will be disentangled with ripened time.

> "Keep me in patience, and, with ripened time
>
> Unfold the evil which is here
>
> wrapt up." (5,1,116-8)

The Duke is revealed and he turns out to be the benevolent Father who was permanently present under the disguise of Friar Lodowick. Izabella is saved and justice is given in the corrupt society. A strong Christian element in the drama is, that however just the Duke is, for all "measure for measure" Mercy is greater than judgement. The Duke marries Izabella, the recognition is, after all, optimistic: forgiveness triumphs over retribution.

The problem is more striking and more controversial in *King Lear*.

Cordelia says at the beginning of the play:

"Time shall unfold what plaited cunning hides" (1,1,289)

If we understood this sentence as a mere word-emblem we would neglect that Cordelia can be identified with truth. She describes herself as "young" and "true" (1,1,109). The raging

Lear disinherits her saying:

"thy truth then be thy dower" (1,1,109)

Cordelia's obstinate resistance has sometimes been understood as a touch of puritanical morality. For us the Father-Daughter relationship seems to be interesting because it anticipates the emblematic predominance of VFT Shakespeare's last plays.

Why can we regard Cordelia as the most concentrated emblematic representative of Truth, Purity and Innocence? We understand that she loves her father, as she says:

"according to my bond; no more, no less" (1,1,95)

This bond is in tune with man's fixed nature, which the Elizabethan's called: *kind*. Sin, whether is is flattery (sisters) *hubris* (Edmund) or *hamartia* (Lear) is working against man's kind. FRASER writes: "If man violates that nature, if he trespasses against kind, he is destroyed, not directly by the deity in the old melodramatic way, but rather by the deity acting through the man himself... Sin debilitates the sinner ... The evil a man does is inimical to what he is." (10: 31-2)

Whoever loves according to her or his bond is obedient to her or his kind and is in harmony with the organic unity of nature where the whole world is kin. On the other hand human selfishness or vanity corrupts the mind, infects the heart, destroys the will. The agents of destruction are active when evil is at work. When the events culminate in an orgy of evil/tempest-scene and the plucking out of Gloucester's eyes/, evil's power begins to decline.

Evil is a "universal wolf" that eats up himself" (TC 1,3,124).

Cordelia as the naked Truth is accompanied by the disguised Kent and Edgar. Goodness is always present even if it is hidden in an evil-hunted world. Says Edgar: "while I may 'scape I will preserve myself" (2,2,5-6). Thus they become the agents of redemption "when time shall serve" (5,1,58). But they have to wait - as Kent says - "Till time and I think meet" (4,7,11).

The recognition-scene at the end of Act IV between True Cordelia and Father Lear who has almost finished his *inferno*-pilgimage and quest for self-knowledge, is definetely optimistic. Lear is the passive figure and it is Cordelia who breathes life into her agonizing father.

The cruel wheel of time is, however, working against them. In the parallel Father-Daughter emblematic scene the howling Lear carries the dead Cordelia in her arms. Father Time is active again, but he is too late. "I killed the slave that was hanging thee" (5,3,276). Instead of the promised end we must face the "image of that terror" (5,3,265-6).

It has been an age-old question whether *King Lear* in its final outcome, is a Christian drama of redemption (involving a morality structure in the pilgrimage of Lear and Gloucester) or the darkest of human tragedies. Shocking or perhaps unmotivated as the final scene is, there is, nevertheless a secret, underlying, continously unfolding motif or music of the drama, and this is: endurance. The evils do not endure - Goneril (1,3,6 and 1,4,226) and Regan (5,1,5). They lack the constituting power

of bond ie. love and they are "fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils" (MV 5,1,85). They are vulnerable when evil begins to operate and eventually they become the agents of evil. Lear on the other hand, "will endure" (3,3,18) and Kent says of him: "the wonder is he hath endur'd so long." (5,3,318).

At the very end of the drama Albany summons even the audience to endure: "The weight of this sad time we must obey;

Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say.
The older hath borne most: we that are young
Shall never see so much, nor live so long" (5,3,325-8)

So the secret "Truth" of the drama which is "rescued" at the end, is that redemption is not to be confined to the limits of human life, reality and existence are beyond the walking shadow and the poor player. All we can do is endure.

"Men must endure
Their going hence, even as their coming hither:
Ripeness is all" (5,2,9-12).

- says Edgar. And Glocester replies:

"That's *true* too."

Gloucester and Lear have ripened to die.

3. VFT as an archetypal principle: the last plays

Having seen VFT as a word-emblem we discussed it as an implicit structural principle in individual dramas; now we shall concentrate upon a group of dramas: Shakespeare's last plays, the romances. In this part we understand VFT as an

archetypal principle, by archetype meaning such a symbol, as N. FRYE describes: "which connects one poem with another and thereby helps to unify and integrate our literary experience" (11: 99). We shall see that VFT will be an inter--dramatic structural device, a recurring emblem which connects the four romances.

Our concern will be the *end* in at least three senses of the word: the end of Shakespeare's dramatic career; we shall compare the ends or the denonements of the plays; and eventually we shall re-emphasize the apocalyptic or end-quality of VFT emblem and thus illuminate the presence of the linear view of time in Shakespeare's drama.

Shakespeare's last period covers the years between the opening of the Blackfriars Theatre (1608) to the burning of the Globe (1613). It is his most homogeneous period: he wrote four romances: *Pericles* (1607), *Cymbeline* (1609), *The Winter's Tale* (1610) *The Tempest* (1611) and a chronicle--play: *Henry VIII* (1613). These dramas constitute the last chords of the Shakespearean *oeuvre:* there is a radical departure from what he had previously written. His tone is melancholic and a touch of resignation can be felt. The tragic elements are inherent but they are dissolved in the end. For all the complication and conflicts there is a happy ending, a recognition or reconciliation. KERMODE emphasizes the positive resemblances in the dramas: "All the Romances treat of the recovery of lost royal children, usually princesses of great, indeed semi-divine, virtue and beauty; they all bring

important characters near to death, and sometimes feature almost miraculous resurrections; they all end with the healing, after many years of repentance and suffering, of some disastrous breach in the lives and happiness of princes and this final reconciliation is usually brought about by the agency of beautiful young people; they all contain material of pastoral character or otherwise celebrate natural beauty and its renewal." (21: 8)

Time in these plays is not a devourer or destroyer but a redeemer (21: 11). Sea, just like time, is not the type of chaos but of Providence, it turns out to be a benevolent preserver:

Ferdinand says in *The Tempest:*

"Though the seas threaten, they are merciful,
I have curs'd them without cause" (5,2,79-80)

N. FRYE studies the Shakespearean romances from a "frozen" or "spatial way" by retreating from individual work into the middle distance considering these plays as a single group unified by recurring images or structural devices. His "standing back" position clarifies the mythical origins of the genre. He finds that in the tragedies there is a strong reality-principle while the romance moves back towards myth. "In comedy and romance the story seeks its own end instead of holding the mirror up to nature" (12: 8). He argues that Shakespeare's final period is not an exhaustion of vitality but a genuine culmination an there is a logical evolution

towards romance "consequently no anti-climax whether technical or spiritual in passing from *King Lear* through *Pericles* to *The Tempest*" (12: 7).

Elsewhere he writes that the romances are the nearest to dream, their world is analogous to the apocalyptic world of innocence and chastity. "In every age the ruling social or intellectual class tends to project its ideals in some forms os romance" (11: 186).

Critics have observed the organic relationship between breakdown and reconstruction, the pattern of loss and reconciliation. A division is created in the intimate human bonds (family) by unmotivated passion. At the end of the dramas there is a final healing of the divisions (32: 257).

From our point of view it seems to be advisable to observe the emblematic aspect of the characters particularly of the young females corresponding to the iconography of Truth (A); to discuss the common prophetic elements (B); and to compare the recognition scenes ie. apocalypse or - to use DAVIDSON's term: "deconcealement" (7: 74), while pointing out the common emblematic pattern of these dramas (C).

A/ *Truth*

Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* seems to reflect most energetically the traditional VFT emblem; we have already quoted the title-page of Shakespeare's source: Greene's *Pandosto or the Triumph of Time*.

EWBANK when discussing the play argues that the strong predominant verbal imagery of time seems to have disappeared

in the last plays. But "it is all the more intensely present as a controlling and shaping figure behind the dramatic structure and technique... The most obvious indication of Shakespeare's concern with time is the overall structure of the play" (8: 84).

Hermione is again one of Shakespeare's most wonderful characters and, like Izabella or Cordelia, she seems to be an emblematic representative of Truth and Innocence. The unmotivatedly jealous Leontes accuses her of adultery with Polixenes and she is to be arrested. Her innocence and chastity is obvious to her faithful servants Emilia and Paulina. Even the apparantly loyal servants hesitate, Antigonus says: "If the good truth were known" (2,1,198).

The jealousy of Leontes reflects the iconography of Calumny who locks Innocence or Truth in prison. Hermione gives birth to a daughter in the prison and the young babe is a replica of her mother' integrity: "My poor prisoner,

I am as innocent as you." (2,2, 28-9)

The plain-speaking Paulina courageously vindicates her Queen before the King and Hermione's self-defence is also heroic:

"... if powers divine
Behold our human actions, as they do,
I doubt not then but innocence shall make
False accusation blush, and tyranny
Tremble at patience, You, my lord, best know
Who least will seem to do so, - my past life

Has been as continent, as chaste, as true,

As I am now unhappy" (3,2, 29-36)

Apollo's oracle declares Hermione to be chaste, Polixenes blameless, Leontes a jealous tyrant. The King commits the blasphemous crime of charging the oracle with untruth: "there is no truth in the oracle" (3,2, 141). In consequence of rejecting divine revelation Leontes will be deprived of his son. Apollo's retribution is a warning to him to acknowledge divine order.

Perdita is the emblematic vision of the renewal and re-generation of Truth, reminding us of Wither's emblem of the palm-tree which had been oppressed by a stone "And spight of hell, did labour to devour / Sprung high, and flourished the more." DAVIDSON associates her with Flora who is like Truth emerging from the earth and he links her with the classical goddess of Venus, eventually associating the spring-renewal festivity with Botticelli's *Primavera*. "Perdita illustrates the re-birth of the green world within the context of the season of spring" (7: 82).

We can discern a similar structure in the tragic loss and the miraculous rebirth of the "true" characters in *Pericles*. The protagonist is on a constant sea-voyage. Meanwhile his wife Thaisa dies in childbirth and some years later his sea-born daughter is reported to have died. At the end of the story the wife supposed turns out to have been revived by a magician-physician and Marina is also discovered.

Marina is also the type representing the iconography of Truth and Chastity. In the course of her adventures she is abducted by pirates and sold to a brothelkeeper. In the brothel she is so pure in her virtue that she not only refuses to yield to the demands of the brothel's clients but even persuades them to renounce their sinful habits.

> "she would make a puritan of the devil
> if she could cheapen a kiss of her." (4,6,10)

Similarly to locked-up turth she was displaced by malevolent fortune "ungentle fortune hath plac'd me in this sty" (4,6,10) or "wayward Fortune did malign my state" (5,1,90) and "time hath rooted out my parentage" (5,1,93).

Her purity, however, is discerned by Lysimachos:

> "Thou art a piece of virtue" (4,6,122)

In the reuniting scene with Pericles, though their identity is not yet revealed, the King recognizes her as Truth.

> "Thou look'st
> Modest as justice, and thou seem'st a palace
> For the crown'd truth to dwell in" (5,1,123-5)

In Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* Imogen, the daughter of King Cymbeline marries a poor but worthy Roman, young Posthumus whom Cymbeline sends into exile. The play is the story of how the lovers try to keep contact despite a series of wicked efforts and misunderstandings until the final reconciliation.

Imogen is also the embodiment of virtue and Chastity.

Posthumus boasts of her saying:

> "Your Italy contains
> none so accomplished a courtier to convince
> the honour of my mistress" (1,4,108-9).

At the end when Iachomo acknowledges his fraud that he had deceived the naive boasting Posthumus; they speak about her chastity and Posthumus re-affirms it: "A temple of virtue was she" (5,5,222).

In the complicated process of unknotting the concealed identities Truth seems to come to light with hard labour. Says Cymbeline:

> "bitter torture shall
> Winnow the truth from falsehood" (5,5,134).

But when Pisano's wish is fulfilled "All other doubts, by time let them be cleared" (4,3,45) the true identity of the characters is recognized: lovers, daughters and sons are re-united. Imogen thanks Belarius, the once illegitimately banished Lord for relieving her in a similar tone to Truth who is grateful to Father Time:

> "You are my father too, and did relieve me,
> to see this gracious season." (5,5,401)

The charming young female character in *The Tempest* is, of course, Miranda. As the representative of Innocence, Truth and Chastity she will be similarly an agent of reconciliation by marrying the young hero Ferdinand, just as Perdita marries Florizel, Imogen Posthumus, or Marina Lysimachos. But unlike

the other three Miranda had not personally or consciously experienced the destructive power of evil. Brought up on the enchanted island by her father she is initiated into the knowledge of past events right at the beginning of the play a few hours before the culmination. She has managed to preserve her innocence at the cost of remaining ignorant. When she is amazed at "beauteous mankind" and the "brave new world" Prospero ironically remarks: "'Tis new to thee" (5,1,184).

B/ *Prophecy*

If there is a discrepancy or gap between Time and Truth, if Truth is "locked up" in prison, concealed or hidden it is the vision of prophecy which foreshadows the deliverance of Truth. (Most of the Old Testament prophecies were written when Israel was in captivity.) Prophecy appears in the time of crisis and whoever shares the illumination of the inspired prophet participates in the "fullness of time" (Eph. 1,10). The Greek word "kairos" denotes qualitative time, a decisive moment of apprehension illumination; while chronos is the horizontal flux-time, basically quantitative. Concerning literature KERMODE speaks about "end-determined fictions" "where stories are placed at what Dante calls the point where all times are present... or within the shadow of it. It gives each moment its fullness" (22: 6).

Naturally, in the context of Shakespeare's romances prophecy appears in terms of mythology; oracles are uttered by gods or goddesses.

In *The Winter's Tale* two men were sent to Delphos and return with the sealed oracle by Apollo. When the seals are broken up it is read that "Hermione is chaste; Polixenes blameless; Camillo a true subject; Leontes a jealous tyrant; his innocent babe truely begotten; and the king shall live without an heir if that which is lost be not found" (3,2,133-7). The oracle refers to the future and after sixteen years Father Time proves to be benevolent. In the double recognition scene lost Perdita is found and in addition Hermione also comes to life. Prophecy has foreshadowed the future, what has been concealed so far is now revealed.

There is a double recognition in *Pericles* too. Prophecy is uttered between the two recognitions. Having found Marina, Pericles had a vision of the goddess Diana who summoned him to Ephesus "to do upon my altar scrifice (5,1,242). The gods are just: in the temple Thaisa turns out to be the priestess of Diana, supernatural powers restore that which was lost.

The language of prophecy is usually an enigmatic one, it often abounds in animal - imagery. (Daniel's prophecy in the Bible envisious four beasts coming up from the sea: a lion, a bear, a leopard and the beast with the ten horns, each of them representing a world-empire successively: Babylon, Media-Persia, Greece and Rome). Sometimes the enigmatic vision of the prophecy is deciphered at the end. Prophecy of this kind is also to be found in *Cymbeline*. Posthumus is in prison awaiting death when he has a strange

dream in which the ghosts of his parents and brothers appear who beg for justice from Jupiter. Jupiter "descends in thunder and lightning sitting upon an eagle" and promises deliverance. Posthumus awakes to find a book at his bed which contains an enigmatic oracle coming from Delphi:

> "Wheneas a lion's whelp shall, to himself unknown, without seeking find, and be embraced by a piece of tender air; and when from a statley cedar shall be lopped branches which, being dead many years, shall after revive, be jointed to the old stock and freshly grow, then shall Posthumus end his miseries, Britain be fortunate, and flourish in peace and plenty." (5,4,137-95)

DALY suggests that the image of the cedar and its several branches that are grafted back into the original tree is strongly emblematic and is used as an *argumentum emblematicum*. DALY does not find any corresponding emblems to it in HENKEL and SCHÖNE's *Emblemata* (5: 138). We may associate, however, Wither's emblem of the palm-tree and the resemblances are obvious. The cedar of Lebanon that has grown too high and therefore is cut off, is a familiar biblical image (Ez. 31).

In the final scene of the recognition it is the soothsayer who deciphers Jupiter's oracle: the lion's whelp is Posthumus himself (Leonatus'son = leo natus); the tender air is in Latin mollis aer = mulier = wife = Imogen; and the lofty

cedar is Cymbeline whose branches were lost (two sons) but now they are restored. The prophecy is fulfilled, the vision is accomplished. In the fulness of time enigmatic utterances are disclosed "which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world." (Mt. 13,25)

Prophecy is not a governing element in *The Tempest* because its time-scale is shrunk and the events are concentrated on the last three hours. The past is only narrated and Prospero knows that "the hour's come" (1,2,36). His deep knowledge and magic had foreseen, however, the turning of Fortune's wheel which he must grasp:

> "by my prescience
> I find my zenith doth depend upon
> A most auspicious star, whose influence
> If now I court not but omit, my fortunes
> Will ever after droop." (1,2,180-4)

C/ *Recognition (or the music of Apocalypse)*

"Apocalypse means revelation, and when art becomes apocalyptic it reveals" (11: 125). Identification is a crucial aspect of apocalypse and art. Metaphor is a statement of identity and apocalypse is the most condensed metaphoric structure. Poetry, in Coleridge's words, is the identity of knowledge. (Quoted in: 11: 125).

Identities are revealed in the recognition-scenes of Shakespeare's romances. We can speak about the "deconcealment" of Hermione, Perdita, Thaisa, Marina or Imogen. What seemed to have been lost is found, who seemed to have died is re-born or resurrected.

In *The Winter's Tale* we have a double recognition scene: the recognition of Perdita's parentage and the awakening of Hermione. Destruction, tragedy and chaos is a winter's tale but regeneration is brought about by the young characters in the atmosphere of spring-festivity or summer-harvest. Harvest is again an apocalyptic picture: "the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe" (Rev.14,15). Art is also a regenerating power: Hermione's statue is a piece of art and music is played while she is awakened.

A double recognition is attained in the denounement of *Pericles*. When Marina is recognized "heavenly music" is played which is the "music of the spheres" (5,1,230). When the magician-physician breathed life into Thaisa, music was played (3,2,88-92). In the second recognition-scene Thaisa is re-united with her husband and daughter. Marina will marry Lysimachos and they become the regenerative potentials for Shakespeare's "new heaven and new earth" (Rev 21,1).

The recognition scene and the unfolding of Truth is perhaps the longest in *Cymbeline*. Solemn music is heard when Posthumus receives the dream prophesying a good future. When all the misunderstandings are cleared up and the restoration is made perfect the soothsayer depicts it in musical imagery:

> "The fingers of the powers above do tune
> The harmony of this peace" (5,5,467-8)

The disclosure of Truth in these dramas re-integrates lost man into his original position. Nature therefore plays

an important role, for it is endowed with a regenerative power. Destruction is always artificial and man-made and restoration is always organic it is a re-unification with man's "kind", his originally divine nature.

In the case of *The Tempest* not only the magically-pro duced recognition scene abounds in music but the whole drama is a great piece of music. The music of the island, produced by Ariel is the art of Truth and Redemption. G. Wilson KNIGHT writes: "So the progress of man is the progress of creation: from chaos and tempest to light and music. And this sequence is everywhere welded into Shakespeare's imagination... creation is the mastery of darkness and chaos by light and music" (23: 284).

When Father Time releases captive Truth joy is expressed in terms of music and the apocalyptic unknotting and disclosure is understood as the inner experience of freedom. Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is a drama showing the *process of freedom being born*. Ariel yearns for freedom until he is set free and dissolves into the air. The captive Ferdinand sighs for freedom and the revolutionary Caliban cries: "Thought is free!" (3,3,133) Prospero binds everybody by his charm in order to release them. And in the epilogue it is Prospero himself who begs for freedom and mercy from the audience:

> "But release me from my bands
> With the help of your good hands
> ...

As you from crimes would pardon'd be,

Let your indulgence set me free" (Ep. 9-10; 19-20)

FRYE says that the narrative structure of Shakespeare's comedies and romances are characterized by a dialectical or upward movement from the worldly order into the apocalyptic world above, from threatening complications to a happy ending. The discovery or *anagnorisis* is followed by marriage-festivity and banquet (11: 165). The wedding and the banquet are eschatological imagery in the Bible. It is foreshadowed in Jesus' parables of the "great supper" (Mt. 22,1-14) and Luke (14, 16-24). The classic metaphor of the Bible is of the bride (Church) who has prepared to meet the bridegroom (Christ) at the great banquet.

This is the essence of the Shakespearean romances: Truth prevails over falsehood and error, Father Time has brought about the victory of freedom over slavery, daylight over darkness, order over chaos, love over hate, music over tempest. Mercy, forgiveness and restoration prevails over violation, crime and breakdown.

The romances are regarded as the synthesis of Shakespeare's life's work. It is important to emphasize that they are not more romantic or idyllic end-games because Shakespeare knows that reconciliation can truly be born from the bitterness of tragic experience.

To summarize our train of thought we shall provide a diagram to elucidate the structural similarities of the dramas.

	TRUTH (Life)	PROPHECY (Death)	RECOGNITION (Re-birth)
WINTER'S TALE	Hermione	Apollo's oracle	Deconcealment of Hermione
	Perdita		P.found - marriage (Florizel) -music
PERICLES	Thaisa	Diana's oracle	brought back to life (music)
	Marina		found, marriage to Lysimachos
CYMBELINE	Imogen	Jupiter's oracle	sons, daughter, husband restored (Posthumus)
THE TEMPEST	Miranda	Prospero's prescience	Music Marriage to Ferdinand Freedom

Let us end with the beginning. We have raised the question: to what extent can we discover the pattern of the linear view of time in Shakespeare. We have suggested that if there is a pre-supposed meaning or truth to be discovered or revealed, if there is something beyond the meaningless rotation of the wheel of time, it is usually foreshadowed by prophecy and will be delivered at the end of time. Up to that moment there is a long, very often complicated, one-way process. In terms of literature this seems to be involved in the narrative structure of the story. At the end Truth is

unfolded, VFT is an intrinsically apocalyptic emblem.

In the End Truth is eventually released and Time is consummated. In the end-determined dramas Time is disssolved in timelessness. In the *Book of Revelation* the angel who stood upon the sea and upon the earth swore: "That there should be time no longer" (Rev. 10,6) and in the new heaven and new earth "there was no more sea" (Rev. 21, 1).

When Shakespeare's revels are ended his great globe and spirits will dissolve into the air (Temp. 4,1,148-58) but the heroes of his dream and dramatic vision become "heirs of eternity". (LLL 1,1,7- discussed in: 18: 210-4).

The problem of the End has always been one of the vexed questions of human beings. When Arnold TOYNBEE discusses the one-way view of time he is also faced with the problem of apocalypse. "The approach of climax foreseen intuitively by the prophets is being felt, and feared, as a coming event. Its imminence, today, it not an article of faith; it is a datum of observation and expression." (31: 413). Frank KERMODE is not so pessimistic: "And although for us the End has perhaps lost its naive *imminence*, its shadow still lies on the crisis of our fictions; we may speak of it as *immanent*." (21: 6).

The fear of the consummation of Time, the devouring Chronos can perhaps be quenched by Father Time and her daughter Veritas: "And ye shall know the truth, and truth shall make you free" (John 8, 32).

END

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FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Time the Destroyer /engraving/ from Fr. Perrier, Segmenta Nobilium signorum et statuarum ... Rome, 1638

Fig. 2. Otho Venius: Time Cutting The Wings of Cupid /1567/

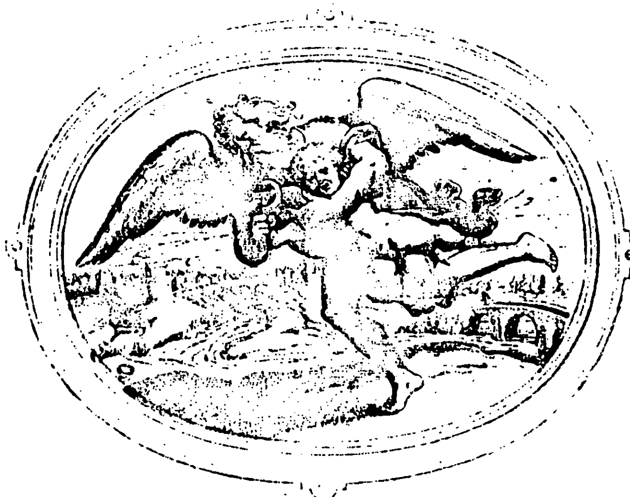


Fig. 3. Brueghel: The Triumph of Time

Fig. 4. A Gilio: Time with a Whip /1580/

Fig. 5. Aretino: VFT /1586/

Fig. 6. Doni: VFT /1552/

A S S V S.

PER questo che tu hai udito del mal Compagno disse L' Asino al Mulo care! saprai quanto si possa sperare della preda presa con inganno ; & per contra quanto possa persuaderti del Re , ingannato da te , e tradito , il quale con la velocità del TEMPO (che tosto passa in breve molti anni ,) & per esser Padre della VERITA' non può , & non vuol patire che sotto

verrano ingãno & frode la stia occulta ; Si che lei scoprirà il tutto per bocca della VERITA' al Re ; facendogli conoscere la malignità tua , & conosciuta la ragia, sopra di te volgerà il solenne gastigo , & farà la vendetta del Toro : alle quali parole rispose il Mulo.

Fig. 7. Knoblouch: Veritas /1521/

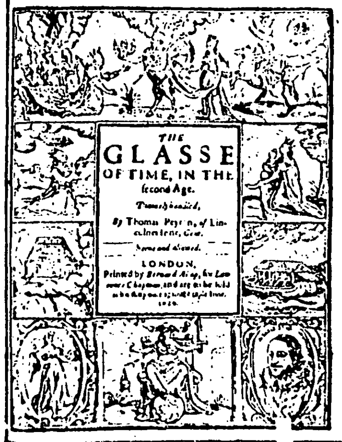
Fig. 8. Marshall: Goodly Prymer /1535/

Fig. 9. L. Andrewes: The Wonderful Combate /1592/

Fig.10. J. Droeshout. Truth Brought to Light /1651/

Fig. 11. T. Peyton: The Glass of Time /1620/

Fig. 12. T. Peyton: ibid. /Time in the Garden of Eden/



THE
GLASSE
OF TIME, IN THE
second Age.

LONDON,

Fig. 13. J. Cats: Truth rising from the Tomb

Fig. 14. J. Cats: Time holding a mirror to Truth
/both in: *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijt*
Amsterdam, 1635

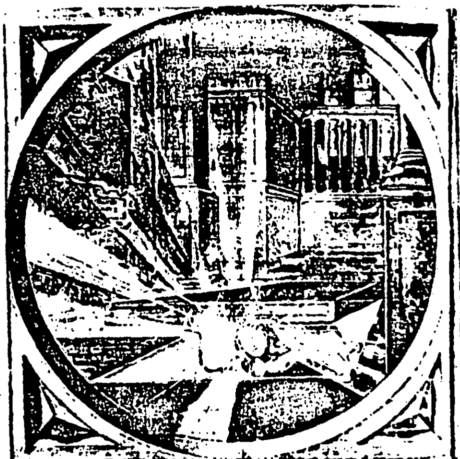


Fig. 15. D. Meisner: Truth with the Attributes of Time. In: *Sciographica Cosmica* /1637/

Fig. 16. Giovanni Rost after Angelius Bronzino
The Vindication of Innocence /Tapestry/

Fig. 17. Rubens: The Triumph of Truth

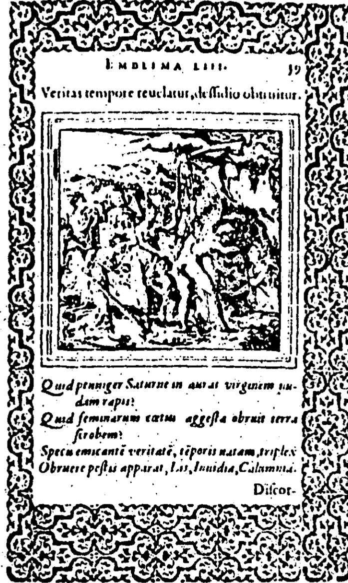
Fig. 18. Poussin: The Triumph of Truth

Fig. 19. Le Marchand: Missed Opportunity

Fig. 20. Regnandin: The Abduction of Cybele by Saturn /1678/

Fig. 21. Hadrianus Junius: Veritas tempora revelatur In: *Emblemata*, 1565

Fig. 22. G. Whitney: VFT In: *A Choice of Emblems*, 1586.



EMBLEMA LIII. 59

Veritas tempore reuelatur, dissidio obruitur.

Quid penniger Saturne in auras virginem nudam rapis?
Quid feminarum coetus aggesta obruit terra scrobem?
Specu emicantē veritatē, tēporis natam, triplex
Obruere pestis apparat, Lis, Inuidia, Calumnia.

Discor-

Veritas temporis filia.

THREE furies fell, which turne the worlde to ruthe,
Both Enuie, Strife, and Slaunder, heare appeare,
In dungeon darke they longe inclosed truthe,
But Time at lengthe, did loose his daughter deare,
And setts alofte, that sacred ladie brighte,
Whoe things longe hidd, reueales, and bringes to lighte.

Thoughe strife make fier, thoughe Enuie eate hir harte,
The innocent though Slaunder rente, and spoile:
Yet Time will comme, and take this ladies parte,
And breake her bandes, and bring her foes to foile.
Dispaire not then, thoughe truthe be hidden ofte
Bycause at lengthe, shee shall bee sett alofte.

Dissidia

Fig. 23. G. Whitney. VFT. /ibid/

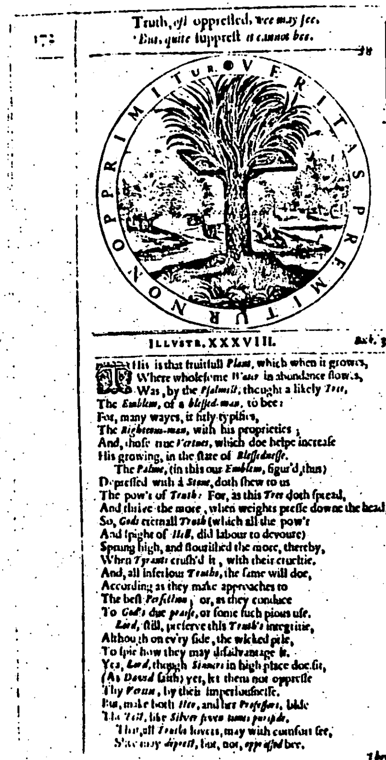
Fig. 24. G. Whitney: *Veritas invicta* In:*A Choice of Emblems*,1586.

Veritas inuicta.

To my friend GEFFREY CARTWRIGHT.

THOVGHT Sathan ſtriue, with all his maine, and mighte,
To hide the truthe, and dimme the lawe diuine:
Yet to his worde, the Lorde doth giue ſuch lighte,
That to the Eaſt, and Weſt, the ſame doth ſhine:
And thoſe, that are ſo happie for to looke,
Saluation finde, within that bleſſed booke.

Fig. 25. G. Wither: Veritas Premitur non Opprimitur: In: *A Collection of Emblems*, 1635.



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Truth, *oft* oppreſſed, *wee may ſee*.
But, quite ſupprest it cannot bee.

VERITAS PREMITUR NON OPPRIMITUR.

ILLVSTR. XXXVIII. Book 3

THis is that fruitfull *Plant*, which when it growes,
Where wholeſome *Water* in abundance flowes,
Was, by the *Pſalmiſt*, thought a likely *Tree*,
The *Emblem*, of a *bleſſed-man*, to bee:
For, many wayes, it fitly typifies,
The *Righteous-man*, with his proprieties;
And, thoſe true *Vertues*, which doe helpe increaſe
His growing, in the ſtate of *Bleſſedneſſe*.
The *Palme*, (in this our *Emblem*, figur'd, thus)
Depreſſed with a *Stone*, doth ſhew to us
The pow'r of *Truth*: For, as this *Tree* doth ſpread,
And thrive the more, when weights preſſe downe the head;
So, *Gods* eternall *Truth* (which all the pow'r
And ſpight of *Hell*, did labour to devoure)
Sprung high, and flouriſhed the more, thereby,
When *Tyrants* cruſh'd it, with their crueltie.
And, all inferiour *Truths*, the ſame will doe,
According as they make approaches to
The beſt *Perfection*, or, as they conduce
To *God's* due *praiſe*, or ſome ſuch pious uſe.
Lord, ſtill, preſerve this *Truth's* integritie,
Although on ev'ry ſide, the wicked pile,
To ſpie how they may diſadvantage it.
Yea, *Lord*, though *Sinners* in high place doe ſit,
(As *David* ſaith) yet, let them not oppreſſe
Thy *Truth*, by their imperiouſneſſe.
But, make both *Her*, and her *Profeſſors*, bide
The *Teſt*, like *Silver ſeven times purifide*.
That, all *Truths* lovers, may with comfort ſee,
She may *depreſt*, but, not, *oppreſſed* bee.

Then

Tibor Fabiny

"*THEATRUM MUNDI*" AND THE AGES OF MAN

"All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players:
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages. At first the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.
Then the whining school-boy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school. And then the lover,
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier,
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth. And then the justice,
In fair round belly with good capon lin'd,
With eyes, severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances,
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose, well-saved, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,
That ends this strange and eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing"

(*AYLI 2,7, 139-165*)

In this paper I shall attempt to elucidate the world--stage metaphor in Shakespeare's imagery (1); in the wider context of Elizabethan literature (2); in the widest context of European culture (3). Then I shall go on to discuss the popular view about the ages of man and its correspondance to the ages of the world (4). Beyond the verbal context of the metaphor I shall reflect on the iconographic background of both "theatrum mundi" and "theatrum humanae vitae" - ie. the different ages of human life (5). Finally, I shall provide an analysis of Shakespeare's *Richard III* as an illustration of "theatrum mundi", investigating how the metaphors "play" and "world" function as controlling structures of the drama (6).

1. *"The Theatre of the World" in Shakespeare's Imagery*

Some Shakespeare-critics maintain that *As You Like It* was first performed at the opening of the *Globe* theatre in 1599 and Jaques' famous monologue was recited as a compliment at the opening celebration. This "wooden O", as Shakespeare calls it in *Henry V*, was erected near the Thames embankment in London by the Burbage-brothers and it became the home of the Lord Chamberlain's men in which Shakespeare also had a share. The name of the theatre is inherently symbolic: it is a metaphor of the recently discovered round earth. It is an artistically - created microcosm echoing the suddenly widened macrocosm of the universe. Shakespeare's ambigous allusion to the "great globe itself" which "shall dissolve /And like this insubstantial pageant faded/ Leave not a rack

behind." (*The Tempest 4,1,153-6*) reaffirms the symbolic or metaphoric nature of the Globe-theatre. The theatre is a small universe entire in itself, it is, just like Portia's sensitive little body "aweary of this great world" (*MV 1, 2, 1*)

Frances Yates in her *Theatre of the World* (1969) suggests that the "Renaissance theatres of London may have been influenced by the Renaissance interest in polygonal and circular forms".[1] Yates draws a hypothetical plan which represents the stage or rather the whole stage building. She concludes: "this suggested plan draws near to the Vitruvian image of man within the square and the circle, basic Renaissance image which Dee knew very well and popularized in his Preface, as a statement in symbolic geometry of man's relation to the cosmos, of man the Microcosm whose harmonious constitution relates him to the harmonies of the Macrocosm".[2]

Yates' book on theatre-architecture was an outcome of her neoplatonic studies in *The Art of Memory* (1966) where she described Camillo's memory-theatre as "representing the universe expanding from first causes through the stages of creation."[3] Yates has also shown how Robert Fludd's memory--theatre had influenced the construction of the *Globe* and therefore Shakespeare may have had this same structure in mind when constructing his scenes.

How are these ideas reflected in the imagery of Shakespeare's dramas?

The world being a stage runs through Shakespeare's dramas as an organically inherent metaphor.

In *The Merchant of Venice* Antonio says:

> "I hold the world but as the world, Gratiano,
> A *stage*, where every man must play part,
> And mine a sad one"
>
> (*1,1,77*)

Whoever has ever been touched by the depth of the tragedy of *King Lear* will always remember the *de profundis* cry of the King, reminiscent in a way of the *Book of Job* ("Let the day perish wherein I was born"):

> "When we are born, we cry that we are come
> To this *great stage of fools*"
>
> (*4,6,183*)

Shakespeare's created characters are often "time's fools" because they never properly understand "the risks and gains of living in time."[4] The world being a stage and life a shadow or "player" is best reflected in *Macbeth:*

> "All our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a *poor player*
> That struts and frets his hour upon the *stage*
> And then is heard no more: it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury
> Signifying nothing"
>
> (*5,5,22-8*)

In fact, Jaques' monologue in *As You Like It* was only

an elaborated reflection of the Duke's perception:

> "Thou seest we are not all alone unhappy:
> This wide and *universal theatre*
> Presents more woeful pageants than the scene
> Wherein we play in"
>
> (*2*,*7*,*136*)

In *Richard II* it is York who comments on the ritualistic dethronement of the old King and implies how insignificant we are on the stage of history:

> "As in a theatre, the eyes of men,
> After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,
> Are idely bent on him that enters next,
> Thinking his prattle to be tedious;
> Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes
> Did scrowl on Richard: no man cried, 'God save him!'
>
> (*5*,*2*,*24-9*)

Sometimes it is suggested that there is tension or discrepancy between man's own created theatre and the original will of God. Ross, in *Macbeth* remarks:

> "Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
> Threaten his bloody stage"
>
> (*2*,*4*,*6*)

The Bastard in *King John* is annoyed by the stubborness of the citizens of Angiers for they are not willing to

surrender and only watch the quarrels of the English and the French as an audience:

> "By heaven, these scroyles of Angiers flout you, kings
> And stand securely on their battlements
> As in a *theatre*, whence they gape and point
> At your industrious scenes and acts of death"
> (*2,1,373-6*)

When Northumberland is informed about his son's death at the very beginning of *2Henry IV* his angry outburst announces a new programme upon the stage:

> "Let order die!
> And let this *world no longer be a stage*
> To feel contention in a lingering act;
> But let one spirit of the first-born Cain
> Reign in all bosoms"
> (*2HIV 1,1, 155*)

Beside, or, instead of, "stage" human life and activity is described in terms of a *"pageant"*. In *2 Henry VI* the Duchess refers to her part in "Fortune's pageant" (*1,2,66-7*); in *Richard II* the Abbot comments on the failure of the old king as follows: "A *woeful pageant* have we here beheld" (*4,1, 321*). The prophetess Queen Margaret in *Richard III* addresses Queen Elizabeth as a "poor shadow" and "painted Queen", a "flattering index of a direful pageant" (*4,4, 83-5*). The romances revived the decorative dumb-show or pageantry and introduced masque into drama. Gower, the chorus of *Pericles* keeps commenting

"what pageantry, what feasts, what shows" towards the end of the play. (*5, 2, 6*). The complexity of stage-imagery can be illustrated by Shakespeare's *Sonnet XV*.

> "When I consider everything that grows
> Holds in perfection but a little moment,
> That this *huge stage* presenteth nought but *shows*
> Whereon the stars in secret influence comment,
> When I perceive that men as plants increase,
> Cheered and check'd e'en by the self-same sky,
> Vaunt in their useful sap, at height decrease,
> And wear their brave state out or memory;
> Then the conceit of this inconstant stay
> Sets you most rich in youth before my sight,
> When wasteful Time debateth with Decay
> To change your day of youth to sullied night;
> And, all in war with time for love of you,
> And he takes from you, I engraft you new."

Here Shakespeare presents an organic view of the world ("grow"; "plants increase", "sap"); and this organic world moves in a cyclic pattern ("at height decrease"). This constantly moving, ever-changing world is determined by mutability and transcience ("every thing... Hold in perfection but a little moment"; "inconstant stay"; "decay".) Since there is no permanence or constancy in this world everything comes to life and vanishes under the spell of the moment the world is nothing but a stage or show. ("That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows.") Love is the power for whose sake "all in war with Time".

The sonnet is a good example of how Shakespeare connects organic imagery and stoic acceptance with the stage-metaphor of the world.

Sonnet XXIII describes the playing nature of man and the "perfect ceremony of love's rite". They are of a paradoxical nature: love is serious and passionate but at the same time it is a play with an "unperfect actor".

> "As an *unperfect actor on a stage,*
> Who with his fear is put besides his part,
> Or some fierce thing replete with too much rage,
> Whose strength's abundance weakens his own heart;
> So I, for fear of trust, forget to say
> The perfect ceremony of love's rite,
> And in my own love's strength seem to decay,
> O'ercharged with burden of mine own love's might.
> O! let my book be then the eloquence
> And dumb presagers of my speaking breast,
> Who plead for love, and look for recompense,
> More than that tongue that more hath express'd
> O! learn to read what silent love hath writ;
> To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit."

When Prospero suddenly puts an end to his miraculously created masque, he declares that his art was only a dazzling vision or a dream which will necessarily dissolve and melt into the air. This kind of art or *theatrum mundi* is probably not concerned with reality. It even confesses the irreality of existence where the world is nothing but an aesthetic phenomenon.

"Our revels are now ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like an insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep." (*The Tempest 4,1,148-58*)

Nevertheless man was created to be a playing and dreaming being. This is an indispensible attribute of human existence: "We are such stuff as dreams are made on". Man is essentially a *homo ludens* as Huizinga said.[5] Man feels at home in the universe only while playing, when he is in tune with the harmonious music of the macrocosm. Man's play or the artist's play is a serious or even a "holy" play. The consonance, concord and harmony is the result of having attained freedom, when man feels at home in the universe.

In *The Tempest* this freedom had been yearned for and eventually gained by all the characters whom Prospero sets free. And in the Epilogue Prospero himself asks the audience to "release him from his bands":

"Let your indulgence set me *free*."

2. *"Theatrum Mundi" in the Context of Elizabethan Literature*

The idea of "the theatre of the world" was a well-known and widespread *topos* not only in Shakespeare but in the context of Elizabethan literature as well. It became an emblem of both the macrocosmic universe and of the life of man, which, as the microcosm, is in tune with the macrocosm.

Edmund Spenser in Sonnet LIV of his *Amoretti*-sequence describes the intensity of his passionate but unrequited love in the images of the *theatrum mundi topos*. The lover is the actor who plays "all the pageants" expressing his mirth in comedy and woes in tragedy. The spectator is the loved one, "who idly sits" and cannot be moved as a "senseless stone".

"*Of this worlds theatre* in which we stay,
  My love like a spectator, idly sits,
  beholding me that all the pageants play,
  disguising diversely my troubled withs.
Sometimes I joy when glad occasion fits,
  and mask in the mirth like to a comedy:
  soon after my joy to sorrow flits,
  I wail and make my woes a Tragedy.
Yet she beholding me with constant eye,
  delights not in my mirth nor rues my smart
  but when I laugh she mocks, and when I cry
  she laughes, and hardens evermore her heart.
What then can move her' if nor mirth nor moan,
  She is no woman, but a senseless stone.

The *topos theatrum mundi* is closely connected with its kin-idea: *theatrum humanae vitae*. The different stages of

human life (just like in Jaques' monologue) constitute a kind of "dramatic play", either a comedy or a tragedy.

Sir Walter Raleigh describes the theatre of human life in two short poems. This emblematic vision of the succeeding ages of the life of man corresponding to the different acts of a dramatic play is a good example of the typological way of seeing, in which perception is motivated by the grasping hidden analogies of this world.

"What is our life? a play of passion,
Our mirth the music of division.
Our mother's wombs the tiring houses be,
Where we are dressed for this short comedy.
Heaven the judicious sharp spectator is,
That sits and marks who still doth act amiss.
Our graves that hide us from the searching sun,
Are like drawn curtains when the play is done.
Thus march we playing to our latest rest,
Only we die in earnest, that's no jest."[6]

"Man's life's a tragedy: his mother's womb,
From which he enters, is his tiring room,
This spacious earth the theatre, and the stage
That country which he lives in: passions, rage,
Folly, and vice are actors: the first cry
The prologue to the ensuing tragedy.
The former act consisteth of dumb-shows:
The second, he to more perfection grows,
I'th' third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin:
I'th' fourth declines, i' th' fifth diseases clog
And trouble him, then death's his epilogue."[7]

In John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* we read:

> "I account this world a tedious theatre
> For I do play a part in't 'gainst my will"
> (*4, 180-81*)

Towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the puritans began to launch their attacks on the theatre. The pulpit and stage controversy goes back as far as the early church-fathers (Tertullian, St. Augustine). The puritan bias against the theatre was motivated by their general image--smashing, iconoclastic attitude. For them theatre was even worse than idolatry and they applied the following metaphors to theatre: "synagogue of Satan", "church of infidelity", "bastard of Babylon", "hellish device", and they considered it to be a hotbed of homo-sexuality and pestilence. A certain "J.G." wrote a *Refutation of the Apology of Actors* which was a reply to Thomas Heywood's defence of the theatre. The author J.G. (John Greene?) argues that the theatre is originally a heathenish-diabolical institution and the plays are "institution of the Devil himself, and the practice of heathen people nouzeled in ignorange: seeing they took originall from Paganism, and were dedicated to their Idol-God."[8]

This booklet was a typical pugnacious iconoclastic puritan reply to the Jacobean playwright Thomas Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* (1612). Frances Yates suggests that Thomas Heywood must have read Leone Battista Alberti's *De Re*

Aedificatoria (The Books on Architecture) because "he has constantly in mind Alberti on the ancient theatre when speaking of the new ancient theatres of London".[9]

Heywood prefixed a poem to his *Apology* which is of interest in that the author "sees the cosmic theatre as the great moral testing ground on which all men play the part of their lives in the presence of God".[10] Theatre is thus both a representation of cosmos when men play their parts and as such it is a moral emblem. When discussing the iconographic-emblematic evidence of the age, particularly Boissard's book we shall refer again to Heywood.

The poem Heywood attached to his book is reproduced as follows at full length:

> "The world's a theatre, the earth's a stage,
> Which God, and nature doth with Actors fill,
> Kings have their entrance in due equipage,
> And some their parts play well and others ill.
> The best no better are (in this theatre),
> Where every humour's fitted in his kinde,
> This a true subjects acts, and that a Traytor,
> ~~The first applauded, and the last confin'd~~
> This plais an honest man, and that a knave
> A gentle person this, and he a clowne.
> One man is ragged, and another brave.
> All men have parts, and each man acts his owne.
> She a chaste lady acteth all her life,
> A wanton Curtezan another playes.
> This covets marriage-love, that nuptual strife,
> Both in continual action spend their dayes.
> Some citizen, some soldiers, some to adventer,

> Sheepherds and seamen, then our play's begun,
> When we are borne, and to the world first enter,
> And all finde Exists when their parts are done.
> If then the world a theatre present,
> As by the roundnesse it appears most fit,
> Built with starre galleries of hye ascent,
> In which Jehove doth as spectator sit,
> And chiefe determiner to applaud the best,
> And their indevours crowne with more than merit,
> But their evill actions doomes the rest
> To end discrac't, whilst others praise inherit,
> He that denyes then theatres should be,
> He may as well deny a world to me."[11]

The question we would like to find an answer to is whether the *theatrum mundi* metaphor is primarily a pagan (platonic or neoplatonic) idea or if it can perhaps be reconciled with traditional Christian belief. We are encouraged to presuppose the Christian elements in the emblem: Heywood's Jehova is a "spectator" and a "chief determiner". In Raleigh's poem heaven is the "judicious sharp spectator", "that sits and marks who still doth act amiss". Similarly, Shakespeare's Richard II describes his sacrilegious dethronement with the following imagery: "when the searching eye of heaven is hid/ Behind the globe, and lights the lower world" which will "from under this terrestial ball" fire "the proud tops of the eastern pines" and dart "his light through every guilty hole" (*Richard II 3,2, 37-44*) In Shakespeare's imagery the world - or the theatre - is described in terms of the "globe" or the "ball" which, due to the activity of the evil usurpers is out of joint

with heavenly Providence. But this is only a temporary condition because the clouds' darkening effects are transient while the sun's emanating power is eternal.

3. *The European Context of "Theatrum Mundi"*

Ernst Robert Curtius in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1948) comes to the conclusion: "the metaphor: 'world-stage', like so many others, reached the Middle Ages both from Pagan Antiquity and the Christisn writers. Both sources mingled in late Antiquity."[12]

Among the classical authors Curtius quotes Plato: "Man is made to be the plaything of God, and this, truely considerd, is the best of him" and elsewhere he speaks of the "tragedy and comedy of human life". For the Cynics it was a cliché to compare man's life to an actor, for Horace man was a puppet and Seneca's "minus humanae vitae" became proverbial. Augustine's pagan contemporary the Egyptian Palladas wrote: "All life is stage (skene) and game: either learn to play it, laying by seriousness or bear its pains."

The Christian tradition begins with the apostle Paul's self-reflection in the first letter to the Corinthians:

> "God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are *made a spectacle unto the world*, and the angels and to the men"
> (*1 Cor 4, 9*)

Paul uses the term *theatron kosmou*. Later, Clement of Alexandria wrote about the victory "on the theatre of the whole world (cosmos)" and Saint Augustine noted that "here on earth... we too would play our comedy! For nought but comedy of the race of man is all this life". John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus* (1159) quoting the pagan Petronius entitles a chapter in his book "De mundana comedia vel tragedia". He leaves the question undecided as to whether life is to be called a comedy or a tragedy. For him this world is the stage of immense tragedy or comedy. Curtius shows that John of Salisbury enlarged the traditional *scena vitae* into the entire world, from earth to heaven: it became *theatrum mundi*.

One of Curtius' most interesting assertions is that the *Policraticus* had a great deal to do with the fact that the metaphor *theatrum mundi* frequently reappeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In Germany Luther speaks about "God's play" denoting what is taking place in justification. For him all profane history is a "puppet play of God's".

In France Ronsard (1564) describes human life where men are actors Fortune is stage-director and heaven is the spectator.

In England the new building of the Globe displayed its motto: "totus mundus agit histrionen" and Jaques' famous monologue is, according to G.B. Harrison "a little essay on the motto of the new Globe theatre which the company had just occupied".[13] Curtius proves that contrary to the popular belief

the motto is not from Petronius but from the *Policraticus* with the slight modification that the word "exercat" was changed into "agit".

From a Spanish perspective in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (*Pt II, Ch. 12*) the hero explains the similarity between the play and the life of man. Balthasar Gracian in his *Criterion* (1651) writes about "El gran teatre del universe/. With Calderon "*the theatrum mundi* makes part of the permanent stock of his conceptual world".[14] His characters act their parts before a cosmic backround, and his significance, argues Curtius, is, that he is the first poet to make the God--directed *theatrum mundi* the subject of a sacred drama".[15] With him "the theatrical metaphor, nourished on the antique and medieval tradition, reappears in a living art of the theatre and becomes the form of expression of a theocentric concept of human life which, neither the English nor the French drama knows".[16]

Curtius' interesting conclusion is that European drama has been anthropocentric since the Renaissance and Humanism. "But this tragedy is an artificial growth in the soil of the European tradition. It arisesout of a misinterpretation of the teachings of the Humanists".[17]

Finally, Curtius welcomes the rejuvenation of the theocentric drama of the Middle Ages and Calderon in Hofmannsthal's *Jederman* what the playwright called *Grosse Salzburger Welttheater* (Great Salzburg Theatre of the World) Hofmannsthal is said to have revived timeless European mythology, as he

himself said: "This mythological firmanent spans all the older Europe" and he considered that it was a revival "an inner countermovement against that intellectual revolution of the sixteenth century which in its two aspects we are accustomed to call the Renaissance and the Reformation."[18]

After this survey I shall discuss the *theatrum mundi* inherent in the Christian tradition and its relation to comedy.

The Bible covers the history of mankind from the Creation up to the Last Judgement, illustrating how deeply human history is charged with time. Creation-Fall-Redemption-Last Judgement - these are the most important stages of providential or salvation history (*Heilgeschichte*). In the Bible we feel that the whole of human history is nothing but the great Book of Life which has already been written from the beginning to the end. Christ and his redemptive work constitutes "the middle of time", a crucial point of history which is fulfilled. Jesus very often refers to the Old Testament prophecies that were being fulfilled at the very moment he was speaking.

In the Middle Ages time was understood as *historia sacra*, the stage of providential history as the theatre of God's beneficient action.

David Scott Kastan shows how the Christocentric drama of Christian history was adopted by the 14th century *Corpus Christi Play*: "the ... formal inclusiveness of the cycles (beginning and ending with pageants representing the beginning and ending of historical time itself) reflects a conception of history, in Thomas Browne's phrase, as a mere parenthesis in eternity, and the selection, structure, and arrangement of the individual

pageants are clearly determined by an awareness of the ways in which this time is profoundly charged with the evidence of God's dynamic plan for human salvation".[19]

Since tragic knowledge and religion tend to exclude each other, in the Middle Ages the authentic genre is a mystery play, essentially a comedy, in the sense of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Of course, this genre involves tragic action like the Fall, the murder of Abel or the Crucifixion but "they demand to be understood not as isolated incidents but as significant episodes in the total progress of salvation history. As the *Corpus Christi Play* unfolds from Creation to Judgement, it prevents the image of suffering from inspiring the emotions proper to tragedy. The providential design ensures that suffering and loss are either deserved and self-determined or richly compensated by the offer of eternal bliss. For the medieval dramatist, history is the record and medium of God's creativity and grace, and in such a world, as St. Paul writes 'all things worke together for the best unto them that love God. (Romans, 8,28 Geneva Translation)"

In terms of Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* the form of biblical history is both a *romance story* and a *comedy*. The former is the example of the *quest* (meaning a sequence of minor adventures leading up to a major climatic adventure). He finds two concentric quest-myths in the Bible: the first is the *genesis-apocalypse* myth covering the panorama of world--history. Here Adam is cast out of Eden and loses the river of life. He wanders in the labyrinth of human history until he is restored by a Messiah.

The second is the *Exodus-milleneum* myth when Israel is cast out of its inheritence and wanders in the labyrinth of Egyptian and Babylonian captivity.[21] Strangely, Frye does not mention a third concentric-quest myth in the Bible, namely the story of the adventures of the true Christian believers in the labyrinth of the hypocrite clerical and therefore essentially anti-Christian world until they are restored with the second coming of Christ.

What is this *"divina comedia"* operating already within human history? Is it not "sacrilegious" to say that providential or salvation-history is inherently *comic?*

In terms of Frye's genre-theory there is a tendency in comic structure to include rather than to exclude. In comedy the stress is on apocalypse which is the final revelation, understanding or *anagnorisis* (recognition with happy ending). That is the reason why comic structure is brought to a conclusion by a happy ending, dance, festive-ritual and the imagery of the *banquet.* (In Jesus' parables the image of the banquet is also to denote final discovery: seeing face to face.) The final chapter of God's "book" and the final act of his "play", the creation is the recreation of the world: New Earth, New Heaven, New Jerusalem. In the world of comedy we can see the movement from winter to spring, from the lower world of confession towards the upper world of order and music.

The Middle Ages was the last age in European history which understood that the events of world history are embedded in providential history. In the Renaissance the perception of

this original concord was lost. Kastan writes:" Time, once viewed with equanimity as the theatre of God's beneficient creation, increasingly becomes the source of anxiety. The bells that tolled the canonical hours and attested to the role of time within the economy of salvation give way to mechanical clocks that mark the moment by moment annihilation of the present."[22]

4. *The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World*

At the very beginning of this paper we have seen in Jaques'famous monologue that the world-stage metaphor is closely related to the different ages of human life which are played as different acts upon the world-stage. *Theatrum mundi* is thus organically linked with *theatrum humanae vitae.*

Samuel Chew in his *The Pilgrimage of Life* (1962) devotes a whole chapter to the "path of life" where he provides a repository of documents, both literary and iconographical, concerning the different ages of man. Chew subtly demonstrates that Jaques' famous monologue is a dramatic speech: "this is Jaques speaking, this is not Shakespeare's reading of life".[23] At the same time Chew criticizes futile "Quellenstudien" those quests of 19th century philology or its recent revival in the 1940s which busied thenselves with establishing the sources of Jaques' monologue. The author's unique iconological approach is concerned however, not with "parasitic growth upon Shakespeare's fame but with the great tradition of which Jaques' speech forms a part."[24]

Paul Archamblaut (1966) has attempted to trace the development of the metaphor of the ages of man with reference to the ages of the world and he demonstrates when and in what circumstances the metaphor was used.[25]

The first part of his article is devoted to the pagan tradition, the second to the Christian tradition and the third is concerned with the return to the classical view. The latter part surveys this process which was initially conceived in the Renaissance and illustrates how this basically secular idea culminated in our century.

A. *The Pagan Tradition*

Archambault argues that for the pagans the most obvious division of time was the distinction between *two ages:* youth/old age, day/night, morning/evening, summer/winter.

The distinction between three ages was based on empirical observations by Aesop, Empedocles and Seneca.

The four-fold division of life was applied by Hesiod, Pythagoras and Xenophon.

The seven-fold division was the most popular: Hippocrates distinguished seven periods or cycles. The seven ages of human life were said to correspond to the seven planets. This was argued by Caldean astrology and Ptolemy in the second century AD demonstrated that each of the seven ages was under the patronage of a planet.

In Western civilization it has been an ancient conviction that the life-pattern of individual growth is parallel to the development of nations, civilizations and empires.

The ages of the individual are said to be analogous to the ages of societies and empires.

Hesiod as early as the 8th century BC distinguished between five successive ages of world-history: of gold, of silver, of bronze, of heroes, of iron.

The Judaic tradition has also divided the history of mankind into periods of the four world-empires (Babylon, Media-Persia, Greece, Rome) designated by the four metals /gold/silver/brass iron and clay/described in the prophecy of Daniel.

Among the Romans Florus in his *Epitomae* depicted the growth and decline of the Roman empire in terms of infancy (adolescence senescence) decadence. Since Florus lived under the rule of Trajan he praised the "roditta juventus" which was regained in his time. In the *Vita Cari* of Vopiscus as in the history of Ammianus Marcelinus (Born 330 AD) the metaphor is used to lament on the past grandeur of the Roman empire. This is reaffirmed by older Seneca and later by Lactantius.

B. *The Christian Tradition*

Archambault maintains that the basic difference between the pagan and the Christian understanding of the metaphor is that the former uses it as analogous to human society and empires while for the Christians it is analogous to the ages of the world and the ages of human salvation. "The Christian fathers brought far wider and supra-mundane dimensions to the history of mankind."[26]

The Church-fathers from the very beginning used the Pauline division of history into four ages: 1. the law of nature, 2. under the mosaic law, 3. under grace, 4. under glory.

Some Christians were concerned with the idea of the millennea, the basis of this thought being the Judaic myth that the world would last for 6000 years. This myth is attributed to the prophecy of Elias in the Talmud: the world's 6000 years consists of three periods: A/ Two thousand years without the law, B/ Two thousand years in the law, C/ Two thousand years in the time of Christ. This is the Messianic era which is followed by apocalypse and new creation. During the time of the Reformation the prophecies of Elias were revived in the so-called Carion-chronicle.

In the Middle Ages the Church fathers established the ages of the world based on biblical history from Adam to Christ. In the works of Tertullian, Saint Ambrose and Saint John Chrysostome the metaphor is employed in comparison with the various stages of divine revelation, of divine law, the ages of infantia, adolescentia, iuventus, correspond to the Pauline pattern.

St. Augustine has an outstanding significance in that he established the multi-dimensional correspondances between the ages of man, the Biblical ages and the days of a week, moreover Augustine has perhaps the deepset typological (sometimes allegorical) sensitivity in discerning these multi-sided relations. His original use of complex metaphors was influential

in the theological thinking throughout the Middle Ages.

In his *De Genesi Contra Manicheos* (AD. 388-90) Augustine refuted the literal anthropomorphic understanding of the six days of creation as taught by the Manicheans. Chapter XXIII of his book was entitled: *Septem dies et septem aetatis mundi.* Augustine applied the metaphor of the six ages of man /infantia/pueritia/adolescentia/iuventus/gravitas/senectus/ both to describe the typological significance of the days of creation and world history based on biblical history. Augustine's ingenuity was to perceive the world as a single man in his succeeding ages.

The first age: *infantia* corresponds to the first day of Creation and it covers ten generations of world-history from Adam to Noah.

The second age: *pueritia* is analogous with the second day of the creation and it covers world history from Noah to Abraham.

The third is *adolescentia* from Abraham to David and this corresponds to the third day of creation when God separated the waters from the lands.

The fourth age is *iuventus* from David to the Babylonian captivity. On the fourth day of creation God made the stars. It is the summit of life and David's reign is the apotheosis of history.

The fifth age is *gravitas* covering the history from the Babylonian captivity to Christ. This is the age when the strength of the Judaic monarchy was broken. Its typological

antecedent was when God scattered the birds and fishes into the air and sea on the fifth day of creation.

The sixth age is *senectus veteris homini* which covers the history of the world between Christ and the end of the world. The sixth day was the day of the creation of man.

This will be followed by the seventh day when Christ returns heralding an eternal Sabbath.

Archambault summarizes Augustine's significance saying that "he was the first writer in western literature to create a synthesis of three common literary themes before him: the theme of the ages of man, the theme of the ages of the world and the theme of the world considered as a single man."[27]

By his most original use of the "ages"-metaphors Augustine remained influential throughout the Middle Ages in the works of Fulgentius, Isidore, Bede, and St. Bonaventura. The idea has also given impetus to the theme of "senectus mundi". This fundamental pessimism and the feeling that the present age was decadence was well expressed eg. in *Carmina Burana.* ("Floreat olim studium")

Before turning to the Renaissance and the revival of the cyclic views I propose to emphasize the importance of the Reformation, which Archambault seems to leave out of considera-tion.

In the Reformation when the biblical way of thinking rejuvenated, the idea of the "world-week" became an influential doctrine in the protestant eschatological thought. Katharine R. Firth in her *The Apocolyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain* (*1530-1645*) (1979) illustrates how the

prophecies of Elias of the Talmud were adopted by the German *Carion's Chronicle* (1932). This chronicle was edited in English in 1550 and coincided with the English translation of John Osiander's book about the end of the world (1548). Both the Carion Chronicle and Osiander adopted the idea of the "world--week" (6000 years). The idea was affirmed by John Foxe, the martyrologist (1563). But the earliest echo of Carion was *The Complaint of Scotland* (1549) by an unidentified Scottish writer who also adopted the Talmudian-biblical idea of the world-week. The same idea was expressed in a treatise on the ages of the world by a Robert Pont (1599), a man of distinquished career in the Scottish church. He is said to have owed much to John Napier's comment on the *Revelations of Saint John* (1593).

According to Firth most of these books were to be found in the library of Sir Walter Raleigh and their impact on *The History of the World* is obvious.[28] Firth mentions two 17th century upholders of the view of the world-week: Thomas Draxe's *Alarm to the Last Judgement* (1615) and Joseph Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1664).

C. *The Renaissance*

The period of the Renaissance represents a return to the classical image and it witnessed the revival of the cyclic views of history. Christianity eliminated the cyclic view because the incarnation meant a radical historical event that was not to be repeated.

Instead the extra-mundane concept of history, the immanent view of history became the main field of interest. The works of Seyssell, Machiavelli, Vossius and Francis Bacon demonstrate the secularization of the Christian idea. The ages of man are no longer analogous to the biblical ages. Archambault demonstrates that the last attempt to write a world-history in terms of the Augustinian ages was the *Discours* of Bousset (1670) where he observed that the basic pattern of history is that of *Heilgeschichte* and although empires rise and fall, the linear "meta-history" endures forever.

Archambault then discusses the views of Herder on the development of language, Lessing's interesting attempt at combining a vision of progress with a theology of history, and at last the 19th century progressive views of Saint Simon and Hegel. On the whole "The Enlightenment and the Nineteenth Century had secularized the City of God by substituting in its place the idea of progress."[29]

In our century Spengler and Toynbee have reaffirmed that decline and death are as much the part of civilizations as are birth and growth in the ages of man. Toynbee, however, has emphasized that behind the unconditional fatality, determinism and necessity there is a net of freedom to be observed. However cyclic the different civilizations may be Toynbee accepts the doctrine of grace suggesting that incarnation deliberately breaks the rotation of the cycle.

Archambault maintains that it is not enough to speak of

a "Pagan" and a "Christian" tradition but rather of a cyclical deterministic-naturalistic view on the one hand and a linear, spiritualistic view on the other. These two traditions cannot simply be separated, but are woven together composing the fabric of history.

"The metaphor of the ages of man lends itself to both the linear and the cyclical conception of historical conception".[30]

5. *The Iconographic Backround of "Theatrum Mundi" and "Theatrum Humanae Vitae" as the Ages of Man*

The most ancient iconographic description of the world and of human life as a stage is attributed to the so-called *Tablet of Cebes*. Cebes was originally a disciple of Socrates who wrote a moral treatise around 390 BC. This was an explanation "in the form of a dialogue of a picture, said to have been set up in the Temple of Kronos at Athens or at Thebes and which was declared to be emblematical of human life".[31] The name of Cebes is mentioned by Plato and Xenophon and the book is alluded to by Tertullian and Lucian.

Henry Green calls this book a kind of *nudum emblematicum* or naked emblem because it has come down to us with neither device nor artistic drawing on it. Despite this, the book has exerted a strong influence upon 16th and 17th century woodcut. Green reproduced three versions of the emblem: the first is a Latin one of 1507 /FIG.1/, the second is an old print /FIG.2/,

and the third is a Dutch version of 1670 /FIG.3/. In Cebes' narrative an aged man explains the meaning of the design in the temple of Kronos. In the design three concentric cirles are separated by high walls representing the scope of man's life. At the gateway leading to the first circle stands an old man guiding the crowds. He represents the Daimon of each human being. But there is Deceit at the same gate, trying to mislead the entrants. Fortune is also in the first circle where she destroys and betrays her people. After reaching these obstacles the pilgrims reach the steep ascent to the third, innermost circle where true learning is to be found. Here the virtues; Knowledge, Courage and Righteousness welcome the winners and true happiness is gained.

Thomson (1924) shows that the idea is only apparently similar to the *Pilgrim's Progress* because in the former the goal is to be attained in this world and not in another. "Life is good, Cebes believes, if it be nobly spent, and true happiness from virtue, or perfect health of soul."[32]

The best known emblematic presentation of the theatre as a metaphor of human life is Jean Jacques Boissard's book: *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*. It was printed at Metz in 1596 and the engravings were made by Theodor De Bry. The front page /FIG.4/ depicts four scenes representing four stages of human life: it shows death striking an infant in its cradle, tapping a bridegroom upon its shoulder, creeping up upon a middle-aged merchant and digging a grave for an old man.

The emblem attached to Chapter I is also worth describing. It is entitled: Vita humana est tanquam Theatrum omnium

miserarium (Human life is a theatre of all miseries).

The picture (FIG.5) is a combination of a circus and a theatre where a "vast audience is watching from the galleries of a theatre the miseries of the life of man, the temptations of the flesh, sin, death and Satan which sadly vex mankind and which are shown in the allegories in the foreground."[33]

Frances Yates supposes that the designer of the emblem might have been influenced by Alberti's comparison of the theatre to a circus because in the center of the circus there is an obelisk pointing towards God beyond the clouds. The short Latin poem attached to the emblem appears as follows in Green's translation:

> "The life of man a circus is, or a theatre so grand:
> Which every thing shows forth filled full of tragic fear,
> Here wanton sense, and sin, and death, and Satan's hand
> Molest mankind and persecute with penalties severe"[34]

This wonderfully designed book contains sixty plates of De Bry and the episodes of world history are embedded in the wider frame of the history of salvation.

I think that the *theatrum mundi* emblem is organically related to what I have called in a previous paper "the wheel of time".[35] Since the publication of that paper I have found a design illustrating how time represented as Saturn turns the whole world upon his wheel. It expresses how *theatrum mundi* is a variation of the "whirligig of time" (*TN, 5, 1, 385*).

The engraver of the picture is a certain "Martinus Rota Sibenicensis" and it was probably designed in the second half of the 16th century. (FIG.6)

The division of human life into ages often corresponded to the cyclic rotation of nature. The woodcut of Robert Vaugham (*Kalendarium Humanae Vitae*, Milan, 1638) depicts the four ages of man being analogous to the four seasons. (FIG.7)

Green(1870)describes an old Block-Print representing the seven ages of man (FIG8). The inscription on the center of wheel says: "Rota vite sue septima notatur"- "The wheel of life which seven times is noted", on the outer rim: "Est velut aqua labuntur deficiens ita. Sic ornati nascuntur in hac mortali vita" - "It is as water so failing, they pass away, so furnished are they born in this mortal life". The different figures in the picture describe the seven ages: 1/ infancy(infans) up to 7, 2/ childhood (pueritia) up to 15, 3/ youth (adolescentia) up to 35, 4/ young manhood (iuventus) up to 35, 5/ mature manhood (virilitas) to 50, 6/ old age (senectus) up to 70; and 7/ decrepitude up to death. In the bottom of the picture an angel can be seen with a scroll in her hand illustrating "Beverano" and "Corruptio". An eight-line Latin poem is attached to it which pessimistically comments on the transience of human life.

Chew (1962) mentions Vasari's description of a vanished fresco in Florence painted around 1554. In the fresco each human age was associated with a planet, one of the seven virtues, one of the seven liberal arts, one of the seven deadly sins

and with miscellaneous abstractions. I here attempt to construct a diagram out of Chew's description of Vasari and hope it will more vividly elucidate the typological correspondences.

	AGE	PLANET	VIRTUES	ARTS
1.	Infancy	Moon	Charity	Grammar
2.	Boyhood	Mercury	Faith	Logic
3.	Adolescence	Sun	Hope	Music
4.	Youth	Venus	Temperance	Rhetoric
5.	Manhood	Mars	Prudence	Philosophy
6.	Old Age	Jupiter	Fortitude	Astrology
7.	Decreptitude	Saturn	Justice	Geometry

According to Chew, Sir Walter Raleigh also observed different ages of life to the different planets in his *The History of the World* (1614) (*Bk I Chap.2*)

> "Our Infancy is compared to the Moon, in which we seem only to live and grow, as plants, the second age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed, our third age to Venus, the days of love, desire, and vanity, the fourth to the sun, the strong, flourishing, and the beautiful age of man's life, the fifth to Mars, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travail to ambitious ends, the sixth age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of ourselves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding, the last and

> the seventh to Saturn, wherein our days are sad and overcast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which never be repaied, that of our our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth."[36]

To close this short survey of the iconography of *theatrum mundi* and *theatrum humanae vitae* I shall provide some illustrations from one of the most popular emblem-books of the 17th century: Francis Quarles' *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638). The engravings of the book were made by William Marshall. The constant element of Quarles' emblem-book is the candle representing the human soul which is unlit at the beginning but will later be lit by God's hands. Quarles's description of the seven ages (or seven decades) correspond to the seven planets and to some other hieroglyphic signs (FIG.9). A diagram seems to be a useful aid to summarize the compositional structure of Quarles' emblem book:

AGE	PLANET	HIEROGLYPHIC SIGNS
1. infancy (X)	Moon	Embryo, cradle
2. childhood (XX)	Mercury	Peacock, Prancing Horse, Primroses in bloom
3. adolescence (XXX)	Venus	Bow, Arrow, Goat, Grape, Vine
4. youth (XL)	Sun	Oak-tree, Apollo's Bay Tree, Lyre, Boar
5. maturity (L)	Mars	Wind, Sword, Some Falling leaves
6. old age (LX)	Jupiter	Skeleton, Snake, Falling Leaves

7. death (LXX)	Saturn	Setting sun, Crumbling house, Leafless tree

6 *The Player and His "World" - "Theatrum Mundi" in Shakespeare's "Richard III."*

We have seen the frequent appearance of the theatrical metaphors in the texture of Shakespeare's plays and in the context of Elizabethan literature as well as a recurring *topos* in European culture and eventually as an emblem against the iconographic background of the age.

This last part of the present essay is an attempt at illuminating how the world-stage metaphor or emblem functions as a structuring principle in *Richard III*.

Ralph Berry in his *The Shakespearean Metaphor* (1978) exploits the possibilities of the metaphor "as a controlling structure" and demonstrates how "the metaphoric idea informs and organizes the drama".[37] He uses the term "metaphor" for denoting the "playwright's central impulse in bringing together numerous perceptions of association to organize and express a dramatic action".[38]

In discussing *Richard III* he finds that the major organizing metaphor is the "actor", and this "actor-metaphor" structures the play. He observes two movements in the drama and finds the caesura at Richard's gaining the crown. The first half of the play is concerned with the actor being immersed in role-playing while in the second half he is confronted with the realities from which his play had exluded him.

Richard is a born actor indeed, he is called "Roscius" by King Henry VI (*3HVI, 5,6, 10*)-and his theatrical self--revelation "I am determined to prove a villain" initiates the audience into his role thus making them a kind of accomplice.

Berry's penetrating analysis concentrates upon "the actor" and the organizing principles of "playing" or "acting" although in my opinion more emphasis is to be given to the "world", a metaphor, which Berry, if not discards, but does not effectively reflect upon.

My analysis tries to depict the "player and his world", the actor and his "partner", this complex metaphor as a structuring principle operating throughout the whole drama.

Berry, in fact, when discussing Richard's first soliloquy, invites S. Sontag's term: "*CAMP*", meaning "ostentaneous, exagerrated, theatrical", Sontag's definition echoes Nietzsche in saying that "camp is a certain mode of aesthetism, it is *one way of seeing the world as an aesthetic phenomenon*" (it. mine) or "the theatralization of experience", "the farthest extension, in sensibility, of the *metaphor of life as theatre*" (it. mine).[39] "Camp" is, after all, says Berry, a "mannered projection of the self that reflects an intense appreciation of being-as-role-playing".[40]

Gloucester, immediately after murdering King Henry announces his programme:

"I should ... *play the dog*"

(*3H6, 5,6, 71*)

His main role will be that of the villain and his other roles will be the "Honest Soldier" (with Clarence), the "Lovesick Hero" (with Lady Anne) or the "Pious Contemplative" (before the Lord Mayor), an "Actor Manager" (with the murderers) or conversely as "Someone being directed" (with Buckingham) and he often plays the "Plain Blunt Man". This last seems to be, according to Berry, his most realistic role and the one that really suits him.

Berry maintains that the verb that describes Richard's existence is: *play*. Gloucester defines his mode of existence three times:

> "And seem a saint, when most I *play the devil*"
> (*1, 3, 338*)

The next image in this line is an interesting allusion to an emblem of Geoffrey Whitney: (No. 139)

> "O Buckingham, now do I *play the touch*,
> To try if thou be current gold indeed"
> (*4, 2, 8-9*)

And:

> "Under our tents I'll play the eavesdropper,
> To see if any mean to shrink from me"
> (*5, 3, 221*)

Richard is a *homo ludens* in many respects: his action

fulfils the manifold meaning of the verbs "to play" (moving energetically, taking part in a game, exercising sword-fighting, acting out dramatically etc.)

For a long time he is completely alone in his own theatre or private drama. After a while, however, he finds an accomplice, a fellow-actor in Buckingham. Here we can see a wonderful example of rehearsing of the machiavellian-baconian roles of "simulation" and "dissimulation".

Glos:

> "Come, cousin, canst thou quake and change thy colour,
> Murder thy breath in the middle of a word,
> And then again begin, and stop again,
> As if thou were distraught and mad with terror?

Buck:

> "Tut, I can *counterfeit the deep tragedian*,
> Speak and look back, and pry on every side,
> Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
> Intending deep suspicion.-."
>
> (*3,5, 1-8*)

And later Buckingham adds:

> "Doubt not, my lord, I'll play the orator"
>
> (*3,5, 94*)

We have seen that the *theatrum mundi* emblem is frequently linked with the picture of the ages of human life. While Jaques observed seven ages, the Duchess (Richard's mother) ritualistically laments on the four different acts in the life of her son:

"Thou cam'st on earth to make the earth my hell,
A grievous burden was thy birth to me,
Tetchy and wayward was thy *infancy*,
The *school-days* frightful, desperate, wild and furious,
The *prime of manhood* daring, bold and ventorous,
Thy *age confirm'd*, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody,
More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred,
What comfortable hour canst thou name
That ever graced me in thy company?

(*4,4, 167-75*)

Berry writes, echoing Nietzsche again, "if the world is an aesthetic phenomenon, the categories of good and evil dissolve, thus Richard is not a villain, but a person playing the villain. The actor shed responsibility to technical expertise, to aesthetic excellence."[41]

We can accept from the author that the first half of the drama is the victory of "style" while the second half proves that life is not stylish. That recognition of the two-part structure of the drama seems to be well-founded but I should like to reflect upon the "world" in drama, and especially how Richard is obsessed with it.

Reinhold Niebuhr wrote:

"Insofar as human agents have the freedom to stand above the flux of natural events and create forms and institutions not governed by natural necessity and not limited to the life-spand of nature, *time is the stage of history*. Insofar as these human agents are subject to decay and mortality... *time is part of the stuff of history*" (it.mine)[42]

Replacing the words "time" and "history" from this quotation for "world" and "reality" we can say that in the first part of the drama (the actor's immersing himself in role-playing) *the world is made to be the stage of reality:* Richard in his "freedom", in his "standing above the flux of events" *creates a "meta-world" or a "world"* for himself. In the second part, however, (when he is confronted with the reality that life is not a stylish play) *the world gradually proves to be the stuff of reality,* Richard will be a "subject to decay and mortality" when he is overcome and defeated by the reality of the world. This reality is not style but time While Richard seems to have emptied the world in his villainy, this world will regenerate, it will be charged with reality, and prophecy is fulfilled; this rejuvenated world is at work in destroying the Fake.

Gloucester's obsession with the world can clearly be seen from the very beginning. For him it is a psychological phenomenon. The world is the incarnation of his inferiority complex.

It seems to be useful to follow the development of this mutual relation: how the world affects Gloucester, how it determines his attitudes, and how, in response, Richard is going to play with his world until this world regenerates, absorbs and eventually annihilates the actor.

A/ *Richard's encounter with the world*

Richard seems to have had aesthetic expectations from this world. He soon realizes the impossibility of a normal

partnership. This frustration and despair determines his further actions:

> "there is no kingdom then for Richard,
> What other pleasure can the *world afford?"*
> (*3H6, 3-2, 165*)

> "this *earth* afford no joy to me".
> (*3H6, 3,2, 165*)

He draws a conclusion from this given situtation:

> "I'll make my heaven to dream upon the crown,
> And whiles *I live, to account this world but hell"*
> (*3H6, 3,2, 168*)

The structure of the argument is the same in *Richard III: "Since I cannot prove a lover ... I am determined to prove a villain"* (*1,1, 28-30*)

In Gloucester's mind this world is split into a dichotomy: he rejects the attributes of this world as "hell" but discerns the hidden possibilities as "heaven". Richard announces his "Great Play" to the audience: to dream upon the crown of England.

Therefore he creates an ideal dream-world as a stage for himself, upon which he has to prove a perfect actor.

"I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
Deceive more slily than Ulysses could,
And like a Sinon, take another Troy.
I can add colours to the cameleon,
Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,
And set the murd'rous Machiavel to school.
Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?"

(*3H6, 3,2, 188-94*)

The greatest enemy of this arch-player is the authentic--legitimite *human word*, the word of truth and prophecy. He wants to murder Queen Margaret and says the following:

"Why should she live, *to fill the world with words*"

(*3H6, 5,5, 44*)

Though Margaret escapes murder her "words" or "her filling the world with words" ie. her *prophecy* will contribute to the eventual recreation of the world that had always been emptied by Richard. King Henry, however, is killed in the midst of his prophecy which Gloucester is not willing to listen to:

KH:

"Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born,
To signify thou cam'st to bite the world"

(*3H6, 5, 6, 54-5*)

G:

"I'll hear no more: *die, prophet, in thy speech*"
stabs him.

(*ibid*)

B/ *Gloucester's conflict with the world is deeply rooted in the circumstance of his birth*

Though Gloucester murders the voice of prophecy he nevertheless picks up Henry's last uttered words and associates the horrible circumstances of his birth:

> "I came into this world with my legs forward
> Had I no reason, think ye, to make haste,
> And seek their ruin that usurp'd our right?
> The midwife wondered and the woman cried
> 'O! Jesus bless us, *he is born with teeth*'
> And so I was, which plainly signified
> That I should snare and bite and play the dog"
> (*3H6, 5,6, 71-*)

Gloucester echoes his comment on his own horrific--unfortunate birth in the introductory soliloquy of *Richard III*.

> "Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time
> Into this *breathing world*"
> (*RIII, 1,1, 21*)

Richard's mother, the Duchess who considers her third son as a "false glass" that only survived after the two princely mirrors of her husband's image had "cracked" (*RIII, 2,2, 52*), also recalls the fatalistic moment of her diabolic son:

> "O, ill-dispersing wind of misery!
> O, accursed womb, the bed of death
> *A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world*
> Whose unavoided eye is murderous"
> (*RIII, 4,1, 54-*)

Richard seems to be consciously preparing for his great Play with the World from the very beginning. In one of his *asides* at the end of *3Henry VI* he reamrks:

"For yet I am *not look'd on in the world*"

(*3H6, 5,7, 22*)

But when Fortune seems to favour him and his machiavellian *virtu* tries to get hold of the wheel, just as he is likely to get rid of his brothers Richard ironically or blasphemeously comments:

"God take King Edward to his mercy,
And *leave the world for me to bustle in*"

(*RIII,1,1, 152*)

The verb "bustle" means "to make show of activity, hurry", it is a kind of bodily movement (eg. "come, bustle, bustle, comparison my horse" *RIII, 5,3, 289*). The word can, in fact be taken as a synonym for "*play*". That means that the World is left for Richard to play in.

C/ *The Meta-World of Richard*

So far we have understood the world literally, but for Gloucester it meant the real world. However, once he begins to play, the world becomes an aesthetic phenomenon without any real existence. So far the world was *world* but now the world becomes "the world", charged with a touch of irony. Richard makes a meta-world, a "World", a theatre,

a stage from the real world. This is what Berry calls a "form of naming", "the mark of the camp" where "one catches the quality of seeing everything in inverted commas".[43]

From this time on we are never to take the world literally or seriously for everything is to be understood as being bracketed and behind these brackets we can recognize the cynical smile of the Grand Comedian. The World is the "World".

Richard performs his greatest role to Lady Anne and he turns the world upside down by annihilating the moral order:

> "Your beauty that did haunt me in my sleep
> To undertake the *death of all the world*"
> *(1, 2, 12)*

And when speaking about her eyes, Richard says:

> "As all the world is cheered by the sun
> So I by that, it is my day, my life"
> *(1, 2, 129)*

Only when his devilish energy has completely destroyed Anne and she leaves the stage, does the self-contented Richard "speak out of the brackets":

> "And yet to win her, *all the world to nothing*"
> *(1, 2, 239)*

In the course of the events he goes on passionately playing in his self-created aesthetic, dazzling universe which

is nothing but pretension. When remembering Edward he pretends: "the *spacious world* cannot again afford" such a figure (*1,2, 37*). When in Act III he acts as unwilling or reluctant to accept the crown he speaks of avoiding the "censures of the *carping world*" (*3,5, 68*). To Catesby he hypocritically raises the question:

> "Will you enforce me to a *world of cares*"
> (*3,7, 223*)

In all these instances the world is acted, pretended, turned upside-down or inside out: it operates only in inverted commas on a meta-level.

The peak of his playing with his "world" can be grasped in the fragments of two conversations:

Says Richard to Queen Elizabeth:

> *"The world is grown so bad*
> *That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch:*
> *Since every Jack became a gentleman*
> *There's many a gentle person made a Jack"*
> (*1, 3, 69-72*)

An intense ambiguity is inherent in this thought. It is true literally on the level of the real world but since Richard utters these words in his role-playing, on the inverted--comma level, we are warned not to take them too seriously. Yet this is the same tragic voice as Hamlet's "the time is

out of joint" but we should note that this these words are spoken ironically by the Grand Comedian. True and not true at the same time. The world is a theatre. *Theatrum mundi*.

The same ambiguity: cynicism but nevertheless truth or reality can be observed in Richard's conversation with Queen Margaret:

> "I am too *childish-foolish for this world*"
> (*1, 3, 141*)

D/ *The Regeneration of the "Real" World - the Turning of the Wheel*

Richard, the Machiavellian player has almost entirely destroyed and emptied the real world as "hell" while creating a dream-world, a meta-world, a "World" as "heaven" for himself.

But this "almost" is important. Queen Margaret and her words remained alive, Clarence's subconscious could not be deceived, for the Queen and her circle knew him well.

Richard recognizes his tragedy in III/7 when he learns that the citizens are mum. Berry suggests that Richard has no audience to applaud him and if a king is without a people he is a non-King, a Fake.

What do we mean by the "turning of the wheel" in Shakespeare in general and in this drama in particular?

We can observe in *RichardIII* as well as in some of the great tragedies - especially in *King Lear*-that "the wheel

turns" when the destruction of the evil-hunted world arrives at a culmination. This law of necessity in the "whirligig of time" (*TN 5, 1, 385*) is well expressed in the almost yeatsian imagery of the "circles" or "gyres" by Joan of Arc in *1Henry VI* when the heroine announces that her God-sent mission is to replace the glory and triumph of Henry V in France:

> "Glory is like a circle in the water,
> Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
> Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought.
> With Henry's death the English circle ends,
> Dispersed are the glories it included.
> Now I am like that proud insulting ship
> Which Caesar and his fortune bare at one"
> (*1H6, 1,2, 133-9*)

The "turning of the wheel" in *King Lear* can be grasped at the plucking out of Gloucester's eyes, when the agents of destruction culminate in the "orgy of evil". Within the context of the drama the decline is signified by some sudden and unexpected events: such as the death of Cornwall, the jealousy of the sisters and even the killing of Oswald and the capturing of the letter by Edgar. The so-far only half-responsible and half-infected figures such as Albany slowly begin to awake and he will defect to the camp of Cordelia, Kent and Edgar who constitute the agents of redemption.

A similar mechanism can be observed in *Richard III*.

When Richard is at the top, he is at the bottom: "When at the height, are ready to decline" (*JC 4,3, 216-23*) Berry writes that "Richard has failed in the moment of his triumph". The main conflict, he has to solve is, that "the actor has to play *and be* King, has to fuse role and essence"[44]

What are the visible signs of the turning of Richard's wheel? When he is crowned King in Act 4 Scene 2 Buckingham, his chief ally and accomplice proves reluctant and hesitant at the killing of the young Princes. Moreover, Stanley informs Richard that Dorset had defected to Richmond, in addition, Anne became sick and was soon going to die. Richard is fully aware of that when he is determined to try the new strategy of winning the young Eli abeth as wife. He is deeply steeped in sinfulness and obeys the rhythm of the law of sin:

> "But I am in
> So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin:
> Tear-falling pity dwells"
>
> (4,2, 63-5)

From now on he has to confront the reality he had evaded up to this moment, which is a confrontation, as Berry says, with his yet unknown inner self, so far he had acted only through his outer self, which is an appendage to his "persona". "The outer self has great success for three acts and the inner self is acquiescent".[45] Towards the end of the play he will be confronted with the problem of his identity, with "myself".

He wants to swear to Queen Elizabeth "by myself" when the Queen replies: "Thyself thyself misusest" (*4,4, 376*). In the final soliloquy before Bosworth Richard's schizoid nature, his split identity is revealed:

> "What do I fear? myself? There's none else by:
> Richard loves Richard, that is *I am I*"
> (*5,3, 183-4*)

The more Richard's split personality comes to the surface the more we can witness the gradual awakening of the faint world from her seduced and violated condition.

This process is the emancipation of *the* World from the dazzling-diabolic illusion of the "World" which is only an aesthetic phenomenon lacking the principles of good and evil.

Gradually we can hear the strengthening voices of the so-far supressed outside-world. These voices come to us as new, liberating motives of a symphony. Horrific as they may sound we nevertheless feel relief simply because they are not fake but authentic, real voices.

Fortunately, all these voices fall apart with the electric halo of Gloucester's magic power and energy.

Queen Elizabeth sighs when she learns that Clarence is dead:

> "All seeing heaven, *what a world is this*"
> (*2,1, 83*)

However staccato-like or tragic the voices of the citizens may sound - they are authentic and real.

"I fear, twill prove a *giddy world*"
(2,3, 5)

"Then, masters, look to see a *troublous world*"
(2,3, 9)

Catesby also reaffirms this:

"It is a *reeling world* indeed, my lord"
(3,2, 38)

All these voices begin to grow and accelerate until they are condensed in the fourteen-line separate scene of the Scrivener. This is the scene preceeding III/7, the beginning of Richard's collapse at the dawn of his triumph. The ironic-tragic scene of the Scrivener is a prophecy about the necessary fall of this world.

"Here' a *good world the while!* Who is so gross
That cannot see this palpable device?
Yet who is so bold but say he sees it not?
Bad is the world, and all will come to nought,
When such ill dealing must be seen in thought"
(3,6, 0-4)

Richard, of course, goes on acting not realizing that the real world has been awakening. The Grand Comedian insists on his dream, his own created world: "the heaven". Only towards the end does he begin to recognize how chilly his heaven is without the touch of reality.

E/ *The End: the Triumph of the World as Time over the "World" as Theatre*

When in Act IV, Scene IV, Richard as the great actor is confronted with Queen Elizabeth he first tries to swear *"by the world"* but the Queen immediately reacts in this stychomythia-sort of conversation: *'Tis full of thy foul wrongs'* (*4,4, 375*). We can neglect that at the end of this duel Elizabeth like Lady Anne, falls victim to her seducer: "I go" (*4,4, 429*) because Time or Providence finally prevents Richard from reaching his aim. What happens in this conversation is that the inverted-comma world is switched into a real one: "it is full of thy foul wrongs" - and Richard accepts it! He gradually transcends the aura of his own "world": "by my father's death", "by myself", "by God" and "by the time to come".

King Richard swears at what he is already being destroyed by: Time. His victory over the Queen is only an apparent one, for evil cannot defy time because Time (in the case of the drama: Richmond as a providential agent) will rescue her daughter.

The real world is full of foul wrongs of the Comedian but they will be filled by the words of Queen Margaret and King Henry VI their prophecy is being fulfilled.

We can observe the "pattern of retributive justice"[46] in the structure of the drama when the fake "world" of actors, itles, pretensions and shadows as well as "direful pageants"

are forced to withdraw and make room for the long-hidden powers of truth and justice. Richard's revels are now ended, he and his "world" are "melted into air" and "the insubstantial pageant faded /Leave not a rack behind" (*The Tempest 4, 1, 155*).

Time, by which Richard tried to swear is the very refutation of his role-playing. It is the archetypal force that discovers and defeats him. Time, using Niebuhr's phrase, is *not only the stage* of history but it is also its *stuff* or essence.

Berry notes that Richard is permanently asking for time in the second half of the play. He is clearly obsessed with the passage of clock-time (*4,2, 112-8; 5,3, 47; 5,3, 63; 5, 3, 276*). The striking of the clock reveals that the play is an end-, or time-determined morality drama, even if it is a "negative morality" reminiscent of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. Berry observes that at the end of the drama the spirit of irony that had permeated the play as a comedy, is decorously absent.[47] It is a great negation of Richard's "world", a unique anti-comedy.

The drama witnesses the victory of time that destroys the "world". We have already mentioned the rotation of the wheel of time in Shakespeare's drama. Queen Margaret's apostrophe to Queen Elizabeth is valid for the whole play:

> "Thus hath the course of justice *whirl'd about*,
> And left thee but a very *prey to time*.
> (*4,4, 105-6*)

Both the player and his "world" are prey to time. In another play Shakespeare's Falstaff is the representative of this "world", of *theatrum mundi*. When he recites his flattering soliloquy to Prince Hal: "banish plump Jack, and *banish all the world"*, the Prince responds: *"I do, I will"* (*1H4, 2,4, 535-6*).

Tempus omnia terminat. Time determines everything. Even *Theatrum Mundi*.

N O T E S

1 Yates (1969, 132)

2 *ibid.* (133)

3 Yates (1966, 140)

4 Kastan (1982, 169)

5 Huizinga (1944, 9-36)

6 See: Szőnyi (1982, 96-104)

7 Quoted in Chew (1962, 160)

8 J.G. *Refutation of Apology of Actors.* Divided into Three Brief Treatise. London 1615.

9 Yates 1969,(162)

10 *ibid.* (164)

11 Thomas Heywood *An Apology for Actors* London 1612. See: Hawkins (1966) and Jacquot (1957)

12 Curtius (1953, 138-39) See the provenance of the quotations in the book.

13 *ibid.* (140)
14 *ibid.* (141)
15 *ibid.* (142)
16 *ibid.* (142)
17 *ibid.* (142)
18 *ibid.* (144)

19 Kastan (1982, 13)

20 *ibid.* (5)

21 Frye (1957, 191)

22 Kastan (1982, 5)

23 Chew (1961, 145)
See further: Waller (1853); Jones (1853); Draper (1939); Gilbert (1940); Allen (1941); Bennett (1943)

24 *ibid.* (145)

25 Archambault (1966)

26 *ibid.* (200)

27 *ibid.* (205)

28 Firth (1979, 180-203)

29 Archambault (1966, 224)

30 *ibid.* (228)

31 Thomson (1924, 40)

32 *ibid.* (41)

33 Yates (1969, 166)

34 Green (1870, 405)

35 Fabiny (1982)

36 Chew (1961, 165)

37 Berry (1978, 1)

38 *ibid.* (3)
39 *ibid.* (11)
40 *ibid.* (11)
41 *ibid.* (12)

42 Niebuhr (1949, 34)

43 Berry (1978, 11)

44 *ibid.* (18)
ibid. (18)

46 Quoted by Berry (1978, 9)

47 *ibid.* (25)

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FIG. 1. *Tableau of Human Life* based on Cebes (BC. 330) Latin version from 1507

FIG. 2. *Tableau of Human Life* based on Cebes (BC. 330) Old Print

FIG. 3. *Tableau of Human Life* based on Cebes (BC. 330) Dutch version (De Hoogle, 1670)

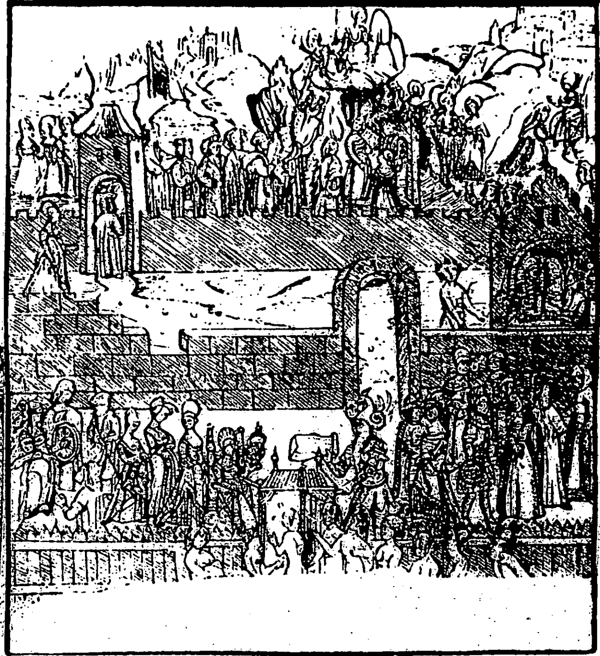


FIG. 4. J. J. Boissard: *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (1596)
Engaving by Theodor Bry

FIG. 5. *ibid.* page 152

Theatrum vitæ humanæ.

THEATRVM VITÆ HVMANÆ.

CAPVT I.

VITA HVMANA EST TANQVAM Theatrum omnium miseriarum.

Vita hominis tanquam circus, vel grande theatrum est:
Quod tragici ostentat cuncta referta metus.
Hic lasciva caro, peccatum, mors que, Satanque
Tristi hominem vexant, exagitantque modo.

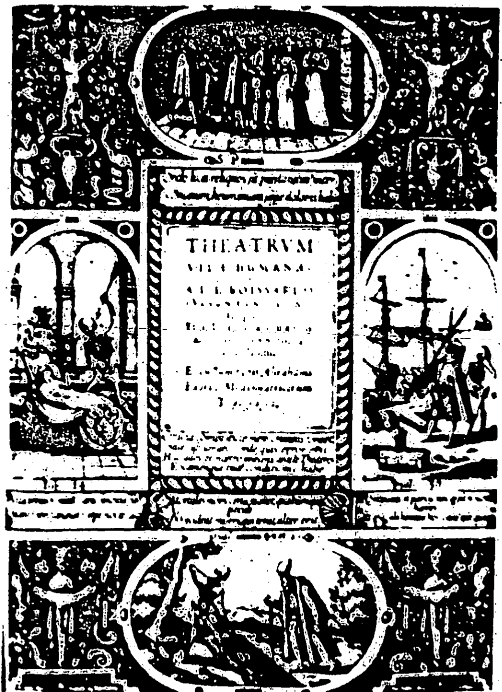
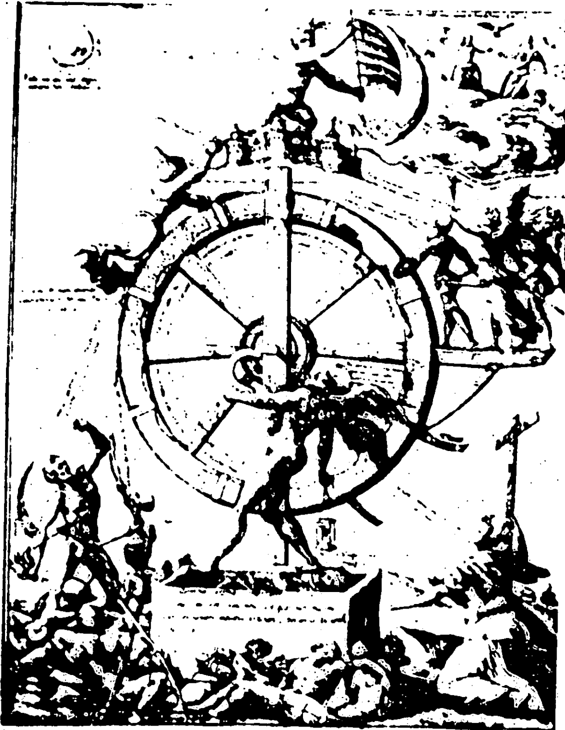


FIG. 6. Martinus Rota Sibenicensis (16th cent.): Time Turning His Wheel (Warburg Institute)

FIG. 7. The Seven Ages of Man. Early Blockprint (British Museum)



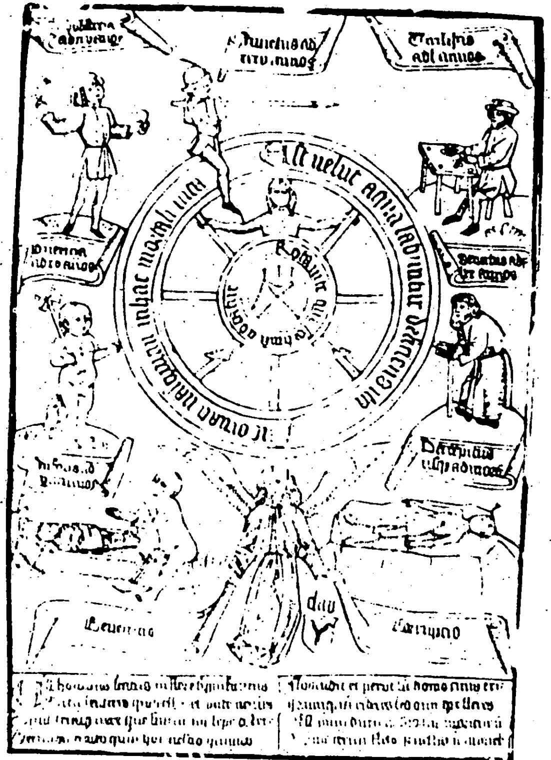


FIG. 8. The four seasons and the four ages of man. Woodcuts by Robert Vaugham in Robert Farley's *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae* (1638)

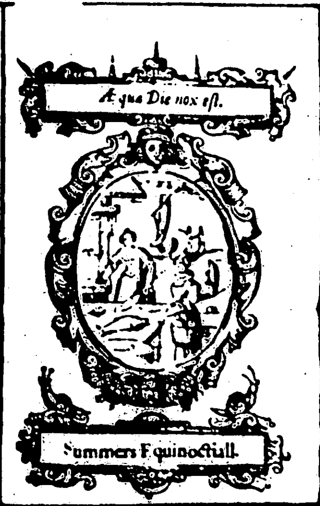
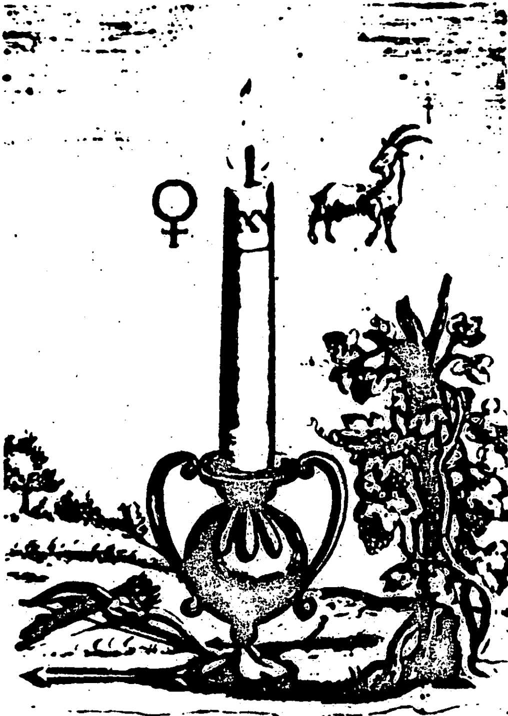


FIG. 9. Moon and the First Age; Saturn and the Seventh Age. William Marshall's engravings in Francis Quarles' *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638)



Zoltán Szilassy

EMBLEMS, STAGE, DRAMATURGY

(PRELIMINARY NOTES TO AN ICONOGRAPHIC/ICONOLOGICAL AND "ICONOCLASTIC" APPROACH TO THE SHAKESPEAREAN THEATRE)

I. *Introductory Problems*

These days there seems to be an ever-growing increase in the number of those students of English theatre and drama history who seriously consider the suggestions offered by George R. KERNODLE, Glynne WICKHAM, Roland Mushat FRYE, Peter M. DALY etc. according to which the public theatres of Shakespeare's time must have been "emblematic", that is to say: they aimed at "achieving dramatic illusion by figurative representation rather than by seeking to stimulate actuality through the assistance of perspective scenery.[1] Kernodle also warns these scholars that they should not disregard the parallel influence coming from the Italian Perspective Scenery.[2] Post-Shakespearean drama and Inigo Jones's theatrical activity reinforce this warning but the continuous presence of compositional structures like the *frieze* and the *procession*, the linking role of *tableaux vivants* between visual arts and theatre and a general "iconic lore" - factors that have not disappeared from our sphere of interest, ever since the registration of the Hellenistic contribution and those of the Middle

Ages, moreover, they seem to be having their own "renaissances" - might carry us into even braver generalizations. The iconic lore of the period in question was probably *somewhat* more secularly and less religiously minded than in the Middle Ages but this fact does not reduce the importance of the iconographic and/or iconological approaches.

The possible relatedness of the architecturally emblematic structure of the Globe Theatre to Vitruvius's conception of the mathematical correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm has several times been referred to in literature.[3] I am inclined to think that the device identifying the Globe Theatre (Hercules supporting the globe and the inscription: "Totus mundus agit histrionem") might get its due annotative *and* connotative spheres of interpretation if ascending and descending phases of the history of the same theatre were viewed by posterity from the summarizing standpoint of *The Tempest* - multitudinously emblematic! - as well as from the earlier attitude of the paraphrased version: "All the world's a stage..."[4] *Belles-lettres*-oriented interpreters have always been glad to discover that the emblematic display was partly present in the books and in the spectacles of the period to capture the less sophisticated minds of simpler, potential theatre-goers and readers, too, although even the contemporary iconographic tradition of a single scenic or pictorial *tableau* must have involved more basic components that those acknowledged by the average viewers of that particularly *familiar* sight. In spite of their complex nature, the

English Emblem-Books are not yet given their due importance in the cultural historiographies concerning the era. Thus a brief, though useful, American "History of English Literature to 1660" summarizes them - from Geoffrey Whitney's" (1586) on - as culminating in Francis Quarles' products that offered "the poor man's George Herbert".[5] The very useful reconstructions of iconographic backgrounds of various literary products may, sometimes, get to the other extreme when over-exaggerating the effect of famous pictures and contemporary emblems on the literary output. For example, when John DOEBLER comments on *Venus and Adonis* by Shakespeare he brings into the context not only Titian's treatment of the subject but also his precursors' (Tintoretto, 1545; Veronese, 1580?) versions - as if all these varieties had been *distinctively* known by the poet.[6] (We have to add, though, that quite a few of his friends and/or patrons might have been familiar with all of them.) Even Peter M. Daly - who objects to "source hunting" - when commenting on *Sonnet 116* (Let me not to the marriage of true minds...) and rightly telescoping Donne's "compasses" as a "broadly literary" emblem, offers not only Sambucus' collection (1566) as a possible source, but brings in Vaenius' collection (1608) whose corresponding emblem could hardly have contributed to forming this image, in view of the "piratical" edition of the Sonnets (1609) and their much earlier circulation "among his Priuate Friends".[7] The insistence on the continuous presence of a particular emblem is nevertheless worth illustrating this way, too.

Roland Mushat Frye's distinction between "broadly literary"

and "strictly theatrical" emblems is very helpful in most cases. But since my interest in this field is "broadly theatrical" - which means tiying not to forget about the composing factors and constituents, including the literary ones, of this *complex* art form - I have to consider the possibility of fusing these categories when need be. More often than not, my reflections shall however be restricted to the field of theatrical emblems. The more so because theatre historians cannot disregard those scarce but illuminating contemporary documents (*Henslowe's Diary*, etc.) that also seem to prove the highly emblematic nature of the then used props and signs of scenery. Lists of these requisites (for example: "entrance to Hell", royal sceptre, animal disguises, "Dido's tomb", "Phaeton's chariot", "Cupid's arrow", "Mercur's wings" etc.)[8] always pose, however, the aesthetic problems of attributing them either to allegorical, or symbolic representation. Why we can accept them as "emblems" of the mirrored reality of the "small, illumined island" (the stage) is because their use relies not only on aesthetic preferences, but also on a more or less general ready acceptance of these items by the audience. I think, the historical, sociological and anthropomorphic bases of relatively common sources of knowledge, of similar pictorial and conceptual heritage - in general, the idea of "shared knowledge" - ought to be stressed in the case of this golden age of theatre as well as, say, when referring back to the great Greeks. Not even specialized studies should forget about basic premises of this kind, with a view to the fact that mythology and religion were far more parts of the

individual's life than they later came to be. Thus "iconography" and "iconology", without losing their aesthetic pertinence, partly get their true interpretation as inventories of common treasuries of certain periods. Specifically, such is the case of theatre arts where the creators have always to rely on the diversity of interests: to please the most and to enchant the select few. This way the possible ways of representation and the possible fields of allusion are *tightened:* restricted on the one hand and broadened on the other.

II. *Problems of Methodology*

The study of emblems as relevant devices seems to be but a part of studying *larger visual effects* whether perceived in terms of the continuity of all relevant arts (Kernodle), or particularizing the same for early English stages with allusions to the later ones (Wickham). While using the general methods of iconography and iconology, I think it advisable to cast several glances at the much longer 20th century tradition of "image-seeking". After all, it still remains guesswork - and not a problem of "precise" definition - whether Shakespeare (with his "small Latin and less Greek") was a "playmaker" for the poor and the rich alike, or a *manouvreur* of enriching commands and expectations, or else a creator above all these approaches and situations.

Earlier 20th century Shakespeare scholars seem rather to stick to more traditional analyses of verbal and visual patterns. For example, Muriel C. BRADBROOK when commenting on Elizabethan

stage conventions[9] avoids the use of the word emblem, although Henry GREEN's classic (1870) should have been at her disposal. She is, however, familiar with the possibilities of iconography and says so. Some recent critics charge Edmund CHAMBERS with seeing too large a gap between the Medieval and the Renaissance Stage; even though he seems to be doing so in terms of his hypothetical theory of discontinuity which is to serve the elucidation of the *differentia specifica*, attention must be paid to his connecting the morality and interlude tradition to early English tragedies and comedies of the Renaissance, even if he exaggerates the process of "secularization". For us, too, it is important to realize the connection between the allegorical nature of the moralities and the "larger-than-life characters" present both in Shakespeare's dramas and the contemporary emblem-books.

Similar examples of earlier approaches could be endlessly multiplied, but, instead, attention should also be paid to differences of interpretation. For example, in the case of *Hamlet*, Kenneth MUIR's personal statistics discovered more of "war and violence imagery" than of "sickness imagery" emphasised by Caroline F. SPURGEON in her milestone-making *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (1935).[10] If to this - and to the all-too-numerous Hamlet literature - we add the also highly "deviant" analyses offered by G. Wilson KNIGHT, Ernest JONES, Jan KOTT etc. (which all use "the" dominating imagery to illustrate their viewpoints) we may be at a positive loss. That is the moment when iconography can

come in: not to solve all the problems, nor exclusively to support this or that way of interpretation, but to help create a *future* synthesis of all the interesting opinions offered.

For example, Roland Mushat Frye's article on Hamlet and the iconographic traditions[11] is illuminating because of the treatment of a single emblematic "object": poor Yorick's skull. The theme is almost a commonplace, yet the approach is unique. It offers an almost complete entirety of the possible, "filtering" influences (Leyden, 1519; Binck, 1530; Vesalius *via* Holbein, 1543; "Contrasto del Vivo et Morto, anon., Florence: 1572 etc.) and gives an account of later displays in comparison to the compositional and performance dates of the play. The insistence on the continuity of this emblematic heritage offers us yet another answer for Hamlet's "delay" of action usually referred to as a dramaturgical or psychological mechanism. For Hamlet, the ex (Wittenberg) student, "memento mori" is not only a stimulating force in carrying out the revenge or fooling Rosencrantz and Guildenstern into death, thus sparing himself, but also a very present abstract idea manifesting itself in the *abstractly suicidal* thoughts of the "to be or not to be" soliloquoy, or when musing upon the skull with Horatio in the graveyard - pictorially offering the "anatomy of melancholy".

Even if one may be nostalgic about the elegant solutions of classics like Gombrich or Panofsky, at present there seems

to be no need for preferring iconographic methods to iconological ones or *vice versa.* Both the empirism of locating the sources of key images and the search for the underlying principles of the representational varieties are immensely fruitful and have their obvious dangers, too.

III. *Emblems and Stage Conventions*

A fully detailed iconographic study of a play - like Professor Davidson's study on *King Lear* in our volume[12] - does more justice to the method than fleeting iconographic references or insertions in a survey of a more general sweep. Thus in the *Appendix* to his immensely useful book on early drama and visual arts[13] Davidson refers to "Iago as Fox" (deducing the theatrical image to the particular Whitney-emblem) and to the "absurdity" of Lear's divided coronet. In the first case the demanding reader would expect at least another hint at "Volpone, the Fox" if the emblematic tradition was to superimpose its influence on tha character comedy of humours as well. If not - there is a gap unaccounted for. In the second case some more words about the division manifested in the analogously forthcoming changes in Kent's, Gloster's and Edgar's formal wear and requisites - illustrating their individual fates as well as the unity of the dark, allegorical vision - could do a better job. Apart from studies of emblems other, more "naive" iconographies can also help us to decode Shakespeare. A recent Hungarian performance

of *King Lear* might partly illustrate my point. Without deeply immersing himself in emblematics, the producer seems to have found the *colour-symbolism* that could give an instinctive insight into the development and status of dramatic characters. The wicked daughters and their *entourage* wear "angry" green and purple colours, while the neutrally dressed "good", from their stylized nakedness in between, gradually achieve the colour of white: this culminating in Lear's musing over Cordelia's dead body, the two posing as a *reversed Pietá!*

Professor Daly, in his illuminating contribution to our volume[14] after a brilliant survey of the history of iconography/iconology and emblematics, takes some pains to illustrate his interpretation concretely by rightly suggesting - among other suggestions - that an iconographic difference should be made between Shakespeare's use of swords and daggers. "It is ... iconographically consistent that Macbeth should murder his king with a //treacherous// dagger after earlier defending king and country with his //noble// sword."[15] (Additions mine: Z. Sz.) When trying to differentiate this way, I am afraid, we have to go farther, or else we have previously to distinguish between Brutus's suicidal sword and that of Romeo, killing Tybalt in a street brawl, and also between the exchanged, poisoned and non-poisoned swords (multiple emblems!) in the duel of *almost equally revenging sons*, Hamlet and Laertes. Ripa's *Iconologia* and "The Mirror for Magistrates", the common awareness of "danse macabre" (in general in the streets, in particular in Whitney's "ex

maximo minimum") might equally have contributed to the general chaotic feeling suggested by the Poet. At the same time there existed the necessity of a didactic pointing at the "way out" which deserves our attention not because of the answers given, but because of the attempts at finding them at all. Swords, knives and daggers seem to be the emblems of confused reality - each killing instrument deserves a special analysis of the situation, even if historical and (practical) stage conventions are likely to simplify their "grouping".

IV. *Emblems and Dramaturgical Mechanisms* (Varieties of the Iconographic / Iconological Approach)

A survey of any relevant periodical of the Shakespeare industry proves the recently growing popularity of the approach mentioned. Some articles published in the *Shakespeare Quarterly* fully illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of this new trend. For example, Joseph Rosenblum in his article suggests that Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593) may have been a source for Bottom's transformation in *A Midsummernight's Dream*.[16] The survey of the question: "why an ass?" gives a good summary of the possible influencing factors (Ulysses' swine-episode as a parallel, Midas's ears; Albertus Magnus *De Secretis Naturae* etc.), but Titania and Bottom's resembling the emblem of Obstinacy ("A Woman all in black, her Head surrounded with a Cloud, holding an Ass's Head with both her

Hands"[17]) is weakly supported by the argument that Titania is "clothed in black" because night is approaching in the particular scene. No detective work of iconography seems to be necessary to account for Bottom's transformation - elder philologists have often referred to Apuleius's *Golden Ass* as a possible source as well as to the well-known, long time belief concerning the extraordinarily good sexual potency of this animal. The dramaturgical point here is "metamorphosis" in a nutshell reflected by the comic (distorting) mirror.[18]

Raymond B. Waddington offers an analysis of the dramatic emblems in *As You Like It.*[19] Whether Shakespeare was familiar with the contemporary emblem-books or not, this approach is really insightful, since I believe that some aspects of the emblems - verbal or visual or both, depending on particular cases - must have been actively present in common thinking. Touchstone's "memento mori" can easily be connected to possible emblematic sources (Whitney *née* Alciati: the purpose of *a* touchstone and "Praecocia non diuturna"), just like Jaques's pessimistic declension of the ages of man is soon contrasted by Orlando's entrance with old Adam (in John Doebler's interpretation this should remind us of "Pietas filiorum in parentes").[20] But when coming back to the problem of time and ageing, Waddington, again, rightly warns us that Rosalind is both the arbiter and the relativist of time in Arden Forest and comes to realize the emblem: "Veritas Filia Temporis".[21]

There are, of course, other published sources to rely upon. For example, John Coates in "Shakespeare Survey" (Cambridge, GB.) rightly traces the story of *Anthony and Cleopatra* back to Xenophon's *Memorabilia* as well as to the better-known, supposed sources.[22] Why he does so is partly because of his acceptance of the pertinent emblematic heritage according to which *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa* do not absolutely exclude excursions into *vita voluptuosa*. In a word this play prepares - in some sense - the way to Ben Jonson's epigrammatic title: *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*. Dramaturgically speaking, the problem of time and the delay of action, the stock mechanism of real or metaphorical *disguises* gets a new perspective from the pioneer representatives of the approach we have undertaken.

V. *Conclusion?*

With the diversity of the problems - hastily treated in this short work - I cannot offer a better suggestion than that of a "happy co-existence" of the mentioned and similarly challenging attitudes. I think that constant consultation between European and the American scholars - much in the spirit of the conferences and publications of *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* - is of vital importance for further development. The rest, I hope, is *not* silence.

N O T E S

1 See Davidson, 1977, p. 126. The whole book was reviewed by Gy. E. Szőnyi in *Helikon Világirodalmi Figyelő* (1982/4, Budapest) pp. 613-4.

2 Cf. Kernodle, 1944, *passim*.

3 See *Warburg Institute publications*, especially those by F. Yates

4 In a future, enlarged version of this paper an analysis of the multitudinously emblematic structures of *The Tempest* shall follow.

5 Cf. Day, 1963, p. 409.

6 Cf. Doebler, 1982, 480-90.

7 Cf. Daly, 1977, pp. 515-6.

8 See Székely, 1972, pp. 163-4.

9 See Bradbrook. 1960, esp. pp. 101-2.

10 See Muir (n.d.) in *Études Anglaises*, 352-363.

11 See R.M. Frye, 1979, pp. 15-2t: *passim*.

12 See Davidson, 1984, in this vol.

13 Ibidem, 1977 - see also point No.1.

14 See Daly, 1984 in our volume.

15 His typescript p. 20&sqq.

16 See Rosenblum, Joseph, 1981, pp. 357-9.

17 *Ibid.* p. 358.

18 We know - if from nowhere else than from Updike - that this combination of human and animal elements is far from being perfect. In fact, "human head" and horses' genitals combined could do a "better job".

19 See Waddington, 1982, pp. 155-163.

20 Cited *ibid.* p. 156.

21 *Ibid.* p. 161.

22 See Coates, 1978, 45-52.

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Gy. E. Szőnyi

"O WORKE DIUINE": THE ICONOGRAPHY AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF ALMA'S HOUSE IN *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

> "The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
> And part triangulare, O worke diuine;
> Those two the first and last proportions are,
> The one imperfect, mortall, foeminine;
> Th' other immortall, perfect, masculine,
> And twixt them both a quadrate was the base
> Proportioned equally by seuen and nine;
> Nine was the circle set in heuens place,
> All which compacted made a goodly diapase."
>
> (II. ix. 22)

I.

The above quoted stanza has been perplexing generations of interpreters since Spenser's contemporaries. In the commentaries of the *Variorum Spenser* the debate is summarized as follows: "Two interpretations have been urged - the mystical, neo-Platonic one, which discerns in the stanza an allegory of the mystical relations of soul and body, form and matter, male and female; and the more literal one, which sees in the stanza only a description of proportions and dimensions of the human body".

The simpler, more literal reading was first put forward by William Austin (1587-1634) a barrister by profession, who was interseted in science and literature as well as in theo-

logy. In his *Haec Homo, Wherein the Excellency of the Creation is described* (1637) he explains the correspondences between the human body and mathematical numbers or geometrical figures illustrating his thesis by quoting Spenser:

> "For as all Numers and proportions, for measure are derived from the members, and dimensions of the humane body: so is the body answerable to all proportions, buildings, and figures, that are. Not only anserable (I say) to the whole world, (of which it is an epitome) but, for the most part, to every particular figure, character, building and fabrick, in the World. ...All which discourse concerning the severall proportions of the body, are very elegantly and briefly contracted, by the late dead Spencer, in his everliving Fairy Queen; where, coming to describe the house of Alma, (which, indeed, is no other but the body; the habitation of the Soule), he saith, (quotes *FQ* II.ix.22)"
>
> (Spenser Heritage 1971, 173)

The mystical, neo-Platonic interpretation was established by Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-65), the most exact and probably the best of Spenser's early critics. In 1628 he wrote a letter to Sir Edward Stradling entitled "Observations on the 22. Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2nd Book of Spencers Faery Queene" (published in 1643) in which he tried to document what he had stated in another of his treatises:

> "He had a solide and deepe insight in THEOLOGIE,

> PHILOSOPHY (especially the PLATONIKE) and the MATHEMATICALL sciences, and in what others depend of these three ... And where he maketh vse of any of them, it is not by gathering a posie out of others mens workes, but by spending of his own stocke," (*A discourse concerning Edmund Spencer*, MS about 1628, published in Spenser Heritage 1971, 150.)

Digby also sees the stanza as the allegorical description of the human body but he takes into consideration man's soul and all the implications which come from this viewpoint:

> "This evident that the Authors intention in this *Canto* is to describe the bodie of a man inform'd with a rationall soul, and in prosecution of that designe he sets down particularly the severall parts of the one and of the other ... as they make one perfect compound"
>
> (Spenser Heritage 1971, 152)

In his detailed analysis Digby speaks about the four elements, the three Paracelsian qualities, the nine angelic hierarchies, the seven planets; concluding that of all God's works Man is the noblest and the most perfect, he is a little world, and of God himself ("O work divine"). Thus Spenser can be found as "a constant disciple of Platoes School" as he speaks about the perfect harmony of the created universe (diapase, or diapaison) demonstrating this harmony in the human microcosm, for "in Nature there is not to be found

a more compleat and more exact Concordance of all parts, then that which is betweene the compaction and conjunction of the Body and Soul of Man" (*ibid.*, 157)

If we look at the two interpretations we can realize that they are not at all contradictory, rather complementary. Both of them acknowledge certain correspondences between the human body and the universe, the first on the more concrete level in the domain of numbers and proportions, the other referring to less obvious, rather "occult" correspondences, hidden relations of the created world which can be perceived by the mystic, that is intuitive eye. There is one common denominator between the two concepts: both of them recognize certain dialectical opposites in this created world (man / cosmos; mutability / eternity; etc.) still they claim the unity of the whole system. This unity is provided by the unifying plan of the creator and can be recognized by the overall present analogies, correspondences. As Spenser's contemporary, Sir Richard Barckley put into words in his *A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man* (1598):

> "The great God of nature hath tyed together all his creations, with some meane things that agree and participate with the extremities, and hath composed the intelligible, ethereall, and elementarie world, by indissoluble meanes and boundes ... between brute beastes, and those of a spirituall essence and understanding, which are the Angels, he hath placed man, which combineth heauen and this elementarie world"
>
> (quoted by Patrides 1973, 435)

The above description as well as Spenser's stanza naturally call to mind the much discussed concept of the pre-scientific world picture about the macro- and micro-cosms which have been often explained by the metaphors "the scale of nature" or "the great chain of being" (see the basic works of the vast literature on the topic, such as Lovejoy 1936, Conger 1922 and bibliography in Patrides 1973).

This metaphor was an universal commonplace in the literature of late-Renaissance England. Its usage could serve different purposes with different ideological preoccupations. The macrocosm-microcosm analogy could be a didactic aid to explain something about man and nature in a simplified form like the *Homo microcosmus* emblem in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Brittana* (1610, see FIG. 1 /from J. Hollander and F. Kermode, 1973/). In a more complicated approach Sir Walter Raleigh in his *The History of the World* (1614) used a fairly conventional Biblical framework when discussing the man-cosmos relationship:

> "Man, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief story of the universal, in whom God concluded the creation and work of the world. ... And whereas God created three sorts of living natures, to wit, angelical, rational, and brutal; he vouchsafed unto man both the intellectual of angels, the sensitive of beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man, and therefore, saith Gregory Nazianzen, *Homo est utriusque naturae vinculum:*

'Man is the bond and chain which ties together both natures' (Book I, Chapter II.v).

A good parallel of Raleigh's basically orthodox approach, taken from the visual arts, can be the diagram of the Scale of Nature in Didacus Valades *Rhetorica christiana* (1579, see FIG. 2 /from Patrides 1973, 436/). In Raleigh's text, however, we can notice traces tending to a mystical approach akin with that of the neo-Platonists who speak about man's possibility of leaving his place on the Scale and by his free will and intellectual faculty he can move along the Chain upwards to the deity as well as downwards to the elementary, animalistic spheres of life. Ernst Cassirer (1963) considered this notion the greatest achievment of the Renaissance as opposed to the Middle Ages. Even in such a popular version of neo-Platonism like Castiglione's *The Courtier* the thesis is clear. In Sir Thomas Hoby's translation (1554):

> "Think now of the shape of man, which may be called a little world, in whom every parcel of his body is seen to be necessarily framed by art and not by hap, and then the form altogether most beautiful. ... Man of nature endowed with reason, placed, as it were, in the middle between those extremities, may through his choice inclining to sense or reaching to understanding, come nigh to the coveting, sometime of the one, sometime of the other part"
> (from Book IV).

One of the more scholarly exponents of this approach

among Spenser's contemporaries was John Dee. Accepting the neo-Platonic view of man's special faculties and flexible nature he incorporated into his system the possibility of magical operations - a subject which was unacceptedly radical for the orthodoxy of the age. In his *Mathermaticall Praeface* to the 1570 English edition of Euclid's *Elements of Geometrie* Dee describes "anthropographie", the study of man's microcosm as one of the highest degrees among the "artes mathematicall":

> "/Anthropographie/ is an Art restored, and of my preferment to your Seruice. I pray you, thinke of it, as of one of the chief pointes, of Human knowledge. Although it be, but now, first Confirmed, with this new name: yet the matter, hath from the beginning, ben in consideration of all perfect Philosophers. Anthropographie, is the description of the Number, Measure, Waight, figure, Situation, and colour of euery diuerse thing, conteyned in the perfect body of MAN: with certain knowledge of the Symmetrie, figure, Waight, Characterization, and due locall motion, of any parcell of the sayd body, assigned: and of Numbers, to the sayd parcell appertayning. If the description of the heuenly part of the world, had a peculiar Art, called *Astronomie:* if the description of the earthly Globe, hath his peculiar arte, called *Geographie*, If the matching of both, hath his peculiar Arte, called *Cosmographie:* which is the description of the whole, and universall frame of the world: Why should not the description of him, who is the Lesse World: and from the beginning, called *Microcosmus*. And for whose sake, and seruice, all

> bodily creatures els, were created: Who, also, participateth with Spirites, and Angels: and is made to the Image and similitude of God: haue his peculier Art and be called the *Arte of Artes*"
>
> (c.iii. in Debus 1975).

To strengthen his standpoint Dee refers to Pythagoras, to Durer's *De Symmetriae humani corporis*, to Vitruvius' anthropomorphic theory of architecture, and, last but not least, Agrippa's magic speculations in his *De occulta philosophia*. From his argumentation it is quite clear that Dee understood the macrocosm-microcosm analogy not merely as a metaphor which explains certain correspondences in nature, but rather as a mystical symbol which in itself contains something of the ultimate essence of the world, and its creator. His approach in today's history of ideas is called *hermeticism*. He must have believed in the metaphysical power of this kind of representations, of emblematic signs actually, as can be understood from his earlier work, the *Monas hieroglyphica* (1564) in which he constructed a hieroglyphic monad, a sign consisting of simple geometrical elements (straight line, circle, semicircle and point), the symbol of Aries from the Zodiac, and the alchemical representation of mercury. All this, framed by an egg-shape (standing for the alchemical vessel) was to express the unity of the world and thus accumulating the magic powers of the universe (see FIG. 3 from Yates, 1964, 338; on Dee cf. Josten 1964; French 1972). By the

17th century such magic emblems became fairly common in hermetic and alchemical literature throughout the process which can be termed as the popularization of secret sciences. These representations are well documented in recently published books (e.g. Klossowski 1973; King 1975; Godwin 1979a and b; etc), as a reminder, let me include here the well-known mystic diagram from the genuinely visual hermetic scholar, Robert Fludd's *Utriusque cosmi historia* (1617, see FIG. 4 from Godwin 1979a, 68).

II.

The previously reviewed examples demonstrated three ways of interpretation of the macrocosm-microcosm-analogy - the didactic-conventional, the religious-mystical, the philosophic-metaphysical - from the heritage of the English Renaissance. Spenser's description of Alma's castle, no doubt, belongs to this heritage, the question, however, remains: how deeply philosophical is it, how essential is this emblematic image in the context of the poet's art and world picture?

In quest of the answer it seems to be instructive to bear in mind what E.H. Gombrich wrote about the complementary traditions of symbolic images, prevailing especially in the Renaissance period. According to his crucial study (Gombrich 1972, 123-99) there are three sources of images, namely

EXPERIENCE	CONVENTION	EXPRESSION
(representation of an object)	(representation of an idea - allegorical)	(private symbolism - the artist's conscious or unconscious mind)

The first case is simple and unambiguous: the representation is imitation, the copy of something already physically existing - it is nothing other than primary perception, or sensation. The second two classes contain images which are the products of the intellect, they are transformed or transmitted representations of physical and/or mental sensations. According to their function these mental images can be ascribed to three traditions. As Gombrich says: "Our attitude towards the image is bound up with our whole idea about the universe" (*ibid.*, 125). The three tradiitons are the following:

DIDACTIC	REVELATIVE	MAGICAL
(metaphor, the Aristotelian tradition)	(symbolic-intuitive, the Platonic tradition)	(esoteric sign, "powerful", the hermetic trad.)

The didactic metaphor is the *expression* of an idea, the product of intellectual activity, its function is decorative and entertaining, it has to improve the poverty of the language, it possesses a certain explanatory, *illustrative* power in order to make discoursive speech clearer. The whole rhetorical (Aristotelian-Ciceronian) tradition of the Renaissance was pursuing this notion. The Platonic tradition, however, attributed a different power to the symbolic image. For the neo-Platonist the image is a *revelation* of something higher, that is a metaphysical truth which cannot be expressed by discoursive speech. Consequently, the image is not a product of rational thinking, but of a momentary intuition which all of a sudden enlightens the observer.

As for the gnostic philosopher the idea of wisdom (Sophia) can be seen only in a vision (cf. Spenser's description in *An Hymne of Heavenly Beauty:*

> "There in his bosom Sapience doth sit,
> The soveraine dearling of the Deity,
> Clad like a Queene in royall robes, most fit
> For so great powre and peerelesse majesty."
> ll. 183-6/)

and as Plotinus plainly said of the higher mode of knowing:

> "It must not be thought that in the Intelligible World the gods and the blessed see propositions: everything expressed there is a beautiful image" (*Ennead* V.8; cf. Gombrich 1972, 158).

An extreme case of the revelative image is the esoteric sign which has magic power. It does not only symbolize the intuitively perceptible truth but it is a *representation* of the idea (deity, or demon) itself. This is how the medals of zodiacal Decans have healing power in Ficino's *De vita coelitus comparanda*, this is how the magic circle drawn around Faustus compels Mephistophilis to appear, this is how John Dee and his medium, Edward Kelly summoned the dead by the power of a magic seal - at least according to the testimony of their *True and Faithful Relations...* and a 17th century English engraving (FIGS 5 and 6, from King 1975, 104 and Seligmann 1971, 204).

Spenser's description of Alma's house is undoubtedly a symbolic image, in fact a word-emblem, as defined by Peter Daly (1979, 55) but the question is whether it is the

expression, the revelation, or the representation of its idea. In my opinion the problem cannot be solved by trying to assume the author's perspective, as neither Spenser's actual readings, nor his intellectual preoccupations, even less his authorial intention can be reconstructed in its entire authenticity from our present-day situation. Gombrich classified symbolic images according to the intention of their creators. But we can approach the phenomenon from the other side, from the reader's viewpoint. And then we shall ask if Alma's house *can be interpreted* as a didactic or rather as a revelative image; to be more precise if the wider context of Spenser's art allows this or that type of interpretation.

I am inclined to say that Alma's castle is a revelative word-emblem, under the influence of the hermetic way of thinking. Before the actual interpretation of the following part of this study I am going to argue that Spenser's artistic world and what we know about the author's personality do not exclude the possibility of such a reading. And this is the border-not-to-be-crossed limiting the ambition of the literary critic. Since every great work of art has such a paradoxical nature that needs commentary, still no commentary can fully exhaust the work's meaning.

III.

In common thought "hermeticism" and the "hermetic sciences" are synonymous with the "occult"; that is with

astro-alchemy, magical medicine, primitive rituals, witchcraft, and a set of other supernatural phenomena as well as different parapsychological activities (as an example of this confusion see Shumaker 1972). Before examining the hermetic impact on Spenser's work an accurate definition of hermeticism as distinct from the occult in general is indispensable, in order to avoid the confusion of both terms sometimes found in present-day scholarship. (Cf. a clear exposition of this problem by Clulee 1977, 635, n.11; see also some recent contributions to the interpretation of Renaissance hermeticism: Burke 1974; Rossi 1975; Westman 1977.)

It is well-known, although often overlooked, that the cosmology and the view of nature of pre-17th century philosophy can be termed "occult", or, at least, as having occult elements. From the very medieval concepts of the scale of nature and the corresponding macro- and microcosms to the theories concerning the four elements and the four humours - no matter if Platonic or Aristotelian, even the whole system of Aquinas were abundant in occult sympathies.

However, from this occult-animistic world-view there emerged an easily distinguishable trend of philosophy which put special stress on a "hidden" knowledge (often called "white magic") and on the need for a religious and philosophical reformation achieved by the help of this. Such initiatives were put forward first by the Pythagoreans, and later by the hermetic writers of the Hellenistic period (their works are known as the *Corpus hermeticum*, attributed to the mythical

arch-priest, descendant of the Egyptian god Thot, called Hermes Trismegistos). During the Middle Ages the memory of hermeticism had been preserved by a few schools of secondary importance like Lullism, while a number of Renaissance philosophers rediscovered the original Hellenistic writings and became fascinated by this way of thinking. Ficino, Pico, Reuchlin, Trithemius, Agrippa, Giorgio, Postel, Dee, Bruno were the greatest representatives of Renaissance hermeticism - up to Spenser's lifetime. (The basic studies on the history of the hermetic tradition - Scott 1925; Festugiere 1950; Kristeller 1956; Walker 1958; Garin 1961; Secret 1964; Yates 1964 - also indicate the complicated cross-currents of Platonism, Plotinism, early Christian influence and hermeticism which nevertheless incorporated non-classical and non-Christian teachings, such as Babylonian philosophy, Egyptian ideas and Jewish gnosticism).

Blossom Feinstein (1968) refers to those features of the hermetic lore which were explicitly non-orthodox if by orthodoxy we understand the Christioan and the Christianized classical systems. Feinstein enlists nine features of the hermetic way of expression which can be derived from the Oriental rather than from the Occidental tradition.

Among these are that

- Creation is the result of a cataclysmic, or sexual encounter between at least two major forces. The world is created from preexisting chaos.
- Creation includes elements of the grotesque and the irrational.

- Mutability, darkness, and mud are life-producing.
- Serpents and hybrid creatures are used as symbols of energy, often in a deified form.

The orthodox view sees chaos only as a force of evil, continues Feinstein. Its God, without partner, creates something, from absolutely nothing, in an orderly manner. The world is created just once, and is heading for ultimate dissolution. Separated from God man is essentially worthless, limited like an artist who can only imitate what he sees. Unlike the asexual Creator of the world by word alone, the hermetic God is male and female - the creation is generation from love and desire. Hermetic man is created with love and he is not punished when he wishes to separate from God and work on his own. Thus *Hermetica* retains a singular importance for the adventurous mind - and this was the point that most appealed to Renaissance neo-Platonists providing themwith new arguments in working out the doctrine of *superbia*, according to which man can be exalted to the level of divinity.

> "An Earthly Man is a Mortal God, and the Heavenly God is an Immortal Man"
>
> (Everard 1650, 40-1)

as we read in the *Divine Pymander*, a thought which was completed by the Renaissance hermetic philosopher, Pico:

> "He received man, therefore, as a creature of undetermined nature, and placing him in the middle of the universe, said this to him: 'Neither an established place, nor a form belonging to you alone, nor any special function have We given to you, O Adam, and for this reason, that you may have and possess, according to your desire and judgement, whatever place, whatever form, and whatever functions, you shall desire"
> (*On The Dignity of Man* from Ross 1980, 478)

Naturally, besides the unorthodox features, there was some kinship between the orthodox and hermetic teachings; among other points the creation-myth of the first man, Anthropos, in *Corpus hermeticum* bears some resemblance to the story of Adam from Genesis. This is why it became possible to give a fully Christian interpretation to the hermetic writings which the enthusiastic Renaissance philosophers considered as ancient as the heritage of Moses.

In my opinion the common denominators linking these philosophers are: (1) the notion of the harmonious unity of the world and (2) the ambition to learn about this harmony by means of a reformed theology and philosophy based on the ancient hermetic teachings and the latest results of natural sciences, often called *magia naturalis*. (3) The ultimate goal is to retain the long lost union of mankind and the perfect synthesis between man and the supernatural. Consequently, as hermeticism is characterized by the ambition for harmony, agreement, and fusion of ideas (eclecticism

for its adversaries), this trend is always connected with tolerance.

On returning to Spenser, the first task would be to investigate if there are traces of such a philosophy manifest in his oeuvre. As we know little about his intellectual development and what he read, and as no private correspondence survived him, it is only his scholarly environment that can be examined, and, most important of all, the corpus of his poetical works.

Considering spenser's intellectual biography we have to mention John Dee who was the most outspoken exponent of hermeticism in Spenser's England. Exploring the secret correspondences of the macro- and microcosms, he represented the scientist-philosopher, while his eirenism mixed with patriotic Protestantism associates him with the religious enthusiasts.

Spenser had access to the ideology of Dee since the poet was associated with the Leicester-circle to which Dee also belonged. Although in Spenser's life this influence cannot be so well documented as in the case of his friend, Sir Philip Sidney, the hints, however, are strong enough. (See Gabriel Harvey's *Letter Book* 1573-80, London, 1884. Cf. also French 1972, 127 and Hamilton 1977, 29.) Apart from Dee, there may have been other sources conveying hermetic teachings at Spenser's disposal, as documented by a great number of Spenser scholars.

The impact of the Astreae-myth on Spenser is obvious and it can be seen along with Dee's British imperialism as a topic common for many Elizabethans, among others Spenser's patron, Sir Walter Raleigh, who was actually one of Dee's more intimate aristocratic acquaintances (cf. Yates 1975, 53-4, 69-74).

A lot of studies demonstrate the presence of the harmony-theory in Spenser's works. Alistair Fowler (1964) argued for intricate numerological patterns in *The Faerie Queene*, and for an astral or planetary pattern in the themes. A. Kent Hieatt (1960) revealed the symbolism of the numbers and their reference to the progress of time in Epithalamion. Similarily, Maren Sofie Røstvig (1969) discussed the number symbolism of *The Shepheardes Calender*, using Francesco Giorgios's *De harmonia mundi totius* (1525) and Pierre de la Primaudaye's *The French Academie* (1577) as cipher-keys. Røstvig remarks, that "the tradition represented by these authors should be connected with Augustine, and should be described as syncretistic rather than neo-Platonic. There is no pure neo-Platonism in the Renaissance; neo-Platonic thought is usually presented in a Christian context, the assumption being that Plato, Pythagoras, and the other so-called *prisci theologi* derived their deepest insights from Moses" (*ibid.*, 51). And indeed, Spenser always remained deeply Christian, just like Ficino, Giorgio, or Dee, at the same time, however, it can be suspected that he set out to express ultimate religious truth in a language, in a symbolism which differed from that

of the average Biblical exegesis.

There are also numerous works interpreting Spenser in the context of the Reanissance aesthetical neo-Platonism (Casady 1941; Jayne 1952; Ellrodt 1960; recently: Fowler 1973; Bieman 1977; Burchmore 1981), this being another element associated with hermeticism; just as the Egyptian themes and the influence of Eastern cosmogonies, indicated by another group of scholars (e.g. Fletcher 1971). While Røstvig emphasized the relevance of the Church Fathers - that is the Christian element - in the intellectual horizon of the Renaissance neo-Platonists, Feistein (1968) points at the relevance of the Eastern influence in the Church Fathers' works. He associates the revival of the Eastern lore and the Renaissance revival of the Fathers. "In Latin translations, the early Greek fathers serve as key sources of information on the non-classical cosmogonies and are widely quoted in 16th and 17th century encyclopedic compilations, emblem books, epigrams, bibliographies, political discussions, histories" (*ibid.*, 532, n.6).

In such a context Spenser's interest in numerology becomes more meaningful while the revival of Elizabethan chivalry - so important an element in Spenser's poetry - is more a peculiar manifestation of the modern expansionist spirit than an out-dated relic of the Middle Ages.

IV.

Vincent Hopper (1940), Carrol Camden (1943), and

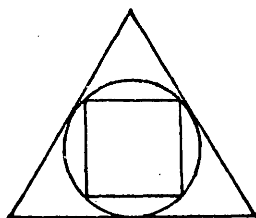
Alistair Fowler (1964) in their elaborated interpretations discussed Alma's house from the viewpoint of architectural and mathematical symbolism. Especially Fowler's analysis (*ibid.*, 260-88) is versatile and rich in quotations from 16th century philosophical and mathematical authorities as well as from classical sources. It is doubtlessly plausible, that there are numerological speculations in the background of Spenser's stanza, still I find Fowler's hypotheses too complicated and too abstract for a poet's mind - even if *poeta doctus* - who works not only on a nine line stanza but on a big scale project of an epic. I think that in poetry it is more convenient to look for the framework or reminiscences of certain philosophical ideas than the scientific tenets themselves. I follow Fowler (and Kenelm Digby) when claiming that Spenser was a poet interested in and influenced by the hermetic philosophy but I also think that one should differentiate between the doctrines of a system of thought and a product of artistic creation.

Frances Yates in her last book associated that emblematic House of Temperance with the threefold world as explained by Agrippa and Giorgio (Yates 1979, 97-8), but unlike in her usual genuine cross-interpretations of texts and illustrations in this case she said: "The actual figure which Spenser is here describing is difficult to determine." Following her path I am going to add to the existing interpretations a few iconographical parallels (in relation to the organic world picture in general, and to hermetic alchemy

in particular) which may illuminate this seemingly obscure image.

In the 1578 French edition of Giorgio's *L'Harmonie du monde* there is a diagram showing three large circles, which stand for the Supercelestial, the Celestial, and the Elemental worlds. This diagram can provide us with a possible key to Spenser's revelative image. Each "world" consists of nine spheres, grouped into triads, thus each world has four levels, or "floors". The basic numbers in the system are consequently 3, 9, and 4 (see FIG. 7 from Yates 1979].

Spenser describes a house "partly circular, part triangular, twixt them both a quadrat was the base". As "twixt" means also "in the midst of two" (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*), we can visualize this geometry as follows:



the interior consists of a quadrat, which represents the four elements, the lowest Elemental World. This is the base of the "scale of nature". Surrounding this there is a triangle, symbolizing the Supercelestial World, the angelic hierarchies and the Holy Trinity. The middle circle is the Celestial World, with the seven planets on their circular orbits added to this the sphere of the zodiac and the primum mobile - "Proportioned equally by seven and nine" -; all these convey astral forces from the supercelestial powers to the elemental world.

The House of Temperance represents not only the macro-

cosm, but, first of all, the microcosm that is man's world. The human body consists of four elements and represents four humours, consequently the square stands for the physical components of the human organism. Man's soul copies the divine intellect and it is referred to by the triangle and by the number 3. As Augustine wrote: "Numerus ternarius ad animam pertinet, quaternarius ad corpus". There are three souls in man, just like three persons in the Holy Trinity. The vegetative soul, the sensitive soul, and the rational soul give the three faculties of man: living, seeing, and understanding, as explained in *The courtier:*

> "And because in our soul there be three manner ways to know, namely, by sense, reason, and understanding: of sense ariseth appetite or longing, which is common to us with brute beasts; of reason ariseth election or choice, which is proper to man; of understanding, by the which man may be partner with angels, ariseth will."
>
> (Book IV, on Love)

Finally, the circle in relation to the human body stands for the organs - which from the brain, through the sensory system, to the regulators of the lower functions receive the astral stimulae.

To make all this clear it is worth looking at a 17th century visualization of the organic-hermetic world picture which also dominated 16th century mind, obviously, including Spenser's. An engraving in Tobias Schütz's *Harmonia macrocosmi*

cum microcosmi (1654) shows a human figure standing with streched arms and legs in a circle. The symbol refers to the correspondences between the human world and the universe through astrological connections. The female figure above Man is Nature and they are chained together as well as Nature and God. On both sides of the emblem two diagrams show the four elements (quadrat) and the three principles of the paracelsian system (triangle). The picture is framed by the portraits of Hermes Trismegistus and Paracelsus, authorities on this interpretation of the universe (see FIG. 8 from Debus 1978, 28).

Similarily to Schütz's diagram, Fludd also put the human figure in a circle which represents the celestial world conveying the zodiacal and planetary forces to the body (FIG. 9 form Godwin 1979, 72).

An illustration from a manuscript (1588) containing the vision of the 15th century English alchemist, Sir George Ripley, shows another aspect of the human microcosm. The three figures are the three manifestations of Anthropos during his transformation: body, soul, and spirit. Under Anthropos there is the dragon of the *prima materia* devouring the poisonous toad whose venom is turned into the miraculous elixir by the end of the process of purgation (FIG. 10 from Jung 1980, 367). As Aeyreneus Philalethes, "Anglus, Cosmopolita" comments on this transmutation (of both matter and the human spirit):

"Thus onely by Decoction these Natures are changed

> and altered so wonderfully to this blessed Tincture, which expelleth all Poyson, though it self were a deadly Poyson before the Preparation, yet after it is the Balsam of Nature, expelling all Diseases, and cutting them off as it were with one Hook, all that are accidental to Humane frail Body, which is wonderful" (*Ripley Revived*, 1677, quoted in Klossowski 1973, 30).

Jakob Boehme's emblem, the *Signatura rerum* (1682, see FIG. 11 from Jung 1980, 356) is a more abstract, however clear and compact, summary of all that has been said. The image is to represent the transmutation of metals, the unification of Luna (Moon = silver) with mercury which aims at reaching up to Sol (Sun=gold). The base of the transmutation is silver, represented by a square on the emblem. The intermediary mercury is spherical, divided into eight sections (expressing the balanced nature of the process: "All which compacted made a goodly diapase") while the goal to be achieved is symbolised by a triangle. But Boehme's picture is more than a simple reference to a chemical event. The transmutation takes place in a cosmic setting (the 12 signs of the zodiac and the six planets encircle the diagram of transmutation) while at the base of the picture there is the scheme of the heavenly Jerusalem - square-shape, with 12 gates on its walls and with the Lamb in its centre; this as well as the sign of the cross in the upper corner suggest the message that the *signatura rerum* is not merely the

explanation of certain natural phenomena, but at the same time a program of a universal and revelative kind which identifies the purification of nature with the exaltation of the human soul.

By the help of the described emblematic pictures we can give a fairly certain - although not wholly unambiguous - reading to almost all the elements in Spenser's description. One point, however, still remains obscure.

> "The one imperfect, mortall foeminine:
> Th'other immortall, perfect, masculine."

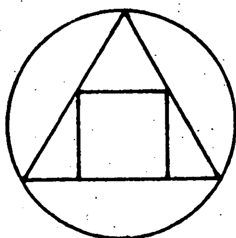
The problem to be solved first is: which is the "one" and which "th'other"? If we keep the order of the description the "one" will be the circle, that is mortal and feminine. Consequently the triangle should be seen as immortal, perfect, and masculine. Having in mind that nature is usually represented as a womanly figure and to her domain belong the circular spheres of the planets and the "mineralia, vegetabilia et animalia" - we can see the finite, mortal character of this world, properly associated with the circle, just as the human organs, which correspond to the Nature of the macrocosm. On the other hand the immortal and infinite god is designated by a triangle, and so is the human intellect.

In spite of all this Sir Kenelm Digby gave a different interpretation:

> "Mans soul is a Circle, whose circumference is

> limited by the true center of it, which is onely God. ... By the Triangular Figure he very aptly designes the body: for as the Circle is of all other Figures the most perfect and most capatious: so the Triangle is the most imperfect, and includes least space. It is the first and lowest of all Figures. ... Mans Body hath all the properties of imperfect matter. And as the feminine Sex is imperfect and receives perfection from the masculine: so doth the Body from the Soul, which to it is in lieu of a male."
>
> (Spenser Heritage 1971, 152-5]

Digby's reading implies a different order of the plane figures. It is the most perfect circle which frames the whole construction, whithin which there is the imperfect triangle, and, "in the midst of two" there is the quadrat, the elements, on which the body, the unit of organism and soul is built:



Actually, there is indeed an iconographical tradition within the hermetic lore which follows this second way of symbolisation. While the first reading could mainly be associated with the hermetic cosmologies, the theories about the scale of nature, this second reading derives from another branch of hidden knowledge, namely alchemy. The plane figures put together in this order show the different stages of the alchemical process from chaos to final perfection. But it should be stressed once again that this process is analogous with the soul's purification, the

intellect's achieving the final understanding, which, in the neo-Platonic sense undoubtedly means intuitive revelation rather than rational thinking. As in the case of Samuel Norton's *Mercurius redivivus* (1630) where the alchemical terminology refers to a mental hermetic transformation: the making of the *homo philosophicus* Mercury (FIG. 12 from Jung 1980, 393). The image shows the tree of life with the venomous toad at the bottom while at the top between the red and white roses there is the crown, symbol of unity. The transformation process is represented as a two- three- and four-fold union of opposites. On the circles: solid and fluid; white, black, and red; Jupiter, Mars, and Venus; water, earth, and fire. Around the triangle: spirit, soul, and body. Within the triangle: heaven, sun, male, and earth, moon, and female. Within the square there are the four elements, together with the figure who represents Mercury (=quicksilver) Anthropos, the homo philosophicus; and Christ the religious meaning of Microcosm - all to be transformed into a higher, transcendental substance. (Cf. Jung *ibid.* and Cook 1974, 112).

A fascinating hermetic emblem book, Michael Maier's *Scrutinium chymicum* (1687) shows the same geometrical combination, but mainly concerning the actual chemical procedure:

> "Similarily the philosophers maintain that the quadrangle is to be reduced to the triangle, that is to body, spirit, and soul. These three appear in three colours which precede the redness: the body, on earth, in Saturnine blackness; the spirit in lunar whiteness, like water; and the soul, or

> air, in solar yellow. Then the triangle will be perfect, but in its turn it must change into a circle, that is into unchangeable redness"
>
> (Emblem XXI, quoted by Jung 1980, 126)

Maier's diagram shows an inner circle in addition: this is the original chaos, the *prima materia* (sometimes symbolized by a dragon, sometimes by a toad) from which the whole process is started. This initial state is a combination of opposites which is represented by the naked couple, that is the presence of different sexes. The result of the transmutation, in contrast, must be homogeneous, a complete synthesis, that is sex-less (see FIG. 13 from Jung, *ibid.*). A similar image in Herbrandt Jamsthaler's *Viatorum spagyricum* (1625) puts the transformation again in a cosmic setting. The male and female human figures are parallelled with the male Sol (sun) and the female Luna (moon). The text accompanying the image is less scholarly - "All things do live in the three / But in the four they merry be" - the meaning, however is highly hermetic. "It is a symbol of the *opus alchymicum* since it breaks down the original chaotic unity into the four elements and then combines them again in a higher unity" - as Jung explains (*op. cit.*, 124, see also FIG. 14).

Comparing the two mystical readings introduced above - (1) Scale of Nature: quadrat-circle-triangle, (2) alchemical transmutation: quadrat-triangle-circle - we can conclude that although they are different they still express the same

approach to the world. They are complementary as the right side and the reverse of the coin. We could notice a similar completion at an earlier point of this essay; between the "literal" and mystical readings of Alma's house: (1) the correspondence between the physical proportions of man's body and the world; (2) the correspondence between man's and the world's existence as micro- and macrocosmic organisms. This duality shows another characteristic feature of the organic way of thinking. The "one" and "th'other" are not fixed, they are interchangeable. Once the circle is masculine and the triangle is feminine only to replace each other for the next occasion. Everything, every personality, every way of existence, every source of occult forces can turn out to be good or bad, mortal or immortal. Just as in hermetic astrology all the signs of the zodiac are blank but every sign has its positive and negative representations in reality. In connection with this we can speak about man's double nature, his possibility to incline to the godly or decline to the beastly. This notion can be found in the texts of Pico and Castiglione quoted but this is what Spenser himself expresses at the beginning of the canto containing the vision of the House of Temperance:

> "Of all Gods workes, which do this world adorne,
> There is no one more faire and excellent,
> Then is mans body both for powre and forme,
> Whiles it is kept in sober gouernment;

> But none then it, more fowle and indecent,
> Distempred through misrule and passions bace:
> It growes a Monster, and incontinent
> Doth loose his dignitie and natiue grace.
> Behold, who list, both one and other in this place."
> (II.ix.1)

It should be noted that for example A.C. Hamilton (1961, 25-9) interpreted this stanza as a moralizing lesson, in connection with rhetorical dispositions: *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*. In my opinion such a less mystical reading does not exclude a more hermetic one, especially that hermetic symbolism was also rich in moral meaning while medieval rhetorics was not free from esoteric number symbolism, it is enough to think of the Hellenistic scheme for the divisions of the literary treatise - *poesis*, *poema*, *poeta* - or the seven traditional parts of rhetorical disposition.

For the hermetically oriented mind all this was of secondary importance in the light of the only vital goal and ideal: the ever-hoped-for and never-to-be-discovered "quintessence", the "hermetic Monad", the "One". It also should be remembered that Spenser's poem was written in a period when - in Jocelyn Godwin's words - Soul Alchemy, rather than physical transmutation, became the chief concern of the best alchemists.

Some present-day readers may complain that when the hermetic philosophy itself was so ambiguous and often contradictory then Spenser's description can be at best only

a vague reflection of these philosophical-scientific-mythological-religious speculations. It is certainly true on the level of technical details. It should, however, be acknowledged that Spenser was in the first place a poet, not a philosopher, thus, in accordance with the character of the English Renaissance he was also synchretic, inspired by other concepts than merely the occult philosophy. Nevertheless in his "dark conceits" sometimes I unmistakably feel the inspiration of the hermetic lore. The ambition to ascend and descend through the spheres of the universe, a topic so manifest in the *Fowre Hymnes* as well as in the *Amoretti* sonnets.

Finally one has to face one more objection. The one that Maren-Sofie Røstvig also dealt with and answered as follows: "These /discovered/ structures no doubt provide evidence of Spenser's perfect command of his art, but an increased respect for his craftsmanship cannot affect our emotional response to the poetry. I would nevertheless argue, on the basis of personal experience, that the discovery of the universal level of meaning does affect our response" (*ibid.*, 73).

I fully agree with this opinion and on the basis of my personal experience I believe that such an analysis compels us to confront the fac t that though the scholarly exponents of the hermetic tradition are already out of date, forgotten and confined among the requisites of Renaissance curiosity Spenser's poems are still living, possessing their full poetical energy. And this is what can revive

even the anachronistic thoughts. The analysis is necessary to find the borderline beyond which no further analysis can be carried out. There the only possibility is to stop and acknowledge: "O worke diuine!"

FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Homo microcosmus in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Btittana*.

Fig. 2. The Scale of Nature from Didacus Valades' *Rhetorica Christiana*.

Homo Microcoſmus. 190

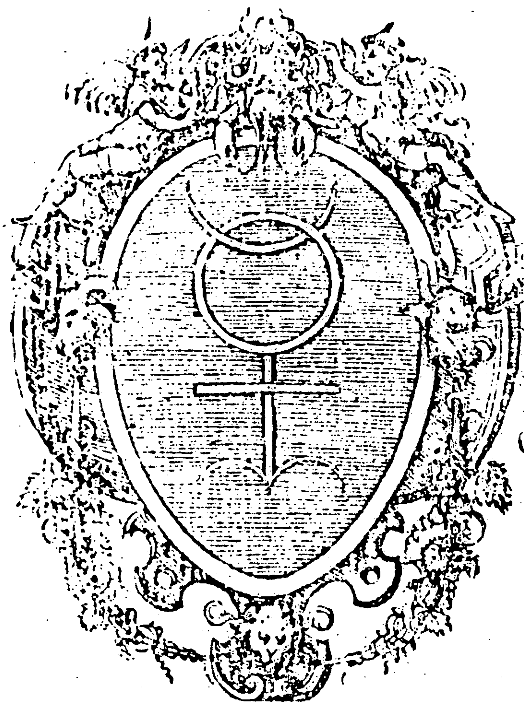
HEARE what's the reaſon why a man we call
A little world? and what the wiſer ment
By this new name? two lights Cœleſtiall
Are in his head, as in the Element:
Eke as the wearied Sunne at night is ſpent,
So ſeemeth but the life of man a day,
At morne hee's borne, at night he flits away.

Of heate and cold as is the Aire compoſed,
So likewiſe man we ſee breath's whot and cold,
His bodie's earthy: in his lunges incloſed,
Remaines the Aire: his braine doth moiſture hold,
His heart and liver, doe the heate infold:
Of Earth, Fire, Water, Man thus framed is,
Of Elements the threefold Qualities.

Dd1. And

Fig. 3. John Dee's hieroglyphic monad.

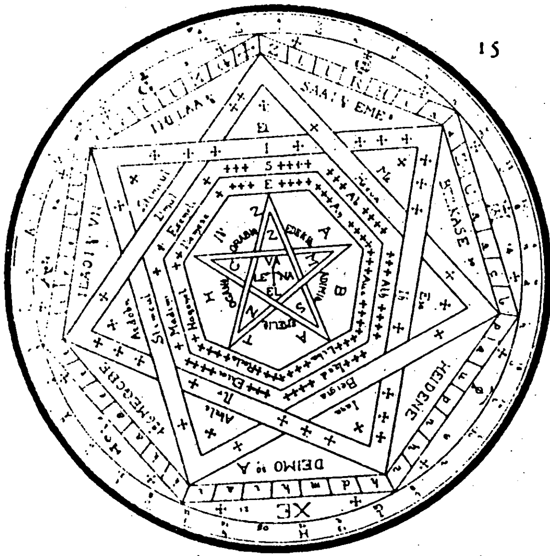
Fig. 4. Man and Macrocosm from Fludd's *Utriusque Cosmi historia*.



15 (*a*) The "Monas Hieroglyphica". From the title-page of John Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Antwerp, 1564 (p. 420, note)

Fig. 5. John Dee' s magic seal.

Fig. 6. Dee and Kelly summoning the dead.



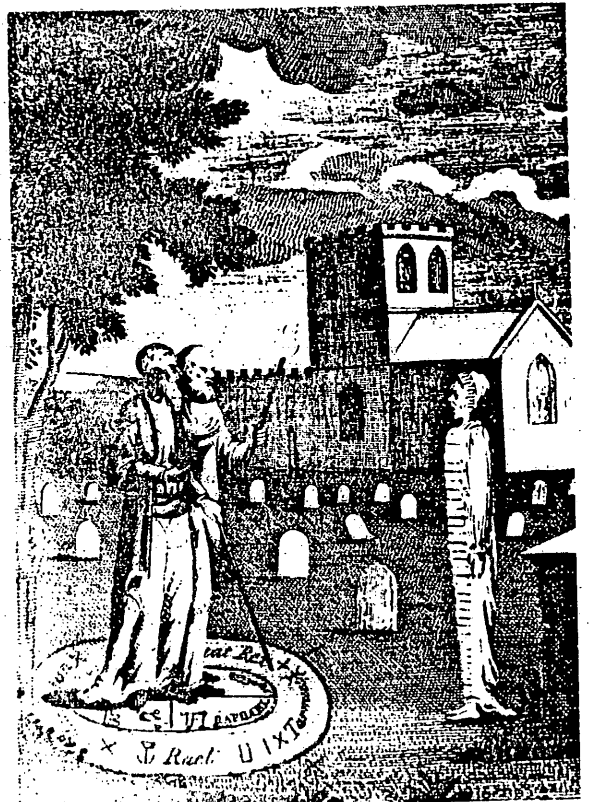
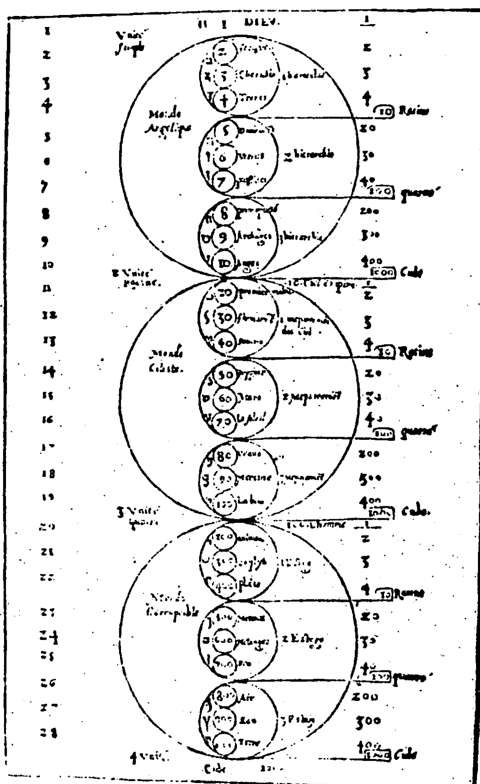


Fig. 7. The three worlds from Giorgio's *L'Harmonie du monde*.

Fig. 8. Microcosm and macrocosm from Schütz's work.



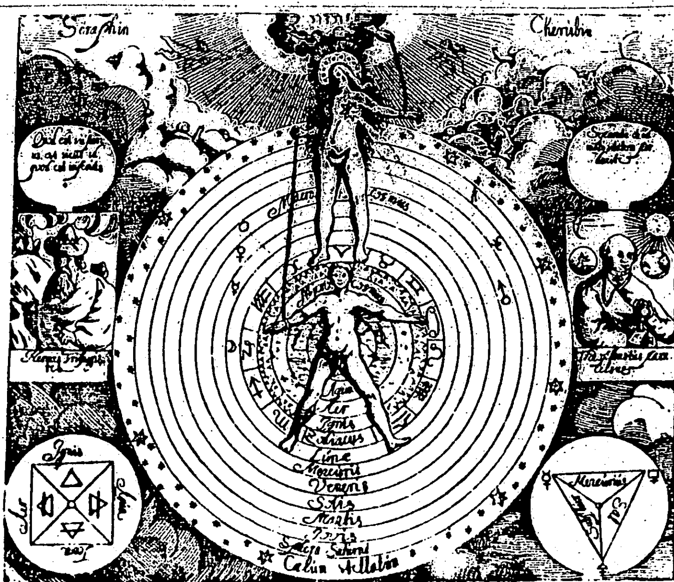
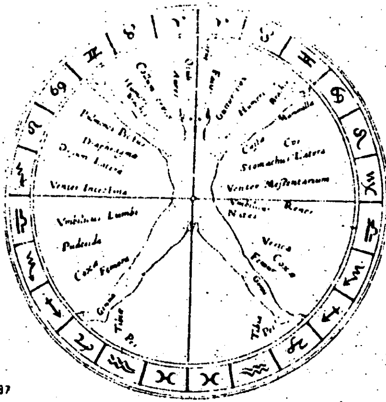
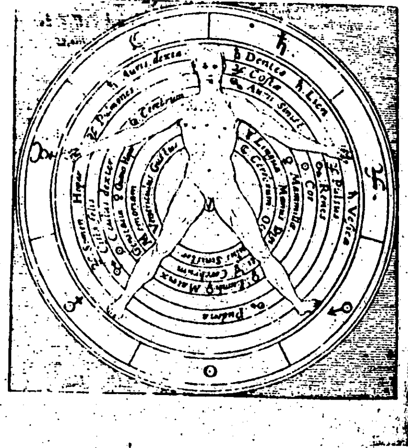


Fig. 9. Microcosm and planetary forces in Fludd's *Historia*.

Fig. 10. Anthropos' transformation by Ripley.





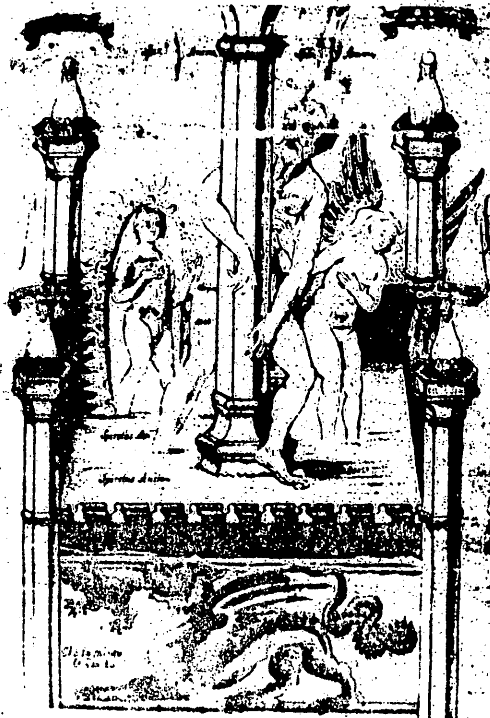
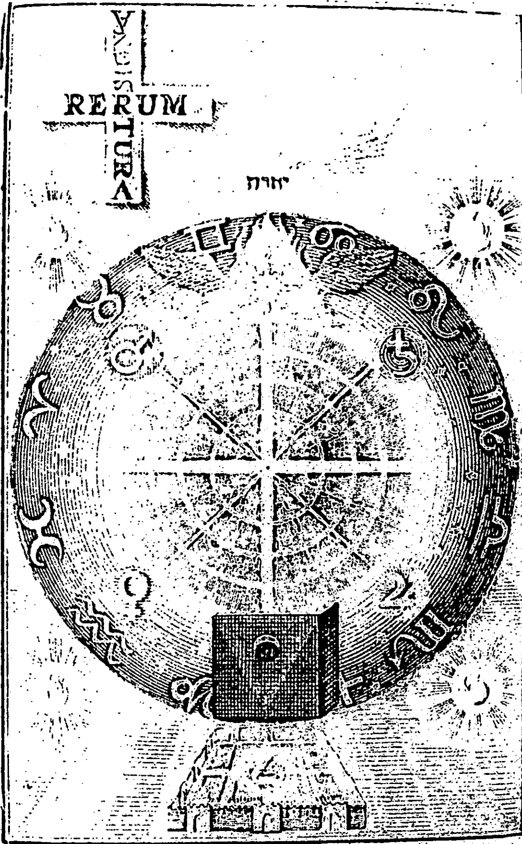


Fig. 11. Boehme's *Signatura rerum*.

Fig. 12. Homo philosophicus in Norton's *Mercurius redivivus*.



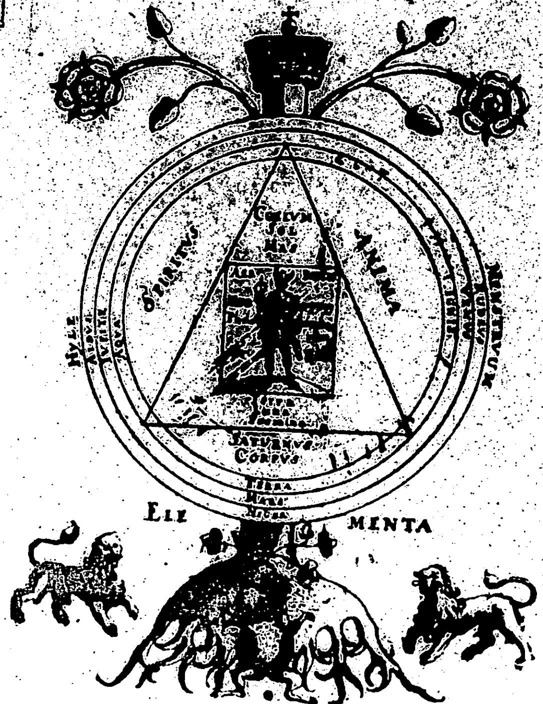
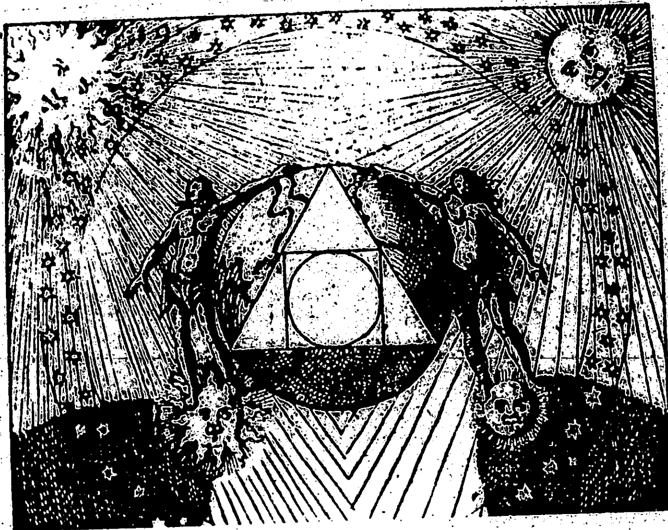


Fig. 13. Squaring the circle from Maier's *Scrutinium chymicum*.

Fig. 14. Squaring the circle from Jamsthaler's *Viatorum spagyricum*.



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B O O K - R E V I E W S

(Iconography and Shakespeare)

Samuel C. CHEW: <u>The Virtues Reconciled. An Iconographic Study.</u> Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947

Chew's collection of essays examines the relationship existing between verbal and visual imagery and shapes the material into a study of the theme of the Pilgrimage of Human Life with particular reference to the complete and detachable episode of the story of the Way of the Soul from the City of Destruction to the City of Salvation, the Parliament of Heaven or Reconciliation of the Heavenly Virtues - as conceived in the imagination of the English Renaissance and expressed in Tudor and early Stuart literature.

"Whosoever loves not Picture is injurious to Truth and All the Wisdom of Poetry" - Chew uses Ben Jonson's assertion to illustrate the widespread views of Renaissance aesthetic criticism on the 'secret friendship' and affinity of Poetry and Painting. The Friendship of the Arts deals with the general problems of verbal and visual imagery, examines Ben Jonson's, Shakespeare's and Chapman's ideas about painting as well as the motifs in their works inspired by paintings, and gives a description of the places where the man of the Elizabethan and Stuart eras could come into contact with emblematic designs.

The collection focuses on one of the most popular emblematic descriptions which frequently occurs in literary sources as well. Truth, Justice, Mercy and Peace came together to decide about the fate of the fallen man. The debate took place within the Mind of God. Justice and Truth demanded satisfaction,

Mercy and Peace urged forgiveness. The reconciliation of the opposing principles was accomplished only when the Son of God offered himself as a redeening Sacrifice. The Parliament of Heaven examines the roots and the development of the allegory of 'The Parliament of Heaven' /parliament in the sense of a court of law/ otherwise known as 'The Four Daughters of God' or 'The Reconciliation of the Heavenly Virtues'. It compares and contrasts the shifting emphases and different problems of the different versions: in what manner may Justice be satisfied; why should man obtain forgiveness while this be denied to Satan; why may an angel not be a sacrifice for sin; why is the Son of God rather than the Father or the Holy Ghost a fit offering? It takes into account the different roles of the characters: Truth may side with Mercy instead of with Justice; Peace, instead of being one of the disputants, may be the presiding judge in the case; the debate may involve only Justice and Mercy, or the number of characters may be enlarged with Innocence, Faith, Humility, Chastity and Necessity.

After the versions of the allegory Chew turns to the independent occurrences of the personifications.

Truth and Justice examines the English reception of the Veritas Filia Temporis formula, its application for the purposes of religious polemic and propaganda, the character and function of Truth and Justice as well as their relationship.

The gentle sisters, Mercy and Peace are the counterpoints of the stern and uncompromising virtues, Truth and Justice. Mercy and Peace deals not only with the different representations of the figure of Mercy - who is not always easily distinguishable from Clemency, Pity, Charity and Generosity - but with the representations of her works as described

in the Gospel of St. Matthew too. We can also read interesting analyses about the relationship of Peace to the other Virtues and of Peace and the cyclic philosophy of history in the Renaissance.

Chew's essays, starting from the central allegory and enlarging the scope of the inquiry in space and time, give an interesting and precise analysis of 'The Parliament of Heaven'.

Margit Rácz

Samuel C. CHEW: The Pilgrimage of Life
New Haven and London
Yale UP 1962

Chew's posthumous book is a compulsory handbook for anybody who is engaged in iconographic studies. Ever since this approach came to be acknowledged in literature Chew's book has frequently been considered as a main source of reference for scholars in the past two decades. The originality of the subject-matter, the accurate handling of the material, the rich bibliography and the 156 illustrations make the book a classic of the discipline.

The dust-jacket provides the following information for the reader:

> "In his fascinating study, the late Samuel C. Chew examines the relationship between literature and pictorial art from 1485 to 1642. This richly illustrated work is based upon the author's collection and meticulous analysis of iconological evidence from the Renaissance dealing with the concept of man as a pilgrim, journeying through the mundane world toward a heavenly destination. In his discussion of this great theme, Chew brings together masses of information buried in out-of-the-was places. He considers personified abstractions - such as The Stoic Virtuos , The Seven Deadly Sins, Time, Time, Fate, Death, Justice, Old Age and Fidelity - and explores the corpus of symbols available to the painter, the sculptor, the engraver, the tapestry weaver, the designer of pageantry, the poet and the writer of imaginative prose, developing the idea that "painting is silent poetry and poetry is painting that speaks." The literary insights and comments on painting and engraving will be of vital interst to historians of art and literature..."

To what extent can the result of such dligent life-long research in dusty archives and libraries be considered

up-to-date? The widow of the author provides the following response in his preface:

"The great themes this book treats may satisfy that ever-present longing in man to see and feel some power greater than himself. Today's man, intent on journeys into space, may find our not-so-remote ancestors' preoccupation with personifications, allegories, iconography, symbols and emblems incomprehensible. Yet this narrative of man as pilgrim through life, in the world of time and fortune, is as applicable now as in the days when miniatures in Books of Hours, frescoes on walls of churches, figures woven into tapestries or painted on cloths, or later engravings and woodcuts taught men the eternal truths"

The book is particularly recommendable to scholars whose main concerns are such archetypal principles as "Time", "Fortune", "the Ages of Man" etc.

Tibor Fabiny

Robert J. CLEMENTS: _Picta Poesis. Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books_
Roma, 1960

In his richly documented book Robert Clements deals mainly with the 15th and 16th c. emblem-literature from a theoretical point of view. In the first chapter he analyzes how and by what special means the emblem-writers contributed to the development of Renaissance aesthetics. He reinforces his consequent interdisciplinary viewpoint with examples taken from Ronsard, Cervantes and Shakespeare, thus convincing the reader what close relations existed in poetic inspiration between the visual and verbal traditions of certain topics, motifs and moral concepts. The actuality of the Horatian principles, i.e. the unity of the _artes pictoriae_ and the _artes poeticae_ is evident in an era when the visual arts had been emancipated along with rhetorics and literature. The emblems are the concrete elements that most directly bring about this unity: Peacham, Alciati, Van Veen wrote the text and drew the pictures themselves. Clements explains his individualistic terminology /i.e. what he means by an _emblem_, _impresa_, _device_ etc./ with the help of quotations from Renaissance humanist authors.

In the second chapter /_Iconography on the Nature of Poetry_/ he demonstrates the importance of emblem-collections in the forming of artistic literary commonplaces, in the transfer and popularization of knowledge, and even in the drawing together of two cultures. "In the humanistic period, when the mass of ideas and imagery relating to creative literature was being codified into the clichés which were the

stabilizing forces of seventeenth-century neo-classicism, the emblemata served up the rich iconography of poetry and poetic inspiration more abundantly than did the paintings or sculptures of the time, and with more purpose than did the literature" /p.33/. The nature of poetry has usually been expressed in the swan: The mythological tradition concerning the bird and its real or imagined features /whiteness, death-song, chastity/ all helped the sacred bird of Apollo to appear in Whitney, Alciati, Valeriano, Giarda, Ripa as the attribute of the allegorical figure of poetry, or as itself. A separate chapter is devoted to the iconography of inspiration, and within this sphere its astrological concerns, the poetic genius and ecstasy, talent as a divine gift and even the sacred mountain of poetry, the Parnassus.

Emblematics, as old as printing itself has played its role in achieving the goals of literature in the almost tangibly concrete elements, in practice and teaching easily applicable understanding and explanation of utility. This part is at the same time the self-reflection or "metascience" of the book. Then he examines literature as a deposit of human knowledge and its connections with philology, theology, practical religion and ethics.

Clements does not only present us with a vast material, he also places emblematics in a unified intellectual historical network, he points out its sociological bases and philosophical concerns, in fact he shows what emblematics meant in the mind of late-Renaissance man.

József Pál

/Transl. Eva Üz/

Peter M. DALY: Emblem Theory. Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre. /Wolfenbüttler Forschungen. Band 9, UTO Press Nendeln/ Liechtenstein 1979.

Since Daly's classification of emblem-research has already been discussed in my introductory paper /2.4.4/.

I shall therefore confine within the frame of this review myself to extracting Daly's own summary concessing the essentials of the theories of Schöne and Jöns. He outlines Schöne's theory in three statements:

1. The three-part-emblem fulfills a double function of representation and interpretation.

2. The pictura is characterized by "potential facticity" and priority of the idea.

3. The mode of thought is "verbindlich", a development of medieval symbolism and exegesis /p.68/.

Jöns' conception, on the otherhand is presented as follows:

1. The three parts of the emblem should stand in a relation of tension /"Spannungsverhältnis"/.

2. The inscriptio must be abstract, and may not merely name the objects of the pictura.

3. The pictura must express the emblematic mode of thought.

4. The subscriptio must interpret the pictura, not merely describe it.

Chapter 5 /The Emblem Form and its Modes of Thought/ outlines Daly's own theory and practice. "If one considers the emblem primarily as a form finds a legitimate use as a vehicle for a number of different modes of thought". /p.79/ He purposes "to investigate emblems, enquiring how they function symbolically, which modes of thought are operative." /p.79/ He comes to the conclusion that the "hieroglyphic mode of thought manifests itself in emblems in which a strange inorganic combination of individual motifs is assembled to represent

a general notion" /p.82/ He also demonstrates that the baroque writers were "aware of the phenomena of stylized and inorganic combinations ..." /p.92/

To illustrate how the mode of thought of the emblem expresses hieroglyphical, allegorical or typological functions, the author provides two analyses. The first is Otto van Veen's emblem from his Amorum Emblemata /1608/ /p.103/. He demonstrates that the emblem functions allegorically and typologically. "It makes a series of related statements on the importance of silence in matters of love that almost represent fugal variations on the theme." /p.106/ /2/ Daniel Meisner's emblem "Fortuna Vitrea est" from his Politishes Schatzkästlin /1628/ illustrates that two discrete modes of thought or motif clusters can be found in one emblem. The first is a hieroglyphical representation of the inscriptio, and the scene depicting "Fortuna and the house" is an allegorical rendering of the same.

Besides the index of names and selected bibliography the book contains an index of motifs /Pelican, Phoenix, Pegasus/etc.

Peter M. DALY: Literature in the Light of the Emblem Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeeth Centuries
University of Toronto Press Toronto,1979

The author's own abstract at the beginning of his book appears as follows:

"The symbolic mode of thought and expression that produced the mixed art form of the emblem also informs and shapes much of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries. This study explores the relationship between the emblem proper and the literature of England and Germany during the period.

The book proceeds from a definition of the emblem,based on a critical theory book which has received little attention among English and Romance scholars, to a detailed analysis of the form and function of emblematic imagery in a variety of literary forms. The chapters following move into specific discussions of the structural affinities between emblems and poetry, drama, and fiction.

The emblem books are important as a cross-reference for the meaning of motifs in literature. They indicate what educated men knew about nature, history and mythology and, furthermore, how they interpreted this knowledge. It is not only as a mode of thought but also as an art-form that the emblem offers a valuable perspective on the purely verbal art of literature. Emblematic structure and imagery function as a formal, shaping principle in literature in all its genres and forms. Imaginatively conceived, carefully researched, and clearly presented, this book makes connections which will enrich the field of comparative studies."

Among the forerunners of the emblem Daly discusses various genres such as the "Greek epigram", the Renaissance collection of "loci communes", "hieroglyphics", "impresa", "commemorative medal", "heraldry", "medieval nature symbolism", "Bible-exegesis" and "classical mythology".

Before considering the literary genres Daly introduces the term "word-emblem" by which he means "a verbal image that has qualities associated with emblems" /p.53/ He criticizes the naive instances of source-hunting and emphasizes that emblem-books are to be studied as parallels rather than as sources of, poetic imagery.

Emblematic poetry is more than a copy or an imitation of an emblem, and Daly illustrates how emblematic structures may lie at the foundation of the poem /eg. Yates' analysis of G. Bruno's sonnet and Doebler's analysis of Sonnet CXVI by Shakespeare/. The word-emblem can be a controlling and a unifying element in poetry /eg. the phoenix-emblem in Milton's Samson Agonistes/. Daly seems to agree with

Rosemary Freeman in finding that the poetry of the metaphysicals /Herbert, Crashaw/ is definitely emblematic just like contemporary German poetry /Greiffenberg, Gryphius/.

Chapter IV is devoted to the study of emblematic drama. Daly observes that the emblematic image is mainly a compound phrase consisting of an abstract and a concrete word: eg. "Virtue's rock" and "Fortune's wave".

Daly has managed to collect the widest relevant criticism concerning Shakespeare's emblematic drama, and evaluates them with sharp logic. How can the emblematic structure be grasped in the dramas? Daly suggests: "At certain junctures Shakespeare's more complex characters are temporarily frozen into a static posture to become emblems pointing to a meaning that transcends the particularity of the situation". /p.146/. The flashes of the iconographic-emblematic analyses are convincing. Daly borrows Schöne's term "argumentum emblematicum" and finds that sententiae or stychomythia can be eonsidered emblematic as well. "Emblematic characters are personifications of the dramas. As for the emblematic stage the backcloth or painted canvas is mentioned and dumb-shows or tablaeaux-vivants are relevant. Stage properties and scenic elements /candle, dagger etc/ are also emblematics. The "act" and the "chorus" is interrelated in accordance with the emblematical structural principle.

In addition, he considers the "pageant" and the "masque" as kinds of extended emblem.

Last but not least Daly studies a selection of prose, particularly Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe which abound in emblematic structure.

It is worth noting that this book is the only existing compendium on the subject in the English-speaking world. It is therefore an indispensible aid and an excellent orientation for anyone who wants to familiarize himself with this aspect of literature.

Tibor Fabiny

Clifford DAVIDSON: Drama and Art. An Introduction to the Use of Evidence from the Visual Arts for the Study of Early Drama
Western Michigan U., The Medieval Institute, 1977. /Pp. 169, XIV plates/

The only approach which leads to the confutation of some of the stale and old-fashioned literary analyses of early medieval drama is based on the careful systematic study and catalogization of evidence handed down from the verbal and visual arts. Davidson, as he himself asserts in the preface, was directed mainly by this principle when he wrote this book.

The book, as the subtitle indicates, is an extended guide to the research of drama and puts the stress on a practical and methodological introduction. Though the longest part of it deals with methodological problems /chapters II-VIII/, for the literary scholar chapters I and IX and the Appendix can be the sources of especially valuable pieces of information.

In the more theoretical part Davidson asserts that the principle of "reciprocal illumination" refers both to the relationship between the visual arts and the iconography of medieval drama, and to the connection between medieval and Renaissance drama. Since Renaissance drama was essentially emblematic, the matters of "imagery", as well as visual display require more rigorous attention.

Up to now the tremendous popularity of individual saints, whose lives were potentially the raw material of drama, has not been known, because almost all writings concessing them are lost. So evidence from the art of different periods and places, in particular is necessary. For example, the staging and positioning of the characters in the quem quaeritis trope has been clarified by iconographic evidence from different places.

Davidson argues against Chambers' concept of the progressive "secularization" of medieval drama. This is an evolutionary process which can be traced from the early liturgical plays to the later civic mysteries and then on to the Elizabethan theatre. Though the origin of civic cyclic plays has not yet been spelled out in detail, it is tempting to believe that the pageants, in line with continental practice, were "tableaux vivants".

In the 15th and early 16th centuries the attempt of the drama to pierce "the veil of appearance" was connected with the effort to stimulate the imagination. This phenomenon reached its hey-day in the Renaissance.

In a preparation of the subject list of art one should not neglect local sources: local public and ecclesiastical libraries, archives, local books and guides, periodicals, funeral monuments. On the basis of these documents we might reconstruct those products of medieval art which were destroyed mainly by the Reformation. The problems of computer-card preparation of subject and description of the item, medium, location, bibliography, etc. are analysed by Davidson. Flowcharts illustrate the working and the programming of the computer. The techniques of glass and enamel painting are also touched upon so as the researcher can determine the authenticity and provenance of iconographical documents. Colours of the costumes were symbolically associated with individual characters. Only God or the Apostles had costumes which remained constant, totally avoiding contemporary style.

In the study of medieval drama it is impossible to ignore cultural factors outside the texts and so the necessity of the development of interdisciplinary criticism must all the time be stressed. Drama has its roots in religious myth and practice which is partly available for the theatre through the mediation of the visual arts.

Christ's passion and the lives of the saints as mentioned above, reveal the prototype of manhood.

In Shakespeare's plays art and life /hatred, love, jealousy, anger, etc./ merged in images. Shakespeare's drama is truly emblematic. There is one central point around which the iconographic details are arranged, the fact of life's termination: death, which results in the Renaissance transformation of Aristotle's "pity" and "fear".

The book is illustrated by a vast number of examples and references. The bibliography at the end of the book can give much help for further studies.

Klára Valentinyi

Clifford DAVIDSON: The Primrose Way. A study of Shakespeare's Macbeth
John Westburg and Associates
Publishers of the North American
Mentor Magazine
Conesville, Iowa, 1970

The author in his book is mainly concerned with the investigation of the drama against the historical, intellectual and religious background in which it was written.

According to Shakespeare's view of history the conception of linear time accepted in the medieval and Renaissance world-view is broken by the ever recurring pattern of rebellion when evil enters the world though gaining power only temporarily. At this moment order is replaced by chaos, light by darkness, harmony by disharmony. But behind history the guiding hand of eternal God determines the flow of events and disorder must be replaced by order again.

In Shakespeare's time the archetypal pattern of sin was a favourite literary topic and the author suggests that Macbeth is seen as the quintessence of this theme for he can be considered the paradigm of Judas as the pattern of hypocrisy, treachery and ambition; that of Cain the archetypal betrayer; Herod the child killer; Adam whose fall caused tragedy as a part of the pattern of human existence.

Clifford Davidson deals with different aspects of the drama, such as Macbeth's "fatal vision", his "Black and Deepe Desires" when he investigates evil's presence in the cosmos and its operation in consequence of which the tempted Macbeth loses his faith, his reason and conscience and finally his God. The loss

of God's grace "the Primrose way leads to everlasting Bonfire". In chapter III. when dealing with the "Instruments of Darkness" Davidson refers to 16th century books on witchcraft representing many explanations about the weird sisters, and suggests that Shakespeare "decided to combine the weird-sisters with the wizard and the witch intentionally ambiguous" so that they would become the representatives of evil in a more universal way.

In chapter IV, which is devoted to Banquo and Macbeth, Davidson argues that in certain respects Macbeth is a derivation of the morality characters though it would be a simplification to overlook his more complex nature. Though Banquo "to some extent is Macbeth's good angel, first of all designed as a contrast against which we may see Macbeth more sharply", Banquo's other important function is to symbolize the alienation of the protagonist.

In the last two chapters the author discusses "The Tragedy of Macbeth" and "The Redeeming Vision".

An important aspect of the book is that the author relates the drama's meaning to contemporary imagery as stored in emblem books. Let us list here some of his major allusions to emblematic devices which may stimulate further study:

- serpent - emblem of hypocrisy
- individuals emblematically asserting order /Malcolm/
- earthquake - symbolic of rebellion
- sisters' dance - emblematic of chaos
- fertility and growth - emblems of the natural and good
- feast - unifying symbol /like the Eucharist/

Clifford Davidson not only gives a far reaching investigation concerning contemporary historical and literary background but often draws parallels between Macbeth and other plays of Shakespeare as well as evoking even biblical references that constantly shaped the intellectual climate of the age. The 16th century problem of Macbeth thus gains universal meaning.

Andrea Cser

R. A. FRASER: Shakespeare's Poetics
In relation to King Lear
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961

In his book Fraser adopts Erwin Panofsky's principles. He enumerates those pure forms in a work of art which carry primary meanings and subjects that work of art to pre-iconographical description. Thus he finds in King Lear configurations like: pelicans, vipers, blind men, mad men, etc... "It is the iconographer's task to see in those images the manifestation of underlying principles". The iconologist will muster many documents, poems, sermons, proverbs, ballads and pictures, in order to reveal the intrinsic meaning of the work of art and to reconstruct the mental landscape of the author.

The age of Shakespeare pursued its way to truth by indirections, through analogies, images, and metaphors. As early as 1531 Andrea Alciati published his Emblematum Libellus. By 1586 there were more than seven hundred volumes of emblem literature in print in Shakespeare's lifetime. In 1586 appeared Whitney's Choice of Emblems. Though Shakespeare may have looked into Whitney and certainly read Holinshed, Fraser has no interest in establishing whether he ever saw one of the emblems cited. Shakespeare's imagery is rooted in his time, and he levies most on what is traditional.

In the first chapter Fraser deals with the serious portents; as symbols they are the most wonted conventions, not only in Shakespeare but in the whole of Renaissance literature as well. The Renaissance mind, when not perverted or beclouded, was full of God's proximity. In King Lear the villanious characters entertain no belief in Providence. Edmund is impious and

self-sufficiently scoffs at the stars. Gloucester, who is alone superstitious, concedes a universe from which the gods on whom he calls have all departed. His belief in portents rests on the acceptance of a principle of order and causality.

According to the cosmology of the Renaissance, God watches over and admonishes, His interaction being either a personal, mysterious power or a threathening, judging and punishing power.

The title page of Sir Walter Raleigh's The History of the World depicts those allegorical pictures whose interaction makes up the story he would tell: Good Report, Notoriety, Experience, Truth - and above them all, the ever watchful eye of Providence.

In the third chapter Fraser introduces a term "Kind" around which he collects the main motifs of the dramas. For the gods are more than mere wanders. They have given to man a fixed nature, the Elizabethans call it Kind. If a man violates that nature, if he trespasses against kind, he is destroyed, not directly by the deity, but rather from within man himself. The sin of Lear destroys his frame of nature, and leaves him prey to madness. The emblem writer discovers that evil "eats up" himself.

The image of Kind is central both to Lear and other plays of Shakespeare. Its function is to assert an organic relation between conduct and the consequances of conduct. It defines nature, not a tissues of precepts but a fund of possibilities of testing. Therefore Shakespeare's plays are such testings. Like a tree cut away from its roots unable to survive, neither can a man survive who repudiates his condition. Plate XVI. illustrates the moral: the virtuous man plants his roots in the house of the Lord. He shall stand and grow whatever storms come against him. Truth to the

Renaissance is Time's daughter and heir. "Time shall unfold what plaited cunnings hides". In the course of events Cordelia is justified. Fraser suggests that Shakespeare's imagery owes much to the countryside, and he depicts human beings most in terms of plants and trees. Juliet likens her love and Romeo's to a bud, in the hope of a beauteous flower. Desdemona, when Othello mistakes her for the destroyer of their love, is altered in his eyes from a flower to a weed.

In iconography the Goddess Fortuna stands uneasily upon the sea, one of her feet seeking to steady itself on a plunging dophin. The other is fixed upon a spherical stone, which continuously rolls this way and that. She is painted with a blindfold and beside her is a wheel which she turns inconstantly. She is, indeed, a right whore. /R, III, 5. 4. 9.//3H. VI, 4. 3. 46.//2H, IV, 5. 3. 136./ Fortune's fools /Oswald, Edmund, Antony, Cleopatra/ are blind, suffering themselves to be guided and led by her. A contrary emblem is the halcyon, in iconography the emblem of peace, which smooths the commotion of the waves. Shakespeare's halcyon is typified as the opportunist, the idolater of fortune, whose wisdom is no wisdom at all. The way of Oswald is the way of the halcyon's. /Plate XIX./ Fortune's dominion is not absolute, for patience, wisdom, and virtue all triumphs/ over Fortune in the end. /Plate XVIII./ The wise man turns his back on Fortune, since, he knows that her power is conditional. After all Fortune is a minor goddess, ruling over the rim of the wheel, while God sits at the centre. In the <u>Rape of Lucrece</u>, it is Time who turns the giddy round of fortune's wheel. In the earliest Spanish engravings on metal, Time controlling Fortune

is himself controlled by rains, held in the hands of God. To Boethius and to Dante, to Chaucer and Lydgate and Shakespeare, Fortune and Chance is a handmaiden similar to Providence. So Fortune is a metaphor describing what happens after the important decisions have been made. Chaos on the other hand is the abrogation of life and the result of Kind's destruction. King Lear dramatizes what happens after the ideal is destroyed. While Providence is the emblem of order in the universe, Fortune as disorder is the deposer of all temporal business. In Plate XXVIII. Niobe despising divine privilege and bereft of her children, turns into stone. According to the Ptolemaic universe there is a wonderful symmetry and a definite relation of harmony in the notion and magnitude of the orbs. The forces in the dramas range from ordered unity to a chaotic, distorted estate Evil culminates in absolute confusion, as conceived in man, who mistakes his relationship to the greater world of which he is part. For Man is flawed and will always tend to fall. When justice lies hidden all earthly things collapse in confusion. The emblem of that confusion is Doomsday, the promised end. /Plate XVIII./ /Lear, 5. 3. 263./ /2H, VI, 5. 2. 40-42./ The Doomsday pictures occur in the Shakespearean corpus regularly.

Cesare Ripa's emblem, the Pelican, appears in King Lear as the emblem of charity. She never stirs from her young and when nourishment fails, she feeds them with her own blood. Like Christ and the good King who is Christ's vicar, the Pelican is kind. "Lear's daughters are doghearted" full of - envious - desires, and are contemptible in nature. They share his slyness with the fox, his ferocity with the boar and his incrutable cruelty with the tiger. "Like the Pelican they tap out and drunkenly carouse the blood of their father." Lear feeds them with his blood, but they offer death

for life. Likewise, in the art of the Renaissance as in the art of the Middle Ages, the same image depicts the quelling of man's latent bestiality. The image of an ape or monkey in chains represents the state of man before the New Revelation. The ape who resembles man is taken as the symbol of everything sub-human in man. In Renaissance sculpture this metaphor is used to dramatize the debased condition of the soul "enslaved by matter". In the plays it turns out that men are seen to be worse than beasts. In King Lear Shakespeare offers 133 distinct allusions to 64 different animals. The image of man as microcosm, in which passion tries to lead the way, is Shakespeare's chief occupation. The often tragic struggle between the rebel and the ruler is contained within man himself.

In the sixth chapter /Reason and Will/ Fraser discusses two main contrary motifs as two fundamental features of human nature. Reason is sovereign, Will is a liegeman. Reason's office is to "hedge round the will". Still the light of Reason can be beguiled by the facade of things, for it confuses Show with Substance whereas Man is a creature who necessarily mistakes Substance for Show. /All's Well, 2. I. 153./ /Pericles 4. 4. 23./ /2H, VI, 3. I. 226-230/ /K.Lear I. 4. 14./

In the last chapter of his book Fraser points out that after the opening scene in King Lear we can speak of a dénouement occuring. Though the structure of the drama is seemingly identical with that of the comedies, in the latter the heroes are moved by circumstance. In the play the hero moves, acts and dies. Therefore King Lear is the drama of Choice. Lear's purification through suffering and miseries leads to a glorious end. /K. Lear 2. 2. 172./ Finally there is an inspiring, though not tragic, redemption. At this

deepest point, the drama reaches its highest level and the solution is provided by mercy, as a kind of poetic judgment.

Lear, through his patient and tragic repentance sees the truth as revealed by Cordelia's death. Thus Lear is saved and reborn in a sacrificial love. This ending is a kind of reconciliation, and a new beginning and Fraser lays great stress on this redemptive scene in the play. /Plates XLV. XLVIII. XLIX. LIII./ /As You Like It 2. 7. 137-139/ /2H, IV, I. I. 155./ /King John 2. I. 375./ He quotes Nashe's Summer's Last Will and Testament: as if he was quoting Shakespeare:

> "Heaven is our heritage
> Earth but a player's stage"

In his final summary Fraser accounts for all the motifs each section contains and repeats his general principles concerning the deep structure of the plays. He finds that in the Comedies and in the Tragedies the same poetics is at work. The metaphors of Providence and order infer a relationship that is to obtain between man and society as far as man and the higher realities. The struggle of Reason and Will, the fierce dispute in Keat's phrase, "betwixt damnation and impassioned day, dramatizes the fragility of that relation and tension to which it is subjected". Kind, as we are informed, is a denotation of the internal sanctions that enforce it. To meddle with Anarchy of Fortuna is to inquire what happens when those sanctions are ignored and the relation is disputed. The ignorant man invokes his own destruction if he repudiates Substance for Show.

As Fraser points cut, the underlying principles sustaining the dramas remain constant. Following his

differenciation between tragedy and comedy he states that Shakespeare's tragic actors seem to be human and free, the comic characters however, are the slaves of nature.

On the whole Fraser can be characterized by constant wisdom and artistic tension. The author's unique approach and argumentation reveals secrets to the simple that had been hidden from the learned and the wise. It seemed therefore more proper to make the author speak than to provide a "constructive" criticism of his book.

Erzsébet Várai

Rosemary FREEMAN: <u>English Emblem Books.</u> London: Chatto and Windus, 1948; xiv+255 pp, 31 illustrations.

In spite of the current vogue in the study of emblem books and emblem literature, Rosemary Freeman's monograph, 35 years after its publication, is still the only extensive and comprehensive examination of the development of this curious genre in England. Although much has been written recently on the topic, no student of English emblems can overlook this book which will be superseded only by Peter M. Daly's <u>Index emblematicus</u> program, a major project still in progress.

To E.M.W. Tillyard reminds the reader in his preface Freeman's study that in reading the literature of the past it is only humanly natural to select the easiest segments, those most in accord with our own present day habits of thought. This is harmless until we remember that it is but a fraction of the truth we are looking at. If we want to achieve a more complete picture of the literature of past ages we have to venture an examination of the strange and already obscure features of past cultures. As A.C. Bradley wrote of Wordsworth, the way to get to the heart of him was through, not round his strangeness.

Rosemary Freeman offers herself as a guide to some quite strange territory of 16th and 17th century art: the emblematic tradition. The study of this lore has twofold importance: some of the emblems have aesthetical value and significance, for example Francis Quarles' <u>Hieroglyphiques of the Life of Man</u> /1638/ belongs to this category. On the other hand, the emblem collections contain the iconographic conventions of the age in a condensed form and thus can be illuminating for many stock motives of the Renaissance and Baroque imagination - manifested not only in poetry, but in the visual arts too, from architectural decoration to

embroidery and tapestery.

Freeman's theoretical introduction to the methods of the emblem writers is not so relevant any more, as the theory of emblems has considerably developed since the time she published her book. German scholarship especially Heckscher, Jöns, Schöne, Wirth and recently more and more Anglo-Americans /Peter M. Daly, Roland M. Frye/ are on the list of contributors although we should not forget to mention such a crucial study as E.H. Gombrich's Icones symbolicae /1948, revised: 1972/.

It is still of vital importance how Freeman presents the evolution and decline of the emblem literature in England: from the beginnings in the Elizabethan Renaissance through the boom around the turn of the century till the dominance of the religious, primarily didactic emblems which transformed the genre from philosophical-ornamental device into a teaching aid. The emerging rational world-picture, the growing importance of science, the general change of style eventually brought about the extinction of the emblems. Thomas Rymer in 1674 only acknowledged the tendency already in progress: "it was the vice of those times to affect superstitiously the Allegory; and nothing would be then current without a mystical meaning."

Naturally, the 18th century, and even more so the Victorian age continued to produce allegorical representations, including emblems. But these were pale and bloodless, as Gombrich says, and Freeman herself makes an interesting comparison between Baroque and Victorian emblems. "The difference is that whereas Peacham and Whitney made books out of what could be seen all around them in other contexts, and what they made could be restored to those contexts, the Victorian is drawing his material only from the world of ideas. His book offers a collection of oversimplified moral precepts; the books of Whitney and Peacham are rooted in design." /p.98/

From the viewpoint of the present volume Freeman's chapter "Emblems in Elizabethan Literature" seems to be the most enlightening. The author proves herself to have had an impressive critical faculty: she clearly sees the significance of the emblems in literature but yet never tries to exaggerate the importance of her subject-matter. She explains that the emblem entered Elizabethan literature in two ways: either as a source of verbal wit and of rhetorical device, or as a source of imagery. In certains genres like the masque, these two functions, text and picture, rhetorics and imagery were genuinely combined. The decorative and the instructive functions show another duality in the usage of emblematic personifications; Freeman does not consider a third function, that is the mystical image which aims to elevate the receiver of the picture towards a higher reality which cannot be approached by discursive speech. It is true that this tradition was the weakest in England; even when engravings were imported from more philosophically oriented Continental collections, the English authors /Whitney, Wither/ simplified the texts, reducing the meaning to fairly mediocre mythological information and/or moral instruction.

Whatever the quality of the emblems, they affected all men of letters because they represented a most general feature of the contemporary world view; the way people interpreted reality surrounding them. Freeman's observation in this respect is highly illuminating: "Probably the greatest value /of the emblems/ for the Elizabethan poet was a purely general one: emblems embodied and gave currency to certain conventions in allegory and imagery which were accepted without difficulty by readers and which could, therefore, be used as a natural part of their technique by poets concerned with much wider and more serious themes. ... The emblem, even as used by dramatists like Chapman and Webster who rely upon it so much, was never more than an adjunct, one device among many" /pp. 99-101/.

There are three authors, however, who deliberately employed the allegorical-emblematic tradition as the main principle of their art. These poets - Spenser, Herbert, and Bunyan - are discussed by Freeman in a detailed and original way and it will not diminish her critical merits if we indicate scepticism about some of her claims. She votes for Bunyan's method of combining allegory and realism against Spenser's one of absorbing his characters into philosophical--moral attributes after she has elucidated that the two methods are basically different: Bunyan wrote in the popular register while Spencer definitely was a writer with an exclusive audience. The present reviewer thinks that it is quite problematic to make such a comparative evaluation. When discussing Spenser, she declares that "at best Spenser's strength as a poet cannot be said to lie in his powers of construction. /p. 113/ In a certain context this remark has some ground, though we should be aware of the fact that since then a generation of scholars /Alistair Fowler, A. Kent Hieatt, Frances Yates/ has tried to prove that Spenser's works are based on numerology - oneother device among many - which can be regarded as the prototype of minute, mystical-mathematical planning.

György E. Szőnyi

Roland Mushat FRYE: <u>Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts. Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems.</u> Princeton, New Yersey: Princeton Up, 1978. xxv+409 pp, 269 illustrations 8 in color.

By now "Miltonology", just like Shakespeare-criticism, has become a kind of industry and its yearly production fills volumes of bibliography. However not more than a few works in every decade can be said to really add new insights to our perspectives on Milton. Two fundamental studies from the 1970s can be mentioned which radically reconsidered two fairly distinct aspects of this English genius. Christopher Hill's <u>Milton and the English Revolution</u> /New York: The Viking Presss, 1976/ is an extensive monograph on Milton's ideology while R.M. Frye's monumental study deals with Milton's imagery and its realtion to the contemporary iconographical traditions. Hill's book combines the best achievments of social and ideological history completed by sound literary analysis. Frye's work represents the newest and remarkably most fruitful trend in criticism: imagery analysis carried out using the methods of iconology. His starting point is the following: "My purpose is to study the ways in which artists represented the scenes, events, and characters that Milton treats poetically in his epic works. Over the centuries prior to Milton's time, arts had developed an extensive vocabulary of visual imagery relating to sacred subjects. Unfortunately, that vocabulary has been very largely lost to modern readers" /p. 4/. Consequently, "our task here, then, is to recover the vocabulary of visual images which Milton and his readers may reasonably be expected to have known. ... I have no interest in arguing that I have discovered particular and individual 'sources' for the descriptive passages in Milton. I shall engage in considerable analysis of individual works of art, but such

analyses are undertaken to show the traditional ways of seeing things" /ibid./.

Before starting his own examination Frye reviews the changing opinion of Milton criticism regarding the poet's visual faculty. As it turns out the critics of the 18th century still highly evaluated Milton's imaginative power, and it is not by chance that Paradise Lost inspired such illustrators as Blake or Turner. If Milton's images were criticised the objection was directed against the concrete precision of the visions which was too sensual, too material for the classicists. Doctor Johnson complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacle of books. /Here Frye ironically remarks that "poor Johnson himself was so very nearly blind throughout his life that he scarcely ever saw nature directly at all, and so might be taken as an extraordinarily bad witness on this subject."/ The critical tradition that questions Milton's visual strength was actually established by Coleridge who claimed that "Milton is not a picturesque but a musical poet". This topical comment has been effective up to now, decisively influencing, for example, T.S. Eliot /"Milton maybe said never to have seen anything"/.

After the review of criticism Frye examines the question whether Milton, by his blindness, was ever really physically prevented from having relevant visual memories of nature and art. This can be easily rejected as he started loosing his, sight only from the age of 36 and became totally blind by 43. As his vision deteriorated he fought against it, ordering special glasses from France and never gaving up the ambition of having contact with the world of forms and images around him.

The next problem is to survey what actual experiences Milton may have had with the visual arts. Frye discusses this topic briefly /referring to his travels in Italy, reminding us of his deep interest in Italian Baroque art and in the remains of Roman and Greek classical culture/ and soon arrives at his main concern: registering the iconographical topics in Milton's epic works and contrasting them with contemporary art.

His thematic order is the following: the demonic world /war in Heaven, sin and death, Hell/; the heavenly world /images for the divine, the vision of angels, Heaven/; the created world /the garden of Eden, landscape art/; the human world /Adam and Eve, The Fall and the Expulsion/; and finally the redeemed world as shown in Paradise Regained.

Drawing his conclusions Frye claims that Milton's images can mostly be derived from contemporary iconographical lore, bearing in mind that the poet did not mechanically imitate this lore. He eclectically utilized the material at hand and when he selected certain motives he was more influenced by religious preoccupations and poetical needs than by preferences towards certain styles. This is how medievally static and dignified angels are described in the neighbourhood of dynamic scenes such as can be found only in 17th century paintings. His descriptions sometimes can be compared to the contrast--oriented, rigid mosaics, sometimes to the graded shades of oil-painting. Naturally, in certain cases Milton's sources can be exactly indicated. "So Raphael's animals erupting from the ground at Creation, Naccherino's maudlinly tearful tempter serpent, and perhaps Beccafumi's fallen angels rising from the lake of Hell. Milton could have seen these works, and I suspect that he probably did, but I am unwilling to press the point: striking and even unique analogues are not necessarily sources, and we can be more confident of direct influence from widespread traditions than from single instances" /p. 349/. After this enormous work of analysis Frye's farewell is surprisingly modest: "I have merely written an introduction to reading Milton with a more adequate visual recognition" /p. 350/.

The least that can be said is that Frye's introduction is exhaustive and in certain respects revolutionary, not only in Milton scholarship but in the study of literary imagination. However the present reviewer cannot help noticing one aspect missing from Frye's research. Already in his preface the author rejects any consideration of Milton and any period

styles like Mannerism or the Baroque. His hardly convincing argument is that these style categories are so uncertain even in art history that there is no real possibility of applying them to literature. We can but regret this self-limitation because Frye's results clearly demonstrate how deeply Baroque is Paradise Lost and it is this iconographical demonstration which proves that such a work could be born in Puritan England, so far away from the mainstream of the Catholic-Baroque world.

Since the publication of this book Frye has been continuing his studies concerning the relationship of literature and the visual arts. His new field of research-work is Shakespeare, especially Hamlet. In his recent articles he has acknowledged the importance of the emblematic genre in providing a kind of dictionary to the literature of the late Renaissance, an extravagantly Manneristic period. Allusions like this seem to pick up the above mentioned missing link from his approach.

György E. Szőnyi

E. H. GOMBRICH: Symbolic Images
(Studies in the Art of
the Renaissance II)
Oxford, 1972, Phaidon. /Pp. 247,
170 illustrations/

It is this, the second volume of E.H. Gombrich's studies in the art of the Renaissance which, of all his works, will be most helpful for the student of Elizabethan literature with a special interest in contemporary visual arts. Gombrich's theory of symbolic images and his presentation of the philosophies of Renaissance symbolism can, and ought to inspire those who are investigating the anatomy of the imagination in literary works of art, especially those following the increasingly popular path of emblem-research.

In his introduction entitled Aims and Limits of Iconology the author clarifies his principles concerning the study of meaning in the visual arts. Meaning is elusive, Gombrich says, and never homogeneous. It can be both representational as in a winged youth with an arrow and at the same time illustrational if we recognize the God Eros in the winged figure. There might be a third, symbolic layer of meaning if the god stands for some abstract idea personifying, say, Charity, as can be understood from 19th century iconography. It is not easy to recognize all these aspects of meaning and sometimes the borderline between meaning and the decorative function is hardly distinguishable. Gombrich follows D.E. Hirsch's doctrine when he claims that the interpreter must do his best to establish the author's intention. Thus meaning and significance can be separable from each other.

The first task is to decide which genre the work belongs to because it is the conventionally known genres which primarily help us to come to an understanding of the work. For example, it will be possible to identify the motif of mother and child as the Virgin with the infant Christ only when knowledge of the genre of altar-painting is possessed. Following Panofsky, Gombrich interprets iconology as the reconstruction of a program rather than the identification of a particular text.

In Renaissance works this reconstruction can be guided by the theory of decorum. Knowledge of the artistic theories of the age is still not always sufficient to solve the riddle of a particular work and the scholar who thinks it should be is suffering from the dictionary fallacy. Gombrich warns that the dictionary (in our case the repertories, legends, mythologies, allegorical systems) is a necessary but not always the only tool for translating a text. The meaning of a word cannot be deciphered without looking at its context.

The introduction concludes that interpretations must procede by steps and iconology ought to start with the study of institutions rather than with the study of symbols. In other words, Gombrich firmly believes that without the serious interpretation of the philosophies of Renaissance symbolism Renaissance symbols cannot be understood.

This serious examination is carried out in his mile-stone essay, written originally in 1948, Icones symbolicae. In this article he classifies the techniques of symbolization claiming that "our attitude towards the image is bound up with our whole idea about the universe". According to general world pictures, he differentiates between the didactic tradition

(Aristotelian) which considered the metaphor a visual definition, as a means of human communication; and the mystical (Platonic) concept. According to the latter the meaning of an image is not conventional but expresses the mysterious language of the divine. The picture is consequently not didactic but revelational, document of the supernatural. An extreme case of the revelational sign is when it not only brings to mind the mystical contents but directly represents, and evokes that metaphysical power. The illustrated metaphor teaches, the Platonic image makes one "see", the magic sign gives power to "do" something, to contact the otherwise unreachable.

This classification cannot be overlooked by the student of Renaissance works as the meaning strongly depends on the symbol-theory employed by the artist. The emblem-books can also be grouped according to this principle. Ripa's Iconologia, for example, was intended to be an iconographical dictionary of the day. Horapollo's hieroglyphs or Alciati's emblems were to mean more: revelations from a lost cultural lore, from a forgotten divine system of communication. Ficino's magic decan-images, or the alchemical emblems were even more powerful for the enthusiastic Renaissance reader. They enabled the spectator to acquire superhuman faculties, to modify his place in the great chain of being.

As can be seen, there existed totally different doctrines and principles behind the various Renaissance theories of symbolization. Not identifying the underlying principle before interpreting the work proper may lead the investigator irreversibly astray.

Gyorgy Endre Szőnyi

Henry GREEN: "Shakespeare and the Emblem-Writers
An Exposition of their Thought and
Expression London: Trübner + Comp. 1870.

Henry Green's bulky volume /550 pages/ on Shakespeare and the Emblem-Writers is undoubtedly a pioneering work. The author was an enthusiastic 19th century antiquarian and man of letters whose significance in the discovery of emblem-literature is well-known.

It was he who edited the facsimile copies of Alciati and Whitney. His Whitney-edition contains important positivistic observations on "The subjects and sources of the mottos" /I/; on"Obsolate words in Whitney, Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare" /II/; on "Biographical notions on printers and emblem-writers" /III/; and on "Shakespeare's references to emblem-books" /IV/. These "Essays Literary and Bibliographical" are followed by some notes on the origins and dedications of some emblems; an "Addenda" and a general index.

Shakespeare and the Emblem-Writers seems to be an extended version of his "bibliographical essays" on Whitney and Shakespeare.

The book is the product of an ambitious but uncritical positivistic scholar who managed to create an "omnium gatherum". Thus a 20th century critic feels easily at a loss in the huge forest of the author's material. Nevertheless the quest of a patient student or reader is rewarded: a vast amount of information will unfold if the reader is consciously selective.

The book begins with a discussion of the variety of emblems and the early examples /Ch.I/; then he provides a sketch of emblem-book-literature previous to 1616 /Ch.II/. A whole chapter is devoted to Shakespeare's Pericles /Ch.V./. The following chapter /pp. 187-462/ is concerned with the correspondances between Shakespeare and the emblem-writers. The emblems are classified in the following way: 1/ Historical; 2/ Heraldic; 3/ Mythological; 4/ Illustration of Fables;

5/ Emblems in connection with proverbs; 6/ Emblems from facts in nature and from the properties of animals; 7/ Emblems for Poetic Ideas; 8/ Moral and Aesthetic Emblems.

The appendices contain a section of the coincidences between Shakespeare and Whitney. The subjects of the emblems are discussed with regard to their mottoes and sources.

To close this short review we shall select some of the main motifs from the references Green tried to to establish between Shakespeare and the emblems.

The Tempest
Ape and miser's gold 2,2,7
Hand of Providence 3,2,135
Unicorn 3,3,21
Phoenix 3,3,21-2
Laurel 3,3,95
Thread of Life 4,1,1

Measure of Measure
Hen eating her own eggs 1,1,28
Gold on the touchstone 2,2,149
Idiot fool and death 3,1,17

Much Ado About Nothing
Whithered branch 2,1,214
Adam hiding 5,1,170

Love's Labour's Lost
Time leadind seasons 1,1,4
Bear, cub, Cupid 2,1,56
Oak, reed, oiser 4,2,100
Rose and thorn 4,3,97

Midsummer Night's Dream
Arrow with a golden head 1,1,168
Astronomer and magnet 1,1,180, 2,1,104
Bear, cub, Cupid 2,1,155
Ape and miser's gold 2,1,181, 3,2,237
Snake on finger 3,2,260
Poet's glory 5,1,12

Merchant of Venice
Two-headed Janus 1,1,150
World a stage 1,1,77
Casket scene 2,7,4 and 62-63
Insignia of poets 3,2,41
Painter's 3,2,115
Envy 4,1,124
Music 5,1,70

The Two Gentlemen of Verona
Phaeton 3,1,153
Orpheus and Harp 3,2,68

The Merry Wives of Windsor
Actaeon and hounds 2,1,106
Gemini 2,2,5
Shadows fled and followed 2,2,187

The Comedy of Errors
Eagle renewing its feathers
Sirens, Ulysses 3,2,27 2,1,197
America 3,2,131
Time turning back 4,2,53
Circe transforming men 5,1,120

Richard II
necessity 1,3,275
"frosty Caucasus" 1,3,294
Pelican 2,1,120
"hollow eyes of death" 2,1,270
snake in the grass 3,2,12
Cadmus in the serpent's teeth 3,2,24
Phataeon, Sun-chariot 3,3,178

1 Henry IV
Mercury 4,1,104
Time leading seasons 5,2,82

2 Henry IV
Time teninates all 2,2,41
Occasion 4,1,70
Providence 4,4,103
Bees 4,5,75

King Henry V
Bees 1,2,178
Fortune 3,6,20
Time irrevocable 4,1,9

As You Like It
Wounded stag 2,1,29
Sword broken on an Anvil 2,4,43
Motley fool 2,7,13
World-stage 2,7,137
Phoenix 4,3,15

The Taming of the Shrew
Hawking Ind. 2,41
Falconry 4,1,74

All's Well That Ends Well
Bees -native land 1,2,58
Cupid and the sieve 1,3,182
"cicatrice an emblem of war" 2,1,40
Fox and grapes 2,1,59
Niobe's children slain

Twelfth Night
Actaeon and the Hounds 1,1,9
Arion and the Dolphin 1,2,10

The Winter's Tale
Wounded deer 1,2,115
Time 4,1,7

King John
Hares biting lion 2,1,134
World-stage 2,1,373
Cold on touchtone 3,1,96
Snake on finger 3,1,258
Occasion 4,2,125
Swan, poet's badge 5,7,1

Julius Caesar
Aeneas and Anchises 1,2,107
Unicorn 2,1,203
Astronomer, magnet 3,1,58
Wounded stag 3,1,205
Occasion 4,3,213

Macbeth
Snake in the strawberry 1,5,61
Sleep and death 2,2,71
World-stage 5,5,19
Time leading Seasons 5,5,24

Hamlet
Sleep and death 3,1,60
Wounded stag 3,2,252
Pelican 4,5,135
Skull 5,1,73

1 Henry VI
Adamant on the anvil 1,4,49
Rose, thorn 2,4,30
Death 2,5,28
Chaos 4,1,188
Pheenix 4,7,92

2 Henry VI
Bees 3,2,125
Pelican 4,1,83
Aeneas, Anchies 5,2,45

3 Henry VI
Phaeton 1,4,16
Phoenix 1,4,35
Skull 2,1,68
Inverted torch 3,2,51
Bear, cub, Cupid 3,2,153

Richard III
Cold on touchstone 4,2,8
Phoenix 4,4,418

Henry VIII
Swan 4,2,77

Troilus and Cressida
Chaos 1,3,75
Hares biting dead lion 5,9,21
Niobe, children 5,2,16

Coriolanus
Cold on touchstone 4,1,44

Titus Andronicus
Actaeon, hounds 2,3,55

Romeo and Juliet
Astrinomer and Magnet 2,4,187
Time, eternity 5,1,15

Timon of Athens
Cold on touchstone 4,3,25 and 377

Cymbeline
Eagle renewing its feathers 1,1,130
Phoenix 1,6,15 and 15
Ape and miser's gold 1,6,30
Envy 2,5,33
Pine trees in a storm 4,2,172
The oak, reed, osiet 4,2,259

King Lear
Child and motley fool 1,4,93
Ants and grasshopper 2,4,61
Promotheus, vulture 2,4,129
Pelican 3,4,68
Providence 4,1,64

Othello
Hydra slain by Hercules 2,3,290
Occasion 3,1,47
Swan 5,2,146-249

Antony and Cleopatra
Pheenix 3,2,7
Medea 4,12,3
Lamp, torch of life 4,14,46
Time and eternity 5,2,277

Pericles
Thread of Life 1,2,102
The triumph scene 2,2,17
Inverted torch 2,2,32
Gold on the touchstone 2,2,36
Withered branch 2,2,43
Envy 4, Inr.12

THE POEMS

Rape of Lucrece
Occasion and Opportunity 869
Counryman and serpent 1513

A Lover's Complaint
Phoenix 92

The Phoenix and the Turtle
Phoenix 21
Phoenix with two hearts 25,37
Phoenix' nest 53

Of course, Green's selection of emblematic allusions is far from being complete or systematic. The above random-selection from Green's list is also arbitrary, its only aim being to represent this type of register by reflecting upon the recurring motifs in Shakespeare's plays. It can, however, produce in the reader the impetus to bring about a more accurate and sytematic description of emblematic allusions in Shakespeare's plays.

Tibor Fabiny

Soji IWASAKI: The Sword and the Spirit. Shakespeare' Tragic Sense of Time Shinozaki Shorin, Tokyo, 1973

This book by a Japanese author is a good example of how iconographic material can be utilized in the interpretation of Shakespeare's tragedies.

M.C. Bradbrook's foreword emphasizes that "the imagery patterns shew a dramatic application of the traditional emblematic material" and that the purpose of iconographic studies is "bringing out the visual elements in the poetry and the exploring the emblematic meanings underlying stage-action."

In the introduction the author speaks about the convergance of the historical point of view with "critical imagism". He finds that the study of Elizabethan image-consciousness /image-clusters, icons/ emerges as a field to explore. He is concerened with the "meaning revealed through the tableaux vivants". He takes three tragedies Richard III, Macbeth and King Lear discussing their time-scheme, which, he thinks, "is working as a formative principle in these plays".

The first unit is devoted to Time, Fortune and Death where Iwasaki introduces the iconography of Time as Saturn. The influence of Panofsky, Chew et alt. is obvious in this chapter, particularly when he writes about Fortune. Iwasaki provides a useful survey on the iconography of the death-topos /Lydgate, Holbein, etc./ The theme of Triumph was also wide-spread to to the influence of Petrarch. /Life, Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time and Eternity suceedingly triumph over each other./

The analysis of Richard III considers the sword as Saturn's sickle, differentiating between the spiritual and the temporal sword. Personally, I find it a bit exaggerated to consider Richard as Saturn eating up its own children.

The second section preceeding the analysis of Macbeth deals with the subject: Time and Timeless. It covers the discussions of reason. conscience and timeless as the "internalized heaven or hell" - within the context of the medieval Castle of Perserverance and some Tudor interludes. The analysis of the hell-motif in Macbeth is very illuminating. The author relates the famous "knocking at the gate" scene to the medieval Harrowing of Hell-iconography and finds that the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus is also echoed: "Tollite portas".

The subject-matter of the last section is the exploration of the iconography of Time and Truth ie. Veritas Filia Temporis and King Lear. The first half covers a survey of the historiography of the motto and the second half elucidates the presence of the emblem in Shakespeare's tragedy. Since I had access to the book only after writing my essay on the same topic for this volume, I shall confine myself to reflections on the author's insights that are not explicitely tackled in my paper.

1. The sudden "Nothing" of Cordelia is a violent break in the ritualistic proceedings of Lear in his "Byzantine stateliness".

2. Cordelia's prophecy "Time shall unfold what plaited cunning hides / Who cover faults, at last shame them derides" comes true by the end and the argument echoes Whitney's emblem: Slander, Strife and Envy correspond to Edmund, Goneril and Regan.

3. Evidence is provided that the stage-tableau at Gloucester's house is highly emblematic: "Justice in the Stock" /Fletter, Dürer/

4. Lear's tragedy will grow out of Cordelia's "Nothing". "It is only by becoming nothing that Lear has come to understand Cordelia's Nothing". /"They told me I was everything ..."/

5. Lear's early self corresponds to the iconography of Innocence. But he has to take a long time-journey, is reduced to nothing and then redeemed out of this nothing. By the end,

however, he will grow into Time thus becoming the emblem of Saturn.

6. Lear's redemption is gaining love. He understands the nothingness of man discovering in his new birth the re-creating power of love. "Only love can create ex nihilo. Love is the creator, and love is the Word. Here the basic idea of the Christian God: God is Love. In this semse, King Lear is definitely is Christian play. It reveals to us the Word." /p. 237/

The book contains 63 illustrations.

Tibor Fabiny

David Scott KASTAN: Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time
Hanover, New Hampshire.
University Press of New England, 1982 Pp.viii-197

While some of years ago Ricardo Quionones wrote about The Renaissance Discovery of Time, David Scott Kastan's book Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time suggests that we should speak of the Renaissance "explorations" of time, a changing awareness, rather than "discovery".

In the Middle Ages time was understood as historia sacra, as the stage of providential history, as the theatre of God's beneficient action. In the Renaissance it "increasingly becomes the source of anxiety. The bells that tolled the canonical hours and attested to the way to mechanical clocks that mark the moment by moment annihilation of the present". /p.5/

Kastan's whose approach is grounded in his unique and appealing genre-theory and he argues that Shakespeare's dramas are "not merely literary conventions but ethical categories" /p.171/. His greatly original insight is that with Shakespeare "the individual genre stands for a complete though hypothetical model of the world" /p.173/. And "genre becomes a way of imagining time as it shapes and is shaped by humankind" /p.179/.

E.D. Hirsch Jr. has demonstrated that genre is a crucial category in understanding the "meaning" of a work of art. Kastan is right when he argues that Shakespeare's plays are not simply "reflections of reality" but "each genre is a provisional and explanatory version of reality... a rich, resonant metaphor of what might be true" /p.33/.

The critic, who maintains that "Shakespeare's encounter with time is dramatic and not discursive" /p.6/ attempts a purely literary analysis and successfully avoids the danger of imposing alien criteria of value which are inherent in his subject-matter. He briefly sketches the two models of historical time: the providential-linear-directional-developmental model of the patristic tradition and the exemplary-cyclical-repetative views of the humanistic heritage. He thereby illustrates how Shakespeare had affinity with both traditions. His whole approach, however, remains embedded in his structural genre-theory. Similarly to Northrop Frye he finds "that fictions representing reality in one age are usually inadequate in another" /p.7/.

Kastan then sets out to distinguish three shapes of time in the plays and finds that the first shape is linear and open corresponding to the history plays "That emphsizes the contingency of human action and the artificiality of the dramatic field of vision" /p.23/. The second shape is that of the tragedies that are linear and terrifyingly closed. "The gaze of the tragedies is not set on the ineluctable process of history but is contracted to focus upon the fate of the individual as he tests or tested by the limits of his humanity" /p.26/. The third shape that corresponds to the romances is again linear and open-ended, "but in their luminous ending... signal the way to the perfect revelation of the meaning of time that will come at the Final Judgement" /p.32/. Kastan rejects the often upheld view that there is a cyclical progress of time in the romances. He finds that the circularity is rather renewal than recurrence, "it must be understood axiological rather than structural".

I think that the structural distinctions between the histories and the tragedies are not flexible enough.

The elements of the tragedies are already present in the history plays and the tragedies are likewise touched by the historical atmosphere. Shakespeare's shift to tragedies seems to witness the process how the time-scale of events have immediately shrunk and what was acted out as an epic flow in the panorama of history is now contracted and condensed upon a single character or situation. Instead of labelling both structures "linear" I would suggest to introduce the technical terms "horizontal" and "vertical". I find that the histories obey the rhythm of a horizontal flux-time while a vertical pattern can be observed in the tragedies. Kastan is also aware of Susan Langer's remark that "tragedy is cadential form" /p.27/. Tragedy has been described since Chaucer /or even since the days of Lucifer!/ as a fall from prosperity into misery. And it would appear that the Elizabethan sense of tragedy has much inherited from the medieval ideas of the edless movement of the blind wheel of fortune. Thus I see that the shape of tragedy has more affinity with the cyclic view of time.

When discussing the shapes of histories Kastan says that the Corpus Christi miracles are the real sources of the history plays and not the moralities. The origins of Tudor providentialism may be discovered in the pattern of salvation-history,particularly in the eschatological tone of Bale's King Johan. Kastan reports that after Tillyard's book /1944/ the idea of the providentialism of Tudor historiography as represented by Hall, Holinshed has too often imposed on Shakespeare's dramas. Recent critics tried to challange Tillyard's providentialism. Kastan, however, does not reject that the idea of providence is present in the history-plays but he argues that it is "held up for critical examination" /p.17/.

The chapter Tragic Closure and Tragic Disclosure is a penetrating and exhaustive meditation upon the essence of tragic time. Tragic time is existential and personal, it is experienced by the individual when "time is at his period". "Tragedy finds a shape and significance in the temporality of the individual life rather than in the continuous flow of history" /p.80/. With the death of the hero the tragic stucture closes. It contradicts the morality structure and contradicts the Christian view of time where death and the mystery of human suffering are tanscended. In the tragedy there is no restorative process, "death has its sting, the grave its victory".

Macbeth seems apparently to be an exception, because at the end of the drama we read that "time is free", the evil-infected world seems to be purged from the destructive power. However, argues Kastan, the position of the hero who feels like being "tied to a stake" is both heroic and tragic. "At the heart of the tragedy is the realization that death and destruction are inescapable, an immanent, not merely imminent reality" /p.101/.

Some critics have argued that in King Lear the inherent morality structure and the redemptive aspect transcends "the image of that horror". Kastan acknowledges that there is a tone in the play suggesting that truth and justice will eventually prevail in the sense of the traditional emblem Veritas Filia Temporis. Yet, we should not neglect the device of irony in the play in the way Elton had demonstrated it. After the emblematic releif of Act IV the inevitable human suffering is re-affirmed in Act V. There is no redemption in this world, there is no cosmic optimism, "Lear cannot be saved by /or in/ time, he can only be saved from it" /p.126/. For all that, however, we cannot deny

that authentic human existence is born out of the tragic depth.

The romance structure is open again but it involves and at the same time transcends the tragic experience.

The end is a real restoration and redemption. The example of Cymbeline shows how it is a "reworking of King Lear in a different mode" /p.159/.

The closing chapter compares Hotspur and Brutus as "the fools of time" because "they never properly understand the risks and gains of living in time " /p.169/.

On the whole the problems Kastan tackles in his book are vivid and relevant not only for a Shakespeare-scholar but for every human being who has been concerned with the vexed questions and ultimate significance of human existence. Indeed, this is a genuine and marvellous book on Shakespeare subtly suggesting how artistic form and shape can respond to what philosophy or discursive thinking have failed to exhaustively answer.

Tibor Fabiny

George R. KERNODLE: From Art to Theatre
/Form and Convention
in the Renaissance/
Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1944 /pp.ix-255/

In our century, where protesting and source-hunting parallel one another, Kernodle's richly illustrated and heavily documented work should be a basic book not only for students of the Renaissance but also for all those interpreters who, honestly or naively, believe that there is always something new under the Sun. Without foreseeing developments in the post-war period Kernodle demonstratively proves that, from the very beginnings, most theatre designers and contributors have always been inclined towards "happenings" and that "street theatre" is by no means a 20th century invention. In fact, all our claims to "modern theatre" can fairly well be traced back to antique traditions supercommunicated to us _via_ the mediaeval and Renaissance application and heritage. Such is the case with the somewhat outdated proscenium theatre which - apart from the necessary modifications as times went by - still preserves the viewing angle of the "Duke's Box". Similar is the case of "arena staging" and that of the desired, but seldom achieved, "empty space". As the author demonstrates, the provocative title of the book comes down to his basic opinion: that the _visual_ arts form the art of the theatre and that the _process_ becomes inter-dependent.

Together with the detailed _Index_ and the enormous _Bibliography_ - also serving as control-mate-

rial - the specific advantage of this book for the overburdened, though deeply interested, philologist is that its list of contents and its promisingly short conclusion, as a framework, give a summary in a nutshell of the vast range of material treated and referred to. Thus Part I. traces the roots of theatre form and convention back to primitive ceremonials and their techniques /the frieze and the procession/, giving due emphasis to the already "civilized", Hellenistic contribution of the arcade screen, centre pavilion and perspective side-accent. Further on, the author stresses the importance of tableaux vivants as links between visual arts and theatre formulas. Specially pertinent to our studies in this Volume are the statements according to which arche-traditional signs of background (castle/tower; central pavilion/throne/temple; triumphal arch/doorway; ship - monster as whale; mountain or cave; garden represented by bower, fountain, tree, wall, hedge, gate etc.) may be interpreted as emblems. With the more theoretical explication of "emblem as nucleus and/or incloser" of the picture and scene, with the eschatological interpretation of the altar and the tomb as "showpieces" in art, one wonders whether the author does not arrive at truisms (Art and Festival; Gesamtkunstwerk) he wants to avoid. When discussing the Flemish, Elizabethan and Spanish theatres of architectural symbols in Part II. and when accounting for the "Baroque" compromises, that go back to the Italian Perspective Scene of Painterly Tradition, in Part III., his detailed description is far more convincing than his "presuppositions" in the opening parts.

No serious scholar should deny the importance of pageantry, tableaux and dumb shows in the develop-

ment of Elizabethan staging. Nor can one possibly object to a widespread illustration of the genesis of sister-arts. The drums and colours of Macbeth, the hornpipes and funerals of Hamlet could not have been mere improvized ornaments to the literary speech, or to the dramatic performance. They must have been - as Kernodle puts it - "emblems of reality": either symbolizing it for a couple of minutes, or else heavily contributing to the allegorical explication of the minutely appearing but ontologically relevant question posed. Kernodle's beaux-arts-oriented approach to theatre should be challenged from the other (poetically minded) extreme and from any "in-betweens". In this way or another, I still suggest that his book should be one of the basic sources for students of Renaissance art and theatre; much more so for those especially interested in the continuity of all the arts.

Zoltán Szilassy

Erwin PANOFSKY: Studies in Iconology.
Humanistic Themes In the
Art of the Renaissance
Harper and Row, New York, Hagerstown,
San Francisco, London /1939/, 1962, 1967

In 1939 with the publishing of the Studies in Iconology by Erwin Panofsky, iconology as a branch of the history of art was born. Though iconographical handbooks and iconological studies already existed in the 16th century, Panofsky's achievement was to work out the method of iconology as an independent discipline. Nevertheless, though the author himself describes the character of his studies as iconological, he does not give a definition of the term iconology. In his theoretical introduction however, he defines iconography as "that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form". But from the explanation of the method of approach it becomes clear that the first stratum, also described as iconographical, includes pure forms too, and it is not until the third stratum that we reach the level of iconological interpretation. But what do these strata or phases of reception mean?

1. Primary or Natural Subject Matter subdivided into Factual and Expressional. This is apprehended by identifying pure forms as representations of natural objects; by identifying their mutual relations as events; by perceiving expressional qualities /a pose, a gesture, an atmosphere/. The world of pure forms thus recognized may be called the world of artistic motifs.

2. Secondary or Conventional Subject Matter. This is apprehended by realizing that the artistic motifs and their combinations are connected with themes or concepts. Motifs thus recognized may be called images and their combinations stories or allegories. The identification of the images, stories and allegories is the domain of iconography in the narrower sense of the word.
3. Intrinsic Meaning or Content. This is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period etc. These principles are manifested by both compositional methods and iconographical significance. The pure forms, motifs, images, stories and allegories of the preceding strata manifest themselves here as underlying principles or symbolical values. The discovery and interpretation of these symbolical values is the object of the iconography in a deeper sense.

As correct identification of the motifs is a prerequisite of the correct iconographical analysis in the narrower sense, then the correct analysis of images, stories and allegories is the prerequisite of a correct iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense.

To illustrate Panofsky's method let us examine his table.

OBJECT OF INTERPRETATION	ACT OF INTERPRETATION	EQUIPMENT FOR INTERPRETATION	CONTROLING PRICIPLE OF INTERPRETATION
1.-Primary or natural subject matter - (A) factual, (B) expressionaly constituting the world of artistic motifs	Pre-iconographical description (and pseudo-formal analysis)	Practical experience (familiarity with objects and events)	History of style (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events were expressed by forms/.
2.-Secondary or conventional subject matter, constituting the world of images, stories and allegories	Iconographical analysis in the narrower sense of the word	Knowledge of literary sources (familiarity with specific themes and concepts)	History of types (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific themes or concepts were expressed by objects and events)
3.-Intrinsic meaning or content, constituting the world of 'symbolical' values	Iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense (Iconographical synthesis) later: iconology	Synthetic intuition (familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind), conditioned by personal psychology and 'Weltanschauung'	History of cultural symptoms or "symbols" in general /insight /insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions,essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts/.
			HISTORY OF TRADITION

Turning from the problems of iconography in general to the problems of Renaissance iconography in particular, Panofsky tries to describe that process of creative re-interpretation the result of which was the birth of the new form of expression, stylistically and iconographically different from the classical, as well as from the mediaeval, yet related and indebted to both. The five essays of his book focusing on the level of iconographical interpretation illustrate this process.

The chapter on the Early History of Man deals with two cycles of paintings by Piero di Cosimo /The Finding of Vulcan; Vulcan and Aeolus as Teachers of Mankind and Human Life in the Stone Age/. By identifying the motifs Panofsky determines the exact themes of the pictures and demonstrates the organic connection of the two cycles. The 'Weltanschauung' unfolding from the pictures proves Piero's evolutionistic view. Human evolution is due to the inborn faculties and talents of the race. In order to symbolize these faculties as well as the universal forces of nature, his pictures glorify the classical gods and demigods who themselves were not creators but embodied and revealed the natural principles indispensable for the "progress of mankind". Vulcan, who is not only the "smith of Jupiter" and "the composer of all sorts of artificial things" but also the very founder of human civilization /inasmuch as the purposeful keeping alive of fire led to the formation of the first social units and to the invention of speech/ has special significance. Piero sympathized with the rise of humanity beyond the bestial hardships of the stone age,but he regretted any step beyond the unsophisticated phase of the reign of Vulcan and Dionysos, when man kept in close contact with Nature.

The system of Piero's evolutionistic compositions bears some resemblance to the theological division of human history. Panofsky speaks of an era ante Vulcanum,

an era sub Vulcano and an era sub Prometheo /where the 'Vulcan on Lemnos' with 'Vulcan and Aeolus as Teachers of Mankind' would be an interpretation of the era sub Vulcano while the 'Human Life in the Stone Age' would interpret the era ante Vulcanum/.

The complex view of time of the Renaissance and the Baroque is the theme of Father Time. This section examines how the Time of classical art standing only for fleeting Opportunity or creative Eternity had turned into Time the Destroyer by the Renaissance; how the Greek Chronos fused with the figure of the Roman Saturn, how in the mythographical illustrations which evolved exclusively out of textual sources the appearance of Saturn develops from the fantastic into the repulsive and how the standard cannibalistic type, developed by the 14th century and merged with the astrological representations, served to express new meanings.

The belief that 'the lover is blinded about what he loves so that he judges wrongly of the just, the good and the honourable' is frequently expressed in classical literature but the innumerable representations of Cupid in Hellenistic and Roman art do not show the motif of a bandage covering the eyes. In the mediaeval renderings - not derived from classical models but freely reconstructed on the basis of literary sources - both the pagan and the moralized Cupid can be found but none of them is connected with blindness. In the 14th century, however, an interesting phenomenon may be observed: the poets insist on the clearsightedness of Love. The Blind Cupid tries to explain the different currents of opinion about the bandage over Cupid's eyes and the associations through which the little arrowed figure found himself by the 15th century in the rather terrifying company of the greatest blind powers which

make mankind dance to the tune of their wanton, Fortune and Death.

The effect that Marsilio Ficino and his circle had on their contempories hardly needs to be emphasized. The Neoplatonic Movement in Florence and North Italy surveys the most important thoughts in Ficino's system: the structural analogy between the macro- and microcosm interpreted in a peculiar neoplatonic manner, man's unique position in it and the role of the category of Beauty. It examines the process of popularization of Ficino's theory of love and through the iconographical interpretation of Titian's pictures Panofsky demonstrates the fertilizing effect of the theory on the works of art.

How can Michelangelo's style be defined? Is it High Renaissance? Or Manneristic? Let alone Baroque? These are the questions of the Neoplatonic Movement and Michelangelo. Panofsky states that the mature style of Michelangelo differs from Mannerism in that his figures force the beholder to concentrate upon one predominant view which strikes him as complete and final. It differs from the Baroque, in that this predominant view is not based on subjective visual experience but on objective frontalization. And it differs from the High Renaissance in that the aesthetical and psychological effect of this frontalization is diametrically opposite to that obtained by the application of Hildebrand's relief principle. Through iconographical interpretation Panofsky reaches the conclusion that the flavour of Michelangelo's works derives from the fact that the artist was - perhaps the only - genuine Platonic who adopted Neoplatonism not in certain aspects but in its entirety, and not as a convincing philosophical system but as a metaphysical justification of his own self. So not only

the belief in the 'presence of the spiritual in the material', but the opposite aspect of Neoplatonism, the interpretation of human life as in addition an unreal, tormenting form of existence, has its effect on his work.

Panofsky's standard studies based on enormous source-material are not closely related to each other - indeed, they were not written with this aim - but each touches upon essential problems of Renaissance iconology.

Margit Rácz

Mario PRAZ: Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery
(2nd edition) Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura
Rome, 1964 Vol. I-II.

The famous book of Mario Praz is a pioneering work in this field of studies.Appearing in its original Italian version in 1939 /later revised in 1946,Studi Sul concettismo/, the first English edition was published by the Warburg Institute in 1947, together with a second volume, a bibliography of emblem-books which attempted for the first time to bring some order into what had hitherto been only chaos and ignorance, listing about six hundred authors. This bibliography has remained an indispensable starting point for all research in the expanding literature on the subject and has lost nothing of its importance in almost four decades.In 1963 the book was once more revised for publication, again considerably enlarged, and enriched with materials from the latest research.

Mario Praz, Professor of English at Rome University was ideally suited to write what has become the basic work on this difficult, and so-far rather neglected subject - because of his encyclopedic knowledge as well his long preoccupation with relationships within the arts, "Wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste", which brought us a book on "The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts", entitled Mnemosyne /Princeton, 1967/.Not only an expert in Renaissance studies /where he published basic articles on the interrelation of Italian and English literature, collected in The Flaming Heart/, he also wrote important books On Neoclassicism and on the morbid side of Romanticism /The Romantic Agony, on the Victorian novel /La crisi dell' eroe nel romanzo vittoriano/, as well as a history of English Literature /La Letteratura inglese dal Medievo all'Illuminismo, La letteratura inglese dai Romantici al Novecento./The list, while far from being complete, is impressive: it was this wide ranging interest that enabled him to cope with emblematic literture, which is by nature most complex.

The theoretical part consists of four chapters and an appendix. The first chapter, Emblem, Device, Epigram, Conceit establishes a relationship between these concepts and makes several important statements about emblematic literature in general. First of all, there is the pertinent observation, that "every poetical image contains a potential emblem" (p. 15). That is why "emblems were the characteristic of that century in which the tendency to images reached its climax, the seventeenth century" (ibid.). Thereby a link is created between emblem and conceit, and what is more, Praz follows it up with connecting the esoteric, hieroglyphic nature of emblems with the theories of universal symbolism which underlie also the Mannerist conceit (Tesauro). He provides ample evidence for the emblematic way of vision by poets as well as by an illiterate French mystic of the 17th century, Mane de Valence (quoting Bremond). I consider these remarks of Praz most enlightening, despite the criticism of Albrecht Schöne (Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock, München, 1968, p. 35: "man wird aus dem möglichen Concetto-Charakter emblematischer Epigramme doch keineswegs auf jene generelle Gleichung von subscriptio und Concetto schliessen dürfen, die Mario Praz herstellt".): for it is this basic assumption which makes it possible for us to synthetize the preoccupation of the age with epigram, conceit, emblem, which links together with the sonnet (ending in an epigrammatic point) and the epigram, and both with emblem and device.

Praz makes another important theoretical observation, in convincingly demonstrating the Antique sources of emblematic literature. He shows us to what degree this literature is indebted to the Greek Anthology and the other Ancients. Thus emblematics becomes a part of the general Humanistic theory of imitation. Praz goes so far as to attribute to the Ancients the invention of the emblem proper. Not only does the imagery of the Greek Anthology imply a quasi-emblem, but the edition of the illustrations was presupposed by the original: "In fact, vestiges of three epigrams now in the Anthology have been discovered on the walls of a cubiculum in a Pompeian house, each illustrated by a painting. It follows that between an emblem of Alciati

and an epigram of the Anthology there is a difference only in name" (p.25). Praz comes under attack by Schöne here again (op.cit. 24-5): "Wird im Pompei dem Epigramm die Wandmalerei hinzugefügt, oder stellt Alciati seiner Übersetzung aus der Anthologia Palatina den kleinen Holzschnitt voran, so ensteht in Wahrheit ein neuartiges Kunstgebilde, das sich von dem vorgegebenen Bildepigramm keineswegs nur hinsichtlich der Bezeichnung unterscheidet". The criticism is partly just: on the other hand every theoretical point made, it is Praz who is the more illuminating, juxtaposing a latent, but only occasionally realized tendency in the late Antiquity and the Humanist practice.

In the second chapter we get a theory and history of "the companion genre of the emblem, the impresa or device", duly distinguishing it from the emblem but, in accordance with his penchant to a synthetic view, rightly insisting upon their close relationship. Here and in the third chapter on amorous and religious emblems, Praz clears up a multitude of philological problems, establishes influences in impressive detail with a really comparative grasp: he ranges freely from Italian and Spanish to Dutch, French, English, German and Jesuit influence on emblematics - the Jesuits willingly exploited the suggestive and didactic possibilities of emblems, which were at the same time adopted to depicting spiritual truth in the mind's eye, making those truths sensually perceptible.

The Appendix, about Emblems and Devices in Literature explores a field which is also expanded in the present volume: Praz's prudent remarks on the necessary caution are to be kept in mind. He censures for example Green's famous book (Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers) in that wherever Green establishes a parallel between an emblem writer and Shakespeare, he thinks of an influence, while in reality there might only be a common, possibly an Antique source which he follows through. Praz thinks that most of the cases presented by the research are similar to the above example: but, nevertheless, the field is open to

study which he demonstrated by showing the really emblematic character of some passages of Italian and English authors, from Campanella and Bruno to Crashaw.

His aesthetic judgements concerning emblematic literature are rather severe, sometimes and, as in the near neglect with which he treats Sceve, he even seems to be unjust: only some poets receive unreserved praise.

The book is, both in its synthetic theoretical statements and its microphilological precision, as well as in its bibliography, one of the most important aid in emblem research.

Ferenc Zemplényi

Louis REAU: Iconographie de l'art chrétien
/The Iconography of Christian Art/
Paris, 1955

The term 'iconography' which is the compound of 'eikon' /image/ and 'graphein' /describe/ appeared in France only relatively late in the Dictionnaire de Furetiere of 1701. The three main fields of these studies are the following: the description of a great personality /Louis XIV., Napoleon etc./; the characteristic visual code-system of a period /e.g. the iconography of the Counter-Reformation/; and the relatively unified tradition of using images for religious topics. The Christian and Buddhist religions are iconic, while the Jewish and the Moslem faiths are not.

The author makes a distinction between iconography and art-history: the latter studies form in its broader sense /composition, drawing, colours, etc/ while iconography deals with the sujet, and examines those monuments only, in which human figures appear.

Iconography /or rather iconology using Panofsky's term/ has changed with the history of civilization, and since they both have clearly defined common elements, certain topics, motives, have survived different periods, and thus they can be used to show the direction and character of the development.

Let us take the Expulsion of Heliodorus as an example. Answering the prayer of the Jewish Prelate Onias an angel arrives from Heaven and drives out the pagan Heliodorus, who is committing sacrilege. In the Middle Ages the story and its presentation was

a warning to those who did wrong to the possessions of the Church. The Popes of the Renaissance were expressing their aversion to foreigners in this way showing their wish to chase away those, who had flooded Rome and were occupying the papal empire /sacco di Roma/.

The Romantic Delacroix /Saint Sulpice, Paris/ interprets the scene in a quite different way: the figure with the wings, chasing out Heliodorus is the genius of art, who drives the profane, the unconsecrated and untalented people out of the sacred empire of beauty. Another example is the Coronation of the Virgin. For Romanesque sculptors, the mother of Christ was no more than the living throne of the Child /Sades Sapientiae/. On Notre-Dame in Paris, Mary is crowned by an angel, while on the portait of the Cathedral of Reims she recieves the crown from Christ. On a 15th century panel by E. Quarton in Villeneuve-les-Avignon Mary is a member of the Holy Trinity. She has the dove-wings of the Holy Spirit and is placed between the Father and the Son. This process shows the growth of the cult of the Virgin, together with its theological and sociological relations.

József Pál

/Transl. Anikó Kiss/

Albrecht SCHOENE: Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock
Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964 /Pp. 239/

In the introductory chapter of Schoene's book emblematics could still be mentioned as a "nearly sunk continent", the investigation of which only a few specialists were concerned with. The last experiment to review this research field before him was namely that made by Henri Stegmeier in 1946.(His study "Problems in Emblem Literature" appeared in: The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, vol. 45. pp. 26.) Nevertheless after the publication of Schoene's book more and more scholars ventured into this unknown area to the extent that already 15 years later a book could be published on "Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre" - the subtitle of Peter M. Daly's "Emblem Theory" (Lichtenstein: Nendeln Verlag, 1979) which deals first of all with the works of Schoene and Joens.

The stimulating effect of Schoene's book upon further research can be seen in the fact that the emblem, this special "Gesamtkunstwerk in nuce" (Sulzer) which expresses the spirit of the late Renaissance and Baroque, has not been investigated for its own sake. Schoene approached this phenomenon neither as a historian of culture and civilisation nor as a specialist of the history of art but as a scholar of Baroque literature. He endeavoured to explain in greater depth works which do not only express their own period. Schoene was of course not the first literary historian to deal with these questions, although former researches were first of all interested in emblems as a pictorial-literary genre, a historically

primary form relating iconic and symbolic signs in poetry. Thus the immediate antecedents of Schoene's research program can be found in works like W.A.P. Smith's "The Emblematic Aspect of Vondel's Tragedies as Key to their Interpretation" (in: The Modern Language Review, vol. 52. 1957. pp. 554.) - or to mention Walter Benjamin's "Ursprung des Trauerspiels", a German and at the same time the earliest study on this field dating from 1928.[1]

While former investigations were preoccupied with the origin, extent and reasons for the spread of emblems and sought to distinguish them clearly from similar genres like impresa, hierograph etc., Schoene wanted to interpret different text-places in Baroque literature by means of icons, inscriptions and subscriptions as emblem-icon descriptions (where meanings are assigned not by the context of literary texts but the texts belonging to the icons) or as excerpts of emblem texts (where meanings can only be assigned by referring to the icon). To achieve this aim Schoene had to go back to the emblem books. Actually, he did nothing more but set to work on a well delineated field which was later defined by reception aesthetics in a more general but less convincing way: the task was to reconstruct the intellectual horizons determining the perspective of the learned reader of the age, if he stood on the emblem continent. Parallel with the slow sinking of the emblem continent as a whole one can observe a renewed literary application of certain emblems which gave a more reliant life to them. So it is understandable how emblematic parts of text, that is parts of text which are related to the emblem as a historical form of expression, became rhetoric figures and a special type of symbolic expression form. That is why poetics from the 18th century in Germany - Gottsched

(1730), Breitinger (1740) - could discuss the concept of emblem together with allegory, metaphor and simile. This view did not cease to survive in German poetic thinking even when Herder diagnosed the end of the "emblematic age". To mention just one important example: A. Schoppenhauer "Die Welt as Wille und Vorstellung" (1.Ed. 3.Buch).

This famous work discusses for instance the emblem as a transition form towards poetic allegory. Schoene breaks with the original concept of the "three-part" emblem in connection with the Baroque age when he writes about the "emblematic structure" of Baroque drama or when he conceives of Baroque theatre as an "emblematic stage". It is certainly problematic to replace the emblem as a genre with the emblem as a way of seeing. It is at the same time indispensable although. There is of course no doubt that a genre is able to express its own period but it can possibly also explain phenomena which are not realizations of the genre, that is, which are not emblems but have 'emblematic' character.

So in the end Schoene did not only give a new impulse to emblem investigations but managed to broaden the whole area of research in a rational way.

Árpád Bernáth

Caroline SPURGEON: Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us
Cambridge UP, 1952 /1935/

1930 marked the beginning of a new period in Shakespeare-criticism. This was the year which saw the publication of G. Wilson Knight's The Wheel of Fire and Caroline Spurgeon's lecture on the Leading Motives in the Imagery of Shakespeare's Tragedies. The important novelty of both works was that the crucial points of Shakespeare's dramas were claimed to be found in the sphere of his poetry. Spurgeon systematically assembled, sorted and examined all the images of Shakespeare's works to see if they could really add something new to our knowledge of the man and his plays. The surprising result she arrived at is elaborated in her book: Shakespeare's Imagery.

In this she contrasts Shakespeare with other dramatists of his time /e.g. Marlowe, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Dekker, etc./ to show that his images were not just the everyday paraphernalid of Elizabethan writers but in themselves very unique. Differences exist both in the theme, in the amount and proportion of the images. Even those based on the same subject have certain personal characteristics. /For instance, Shakespeare's images come mostly from nature, animals, everyday and domestic life while Marlowe's are drawn from books, especially the classics./

Thus showing the peculiarity of Shakespeare's vision, she goes on to claim that a study of the imagery not only throws new light on the dramas but reveals the writer's personality as well. The first part of the book, The Revelation of the Man deals with this topic. She classifies the images according to their subject matter, and then tries to analyse

Shakespeare's senses, tastes and interests /both in outdoor and indoor life/, his temperament, etc. This leads to a summary of his personality in a distinct chapter: Shakespeare the Man. These pages are certainly interesting but I would question the importance of investigating Shakespeare's character in such depth /should we really know that he was fair and flushed easily?/ and I doubt whether one can draw such far reaching conclusions merely from the images. If we are ready to accept Spurgeon's arguments we have to picture Shakespeare as a Christ-like figure who is not only "gentle, honest, brave and true, with ... quick sympathy for all living things" /p.207/, but also as an extraordinarily well co-ordinated, well-built, nimble and many-sided person with "abnormally acute senses" /p.202/.

More valuable parts of the first study are the passages on Shakespeare's thoughts and associations. The ideas examined here are relevant from the aspect of the tragedies as well. Thus the concepts of Evil, Time, Death, Love, etc. are shown in the fresh light of his images.

What I consider perhaps her most important achievement is the second part of the book: The Function of Imagery as Background and Undertone in Shakespeare's Art. Spurgeon has found that there are certain groups of images in each play which are peculiar either in subject, or quantity or indeed both. These recurrent images were probably continuously on Shakespeare's mind during the writing of his plays so they show us important aspects of the dramas. Thus we must be aware of the persistantly occuring image of growth and decay as seen in a garden, or the sun - king image in the early histiries. Let me just mention the leading motives of the best known tragedies: sickness,

disease and rottennes in Hamlet; contrast of light and darkness in Romeo and Juliet; bodily torture in King Lear; Macbeth's ill-fitting garments, etc.

No doubt the statistical analysis of Shakespeare's imagery helps us to a deeper understanding of his dramas, their atmosphere and their characters. But at some points Spurgeon tends slightly to overestimate this aspect. /For instance, Hamlet's tragedy is claimed to be merely the "sickness" which annihilates him./

The main significance of her book lies in the fact that Spurgeon has uncovered a new method of approach to Shakespeare which throws light on his dramas from a new angle. Through years of work she collected an immense quantity of data which may serve as a starting-point for further research of various kinds. Being an important step in Shakespeare-criticism, Spurgeon's book must be read by everyone interested in this field.

Edit Nyúl

Guy de TERVARENT: De la méthode iconologique
/The iconological method/
Académie Royale de Belgique
Bruxelles, 1961

According to the author's definition iconography is the science of obscure /'obscure'/ images /'image'/, and its task is to elucidate them. This can be done in four ways: 1. where the artist makes his intensions known verbally 2. the motive is compared with a similar one in the figurative arts 3. textual traditions or explanations are employed which were directly or undirectly used by the image 4. the concordance of images and texts.

The first of these can be very authentic, but occurs only rarely, e.g. in Rubens' letters explaining his own works. The second approach: the image is made clearer by another image, e.g. the scene on a majolica in the museum of Arezzo /God descends to a kneeling figure on the clouds and points at the town in the background/ can be related to the story of Lot. When it is compared with the particular painting from Raphael's school God appears to Isaac, it is clear that on the majolica God shows Isaac the town where he is to live. The woman in the background is Rebecca.

The third method consists of textological explanation, e.g. the lack of precise interpretation of the picture No 849 in the museum of Anvers. A robust figure of a man is holding the Globe on his shoulders and there is a child on the Globe trying with great difficulty to cross a river /America is already represented on the Globe!/. This scene can be made

clear on the basis of Legenda aurea: St. Christopher took a little child /Christ/ across the river who was "heavier than the whole world".

However we got the best and most exact results when the visual and verbal documents explain and strengthen each other: there is a painting by Poussin in the National Gallery which was given the title Landscape with Serpent. The story is as follows: Cadmos, the son of Agenor wants to find his sister Europe, whom Jupiter, taking the shape of a bull has taken away. The boy is given a prophecy by Apollon that he is to follow a heifer who has never worn a yoke and where that heifer stops he is to found a town. When the beast stops, Cadmos sends his servant off for water, but the spring is being watched over by a dragon, the son of Mars. The dragon kills the servant, but he is defeated by Cadmos. One can find the spring, the vessel for the water, a young man and a snake in Poussin's painting. The snake of this story appears as a dragon in Ovid and this image was adopted and spread by contemporary vase paintings in the antiquity.

József Pál

/Transl. Anikó Kiss/

Glynne WICKHAM: Early English Stages 1300 to 1600

Volume Two 1576 to 1660, Part I.
Volume Three: Plays and their Makers to 1576
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
1963 (xxiv-408 pp.) and 1981 (xxvi-357 pp.)

From Glynne Wickham's huge (four volumes and five tomes planned and mostly carried out so far) and impressive undertaking we have chosen for short summary here the above two books, as being the most pertinent to our studies presented in this Volume. If the earlier individual, though closely related, volumes in this series have not as yet received their due evaluation in the literature, then we believe that the series is soon to become an indispensable source of scholarship and reference to students of Mediaeval- and Renaissance art, drama and theatre. Reflections and critiques in the press have already brought to the fore an often neglected keyword, category and conception - that of entertainment, overlooked in its early and late formulas - which partly provides the long-searched for continuity of arts in these periods.

Noteworthy, in Volume Two, Book One though perhaps for us less relevant, is the detailed description of the state control and censorship of British drama and theatre between 1530-1642. Book Two, bearing the title Emblems and Images, by way of definition proves to be very illuminating in our sphere, since it points out the continuous heritage of pageantry - excluding, of course, the years of the Civil War and Commonwealth. In contrast to KERNODLE's work (q.v. Book Reviews, Same Section) which, although Wickham often refers to it, is

more general and somewhat more _beaux arts_-oriented, the author gives a more detailed description of some basic representational devices in the role of emblems. Such is the case with: e.g. the arbour (garden; forest-wilderness), costume and animal disguises, tournaments etc. - particularized for scene iconography and individual country habits.

Volume Three Book Two (_Emblems of Occasion_) opens with the well-known Shakespearean reference to caricious Fortune, better depicted in "moral paintings" than in words (_Timon of Athens_, I.i.). Both the painters and the poets were, however, trying to use relevant _devices_. Wickham proceeds to explain that the word "device", from its contemporary interpretation up to now, has possessed several, nearly analogous meanings (cf. _impresa_, _insignia_, _emblem_) thus incorporating ideas of allegory, parable, typology, analogue, paradigm as well as the more concrete ones of costumes, symbolical animals, precious stones etc. In feeding the "receiver", the playmaker, however, has the paradoxical advantage of being able to harmonize and/or juxtapose the verbal and visual images. One or another extreme may prove insufficient: thus Hamlet _further_ comments on his "customary suits of solemn black" (I.ii.). Ecclesiastical iconography, heraldic blazon, trade-symbolism and the iconography of civic occasions - all rooted in the Middle Ages - may elucidate the complexity of the aesthetic problems posed, _pars pro toto_ each is unable to separately account for the diversity of the hermeneutics in this case. To give an obvious example: to comprehend the complex nature of Sir Walter Raleigh's _History of the World_ (publ. 1614) one has to aesthetically and historically interpret the _text_ as well as approach the _emblematics_

of the frontispiece with risky interpretations concerning the adopted heritage (Antique via Mediaeval?), contemporary accents perhaps hidden deeper in the text (Raleigh as dissenter) and the posthumous editions (1676 etc.).

Wickham's works should probably remain a source of illumination for our future teamwork, since he readily undertakes some basic poetic principles (e.g. "ut pictura poesis", see also Fabiny's Introduction). His concentration on drama and theatre, however, may contribute to widening our perspectives to the reception - aesthetics and - sociology of less textually oriented interpreters of the eras in question.

Zoltán Szilassy

ABSRACTS IN HUNGARIAN

TARTALMI ÖSSZEFOGLALÓK

FABINY Tibor: "Irodalom és emblémák. Uj szempontok a Shakespeare-filológiához"

A dolgozat egyrészt informativ bevezetést kiván nyujtani a magyarországi anglisztikában még kevésbé ismert kutatási terület lehetőségeiről; másrészt az emblematika egy sajátos teoretikus összefüggésrendszerét kisérli meg felvázolni.

Az első rész /A nyelv és képalkotás/ a költői nyelv sajátosságainak tárgyalásától /N. Frye/ jut el a metafóra és a képalkotás elemzéséig /Spurgeon, Wheelright, Berry/. A következő rész /A kép és ikonológia/ részletesen foglalkozik az "ut pictura poesis" elvvel, a reneszánsz hieroglifikával és ikonológiával, valamint kifejti az embléma elméleti problémáit a modern amerikai /Lewalski/ és kanadai /Daly/ kutatások alapján.

A tanulmány záró fejezetének /Jelentés és hermeneutika/ gondolatmenete szerint az embléma és a költői kép értelmezése /"egzegézise"/ végeredményben egy jelentésfeltáró hermeneutikai müvelet /Gadamer, Hirsch/, s mint ilyen, várhatóan uj összefüggésekre is rávilágithat a Shakespeare-filológiában.

PÁL József: "A költői jel ikonológiai természetéhez"

Arra a kérdésre, mi a kép /icon, image/, az itáliai humanizmus általános elméleti, esztétikai premisszáinak rendszerében kétféle válasz volt adható. A firenzei Accademia platonica müködése nyomán kibontakozó idealisztikus, misztikus tendenciák értelmezésében a kép, a földi képmás közvetlenül revelálja égi prototipusát, a korrespondancia-tannak megfelelően. E gondolat propagálásában felhasználták Horapollo 1419-ben Itáliába szállitott Hieroglyphica cimü gyüjteményét,

amely az egyiptomi hieroglifákat tartalmazza, görög értelmezésben. A platoni dualizmus ugyan nem volt összeegyeztethetetlen a keresztény vallással /Ficino/, de - témánk szempontjából - a reveláló jel elmélete mégis összeütközésbe került a kor szinte valamennyi jelentős vallásos irányzatával /idolátria/. A másik válaszlehetőség Arisztotelész /részben Horatius/ metafora és analógia poétikai terminusa alapján fogalmazódott meg. A translatio szemantikailag is pontosan kifejezte, hogy az idea és a kép két különböző dolog, amelyek azonban bizonyos vonatkozásban hasonlóak, affinitás van közöttük; az egyes utal az általánosra.

A fenti elméleti tételt a tanulmány két példával támasztja alá: a költészet/költő hattyuként való ábrázolása témájával /pl. Ronsard, Ariosto/ és a könyv XVI. századi ikonológiájával /Dante, Michelangelo, Shakespeare/.

Peter M. DALY: "Shakespeare és az embléma. Az ikonográfia és az emblematika hatása a drámákban evidencia és analógia alapján"

A szerző a montreali McGill egyetem professzora, s az irodalmi embléma-kutatás legjelentősebb müvelője az angolszász nyelvterületen /ld. a bevezető tanulmány ill. a recenziók/. Kötetünk számára dolgozta át egy régebbi, lényegesen rövidebb tanulmányát.

A kismonográfia terjedelmü és értékü munka nemcsak a vonatkozó szakirodalom legátfogóbb áttekintését nyujtja, hanem kritikai éleslátással rendszerezi, s ha kell, birálja is a logikailag bizonytalan alapokon álló vagy a részletekben elvesző megközelitéseket. Az elvi problémák kifejtését és tisztázását minden esetben a Shakespeare-drámákból vett példákkal támasztja alá.

Meglátása szerint a drámák ikonográfiai és emblematikai elemzésének az a funkciója, hogy feltárja azt a kontextust,

amelyben az emblematikus szó, az emblematikus karakter, a szinpadi kellékek, vagy maga az emblematikus szinpad megjelenik. A korabeli emblémakönyveket nem mint a drámai képalkotás forrásait, hanem mint hátterét kell tanulmányozni. A felbukkanó emblematikus tárgyak vagy élőlények /"kard", "tőr", ill. "kigyó" stb./ értelmezése sem lehet egyértelmüen pozitiv vagy negativ, hiszen minden felfogható <u>in bonam partem</u> és <u>in malem partem.</u>

A szakirodalom kritikus áttekintése után az eddigi elemzők figyelmét elkerülő emblematikus töltésü jelenetekre hivja fel a figyelmet /York és VI. Henrik "trónszerü" pozicíói a "vakond-turáson"; Shylock késének és mérlegének irónikus funkciója/.

A tanulmány második részében az emblematikus elemzés veszélyeire és csapdáira hivja fel a figyelmet: hiszen az ikonográfia nem csalatkozhatatlan kód, az impresszionisztikus jellegü észrevételeket abszolutizálni nem szabad, s az ilyen jellegü elemzéseket egy szélesebb összefüggésrendszerbe kell beágyazni. Daly továbbá megállapitja, hogy egy-egy emblematikus tárgy segithet egy-egy hős komplex világának és vonatkozási rendszerének feltárásában /Falstaff és a párna, Hamlet és a koponya, Ophelia és a virág, II. Richard és a tükör stb./, s ez pedig közelebb visz a mü teljesebb értelmezéséhez.

Az embléma által hordozott jelentés mintegy közvetit az irás /page/ és a szinpad /stage/ között; de ez a jelentés több dimenzióban csak a szinpadon kelhet életre.

Clifford DAVIDSON: "A bölcsesség és a bolondság ikonográfiája a <u>Lear királyban</u>"

Clifford Davidson az amerikai Western Michigan University professzora, s itt közölt irása kötetünkben lát először napvilágot. A tanulmányt az a gondolat keretezi, hogy a létbi-

zonytalansággal fenyegetett századunkban Shakespeare tragédiájának világérzése ismét aktualitást nyer.

Shakespeare a szinházat a világ emblémájának tartotta, s a müben megjelenitett valóság a "feje tetejére állitott világ" /"world turned upside down"/ ikonográfiájának felel meg. Egy ilyen világban helyet cserél a bölcsesség és a bolondság értékrendje. A világ logikája szerint "bölcs" Reganek, Gonerilek és Edmundok megragadják az emblematikus Occasio-t, s a káosz lovagjai lesznek. A valódi bölcs Edgarok és Kentek álruhát öltenek, s bolondnak tettetik magukat.

Cordelia "igazsága" az egyedüli valóság, s a legmagasabb bölcsesség, amely bolondságnak tünik a világ szemében. Botticelli Primavera-jára emlékeztető angyali lénye transzcendentális erőtérben él, s szentséget sugároz. A feje tetejére állitott világban a valódi szent bolondnak tünik, s ugyanez forditva is igaz: "e világ bölcsessége bolondság az Isten előtt".

Lear pokoljárása utáni ujjászületett találkozása Cordeliával az isteni igazságszolgáltatás képe lehetne, ha az ötödik felvonás eseményei alapjaiban nem kérdőjeleznék meg az eddigi keresztényi kicsengésü "megváltás-drámát". Cordelia halála nem az "igért vég"/"promised end"/, hanem "végitélet" /"image of that horror"/. Az indokolatlan és abszurd tragédia oldaláról nézve - a szerző szerint - Lear "ujjászületése" irónikus előjelet kap. A dráma végére ugyanis minden bizonyosság megkérdőjeleződik, s az utolsó jelenet fájdalma minden emberi mértéket meghalad.

Az istenek hallgatnak - s ebben a létezés örök paradoxona és misztériuma nyilvánul meg.

FABINY Tibor: "Theatrum Mundi és az emberi élet korszakai"

A "szinház az egész világ" szállóigévé vált shakespeare-i metafóra elterjedését vizsgálja a tanulmány /1/ a shakespeare-i

életmüben, /2/ a kortárs angol irodalomban, /3/ s általában az európai kulturában. Itt egyuttal feltárja a topos /Platonig visszanyuló/ klasszikus és /az üdvtörténetre alapozott/ keresztény eredetét. A "Theatrum Mundi" gondolatához Shakespearenél is szorosan kapcsolódik a hét emberi életkor /"seven ages"/ képvilága, amely kapcsán ugyanugy beszélhetünk a pogány-klasszikus és a biblikus-keresztény genezisről. Eszmetörténeti szempontból Augustinusig nyulik vissza az a gondolat, hogy az emberi élet korszakai tipológikusan viszonyithatóak a világ hét korszakához és a teremtés hét napjához. A reformáció idején jelentkező apokaliptikus gondolkodásmódban olykor hangot kapott a Talmudra visszavezethető "világhét" elképzelés, miszerint a teremtés hat aktiv napjának megfelelően hatezer évig fog fennállni a világ.

A következőkben a szerző a "világszinház" és az életkorszakok legelterjedtebb ikonográfiáját ismerteti és értelmezi.

Végezetül Shakespeare III. Richard-jának az elemzése következik a "Theatrum Mundi" metafóra alapján. A drámaelemzés szerint a mü alapmetafórái a "szinész" és a "világ" egyuttal strukturaszervező elvekké is válnak: a játszó szinész /Richard/ s az általa majdnem elpusztitott, de mégis regenerálódó világ konfliktusaként is értelmezhető a dráma.

FABINY Tibor: "Veritas Filia Temporis: Az igazság és az idő ikonográfiája és Shakespeare"

A renerszánsz ikonográfiában az "Idő"-nek /a mitológiában "Kronos" ill. "Saturnus"/ két eltérő ábrázolása alakult ki. Az egyik a gyermekeit felfaló és pusztitó isten képe, a másik viszont a jóakaratu Atyát /Father Time/ jeleniti meg, aki kiszabaditja meztelen leányát, az elnyomott Igazságot. /Innen származik a mondás: "Az Igazság az Idő gyermeke" ill. "Az Idő napfényre hozza az Igazságot"/. A gondolat eszmetörténetének elemzésekor szó esik annak a bibliai lineáris

időszemlélettel való rokonságáról, a reformáció idején elterjedt használatáról, s a frazeológiát alkalmazó korabeli politikai teátrális demonstrációkról /a mondat ugyanugy jelszava volt a katolikus Véres Máriának, mint a protestáns Erzsébet királynőnek/, s végezetül az ikonográfiai és emblematikus ábrázolásokról.

A tanulmány második része a mitológikus eredetü gondolatot keresi Shakespeare-nél: /1/ szó-emblémaként /The Rape of Lucrece/; /2/ egyes drámákban fellelhető strukturális elvként /Measure for Measure, King Lear/, /3/ mint müfajszervező archetipikus principiumot Shakespeare utolsó müveiben, a "románcokban". Az ismert négy románc: Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, The Tempest mindegyikében felismerhető az Igazság-Idő mint "fiatal lány" - "apa" ikonográfiája. Mindegyik szerkezetében jelen van a mitológikus prófécia, valamint a reveláló-apokaliptikus anagnorisis, a "szinről-szinre" látás, a mesében nélkülözhetetlen vég: a költői igazságszolgáltatás.

SZILASSY Zoltán: "Emblémák, szinház, dramaturgia /Vázlat a shakespeare-i szinház ikonográfiai és ikonológiai megközelitéséhez és az ezekkel kapcsolatos kételyek/"

Az irás négy részre oszlik, és rövid összegzéssel, valamint a filológiai apparátus dokumentálásával zárul. Az első részben általános, bevezető problémákról esik szó. A szinháztörténetben és -elméletben is gyümölcsözőnek látszanak az emlitett módszerek; a korabeli dokumentáció /pl. Henslowe Naplója/ is az Erzsébet-kori szinház "emblematikusságára" mutat. Recepcióesztétikai szempontból kérdés, hogy nem volt-e a szinpadon alkalmazott emblémáknak nivelláló szerepük is. A második részben módszertani problémák kerülnek elő. Hang-

sulyoztatik a másfajta képelemzés létjoga és hosszu, XX. századi öröksége. Utalással a kötet vendégszerzőinek irásaira, az ikonográfia és az ikonológia következetes használatát javasoljuk, egyben alternativáknak vagy kiegészitőknek tekintjük őket: alá és felérendelés nélkül. A harmadik részben az emblémák és a szinpadi konvenciók viszonylatáról esik szó, ahol a képalkotás közös gyökerein és a szinjáték esztétikai összetettségén van a hangsuly. A negyedik rész - dramaturgiai problémák kapcsán - néhány Shakespeare Quarterly cikket elemez, melyek a mondott módszerek előnyeit és hátrányait jól reprezentálják, de az előnyök inkább dominálnak. A zárószó gyakori eszmecserét javasol az európai és az amerikai irodalmárok között abban az élénken pezsgő eszmekörben, amelyet pl. a Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama dokumentál.

SZŐNYI György Endre: " 'O worke diuine': Alma házának ikonográfiája és eszmetörténeti háttere Spenser The Faerie Queene cimü eposzában"

Edmund Spenser The Faerie Queene cimü eposza az angol reneszánsz irodalom egyik csucsteljesitménye, szerzője szándéka szerint hatalmas allegória, tele homályos, rejtélyes költői képekkel. A dolgozat az egyik ilyen allegórikus költői képet, Alma házát vizsgálja /II. könyv, ix. ének, 22. versszak/. Az idézett helynek már a 17. századtól kezdve két értelmezési hagyománya van: 1/ Alma háza az emberi test arányaira utal, melyben a világ matematikai arányosságai megtalálhatóak; 2/ az ellegórikus ház az emberi test és a világ misztikus összefüggéseit példázza, több, mint matematika, inkább vallásos- és filozófikus leirás. Az elemzés e második olvasat jogosságát támasztja alá ikonográfiai elemzéssel /korabeli alkimista és hermetikus diagramok segitségével/ és a megfejtett ikonográfia eszmetörténeti magyarázatával.

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