ICONOGRAPHY

IN CULTURAL STUDIES

Papers from the International Conference:

European Iconography

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East & West

Edited by Attila Kiss

SZEGED

JÓZSEF ATTILA UNIVERSITY

1996

ICONOGRAPHY IN CULTURAL STUDIES

Papers from the international conference
"ICONOGRAPHY EAST AND WEST"
Szeged 1993

edited by

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Foreword

The present volume of Papers in English and American Studies continues a long tradition in the publishing and research activity of the English Department at József Attila University. Studies in iconography, emblematics and symbolic imagery have been in the focus of academic work in the Department since the early 1980s, resulting in an international conference on Renaissance emblematics in 1984, the proceedings of which were published in the second issue of PEAS (*Shakespeare and the Emblem*. ed. by Tibor Fabiny, Szeged: József Attila University). Members of the English, the Comparative Literature and other departments of modern philology joined efforts to participate in the publishing of the series *Ikonográfia és Műértelmezés* (Iconography and Interpretation), initiated in 1985 by József Pál.
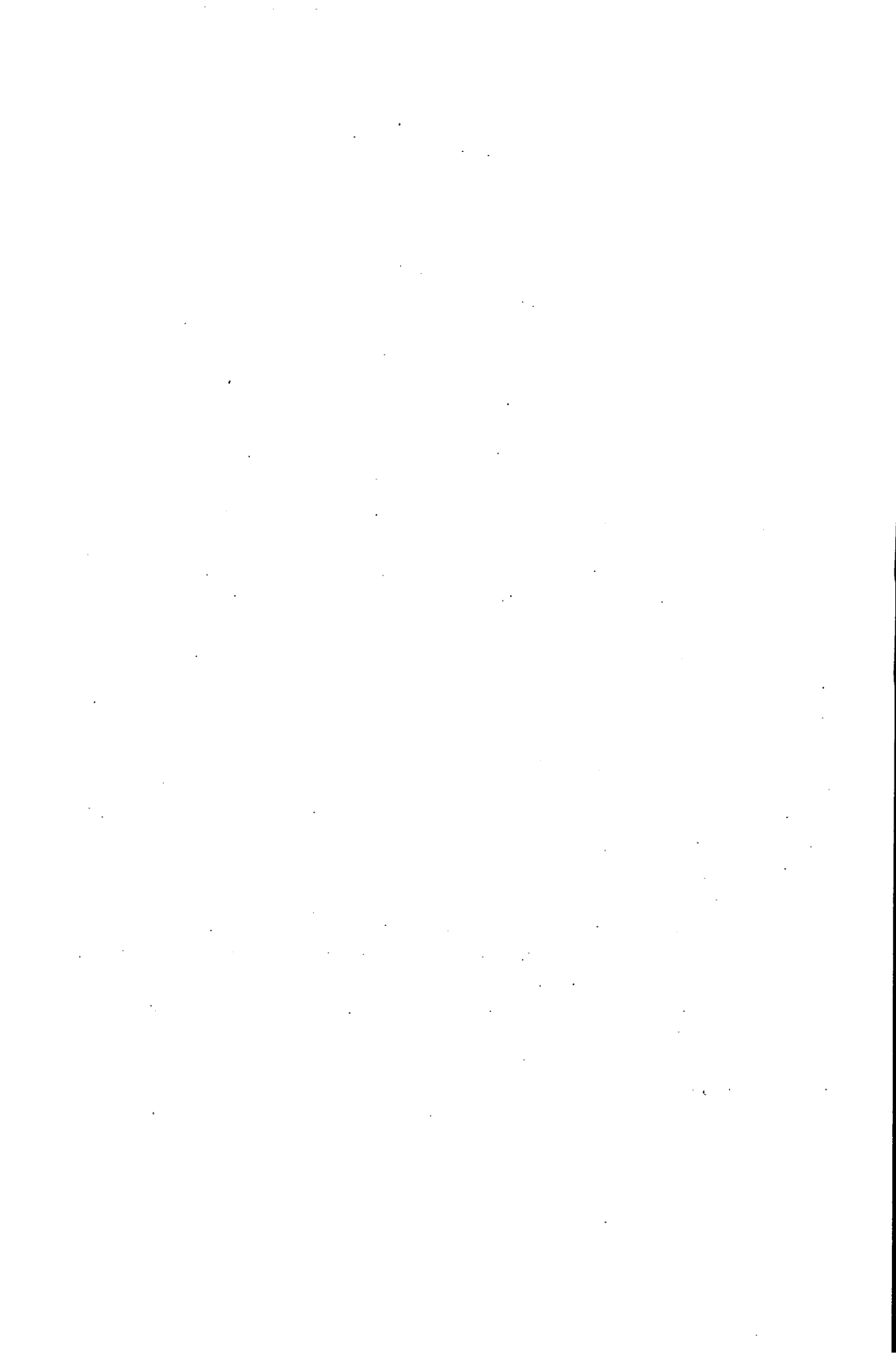
The international conference "Iconography East and West" was organized in June 1993 in Szeged by the English department, the Szeged Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Society for Modern Philology. The conference aimed at reviving contacts and establishing new cooperation among scholars of East-Central Europe and those of the Western countries, as well as mapping out new perspectives and methodologies in iconographic studies. A collection of papers presented at the conference have been published recently (*Iconography East and West*. ed. by György E. Szőnyi, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). The present volume contains papers that concentrate on theoretical issues, case studies in the fields of Medieval, Renaissance and orthodox iconography and applied iconography. It is our hope that this collection will help students of iconography to further their studies and to work out new research opportunities.

My special thanks are due to György E. Szőnyi, formerly my professor and now my colleague in Szeged, without whose organizational efforts and enthusiasm this conference would have never taken place. As the principal host of the conference and the editor of the first volume of papers, he gave me professional support in preparing this publication.

I am also indebted to Annamária Hódosy who gave me invaluable assistance in the editorial work.

September, 1996

Attila Kiss

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Peter M. Daly

Where Are We Going
in Studies of Iconography and Emblematics?

The Szeged conference itself suggested an answer to the "Quo vademus." question.
Scholars from art history, rhetoric and musicology, from film, folklore and
education, from comparative, Neo-Latin and the vernacular literatures reported on
their work, both finished and in progress. We were treated to a rare glimpse into
the fascinating kaleidoscope of studies of iconography East and West. These
presentations strengthened the impression which many of us already shared that the
study of iconography and emblematics is alive and well, and perhaps to the
surprise of some from the West, vibrantly so in some eastern European countries.
    To assess where we are going, however, it is necessary both to look back and
to determine where we are. Let me begin with an honest disclaimer: I am not in
a position to assess everything that has been done in our disciplines even in the last
decade. Too much has been published, often in languages that I do not read, and
frequently on subjects about which I have little first hand knowledge. But as an
editor of *Emblematica* and several publication series[1] I am in the enviable position
of seeing a good deal of contemporary scholarship.
    There is a great deal of publication[2] and conference activity centring on the
emblem which I shall also factor into my assessment. Much of that conference
activity is reported regularly in *Emblematica*.
    I shall take 1986 as my point of departure. In the first issue of *Emblematica*,
published in that year, I reported on "Directions in Emblem Research — Past and
Present." I wish to take that date and that report as a spring board for the question:
Where are we today, has much changed, and where are we going? I shall try to
review various attempts to render the corpus accessible and several developments
in the elucidation of that corpus.

Rendering the Corpus Accessible
    This has several aspects:
    1. generic considerations used in identifying the corpus;
    2. compilation of new bibliographies, and the utilization of new
    technologies;

3. rendering emblem information more accessible through editions, reprints and indexes, also utilizing new technologies.

Generic Assumptions

As we all know, opinions differ on what constitutes an emblem, and this has shaped bibliography. Mario Praz[3] had a broad understanding of the emblem, and his bibliography is still the most valuable and informative. Rosemary Freeman,[4] on the other hand, had a narrower conception, restricting the use of the term to the three part combination of motto, picture and epigram associated with Alciato. Consequently her bibliography of English emblem books is restrictive, omitting more works than it includes. John Landwehr's bibliographies of German, Dutch and Romance language emblem books[5] are useful, but frequently inaccurate and incomplete.

I have observed in several places that most emblem and impresa literature can be divided into five main groups:

1. illustrated emblem books in the strict sense, i.e. the tight three-part form associated with Andrea Alciato;

2. unillustrated collections of emblems or imprese, where the graphic element is replaced with a verbal description, e.g. Andrew Willet, or editions of Henricus Engelgrave *Lux evangelica*, some of which are illustrated (Antwerp, 1654), some not (Mainz, 1661);

3. expanded forms, e.g. Jan van der Noot, who adds a book-length prose commentary to his collection of emblems, or Henry Hawkins, who employs a complex nine-part structure;

4. emblematically illustrated works such as meditations, where the plate becomes an integral if minor part, e.g. Jeremias Drexel;

5. theoretical discussions of emblem and impresa — these may also be contained in poetological works — which provide many examples of actual imprese, e.g. Paolo Giovio, Dominique Bouhours and Henri Estienne.

For purposes of bibliography all such works should be included under the generic heading of emblem books, without differentiating books with emblems from emblem books.

Since the emblem is a mixed form there will inevitably be borderline cases where works have only a loose connection with the emblem tradition. However, if we regard the emblem as both an art form and an important mode of symbolic thought, then it is important that bibliographies be generous in what they contain.

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Primary Bibliography

In 1986 relying on existing bibliographies I still believed that over six hundred authors had produced over a thousand titles that had appeared in some two thousand editions. Frank B. Fieler had estimated that "over 3000 separate editions of emblem books, by more than 700 authors, were published between 1531 and 1700."[6] Those are no longer accurate estimates. Thanks to the efforts of individual scholars, and the team working on the bibliographic database known as *The Union Catalogue of Emblem Books* a different picture is emerging. At present we have over 6,000 records for books of emblems and imprese in all European languages from 1531 to 1900 in the database, and we have not yet finished.

I shall begin by reviewing the bibliographic publications since 1986 which make new information accessible. We have seen the publication of Pedro Campa's definitive bibliography of Hispanic emblem books,[7] and a revised Landwehr bibliography of the production of the Low Countries.[8] G. Richard Dimler, S.J. published a short-title listing of Jesuit emblem books in *Emblematica*[9] and Daly and Mary Silcox published a similar short-title listing of English emblem books published up to 1900 also in *Emblematica*.[10]

In addition to such general bibliographies as those of Praz, Landwehr, and Campa, there are also invaluable library catalogues. Doubtless the most famous is the short title list of the holdings of the Stirling Maxwell Collection in the Glasgow University Library. The updated list prepared by David Weston was published in 1988.[11] Then there is the collection of nearly 800 emblem books in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany; a short-title list was published in the *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*.[12] The Princeton University Collection of some 800 items is described in a published catalogue prepared by William S. Heckscher and Agnes Sherman.[13] So, too, is the small but interesting collection at Trier. An exhibition catalogue from Stadtbibliothek Trier in Germany is available entitled *Sinnbild — Bildsinn* containing essays and a bibliography. The substantial collection of emblem books at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands has now been described in an unusually informative catalogue modestly entitled *Provisional Short Title Catalogue of Emblem Books in the University Library of Leiden*.[14] The 503 books are listed with information on format, pagination, illustrations, and shelfmarks. The University of Illinois at Urbana deserves mention with its collection of about 600 emblem books; its catalogue was recently published.[15]

And the work goes on. A team of French scholars in Scotland comprising Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles and Alison Saunders is working on a new bibliography of French emblem books. G. Richard Dimler, S.J. and I are working on bibliography of Jesuit emblems in all languages. Pedro Campa has started on the Italian corpus. John Manning and another group is tackling the Latin works. Together with Sabine Mödersheim I am working on the German books. Dutch emblems are in the good hands of our colleagues at Leuven. Sandra Sider is producing a bibliography of emblematic manuscripts. And Mary Silcox and I are labouring on the English collection. Eastern European emblems are still orphans. We urgently need assistance especially from colleagues in Eastern European countries.

It is our intention to integrate the results of these various bibliographical projects in a single computer database known as *The Union Catalogue of Emblem Books*. The project is briefly described in *Emblematica*.[16] At the same time we intend to publish illustrated bibliographic handbooks with McGill-Queens University Press in Montreal, Canada. In the longer term, CD-ROM distribution would make sense, or even on-line access.

Secondary Bibliography

Related to the emblem book bibliography is the project to compile bibliographies on the criticism and history of emblematics. This is also part of the Corpus Librorum Emblematum project, published by McGill-Queens in Montreal. To date the volumes relating to the English tradition have appeared.[17] Similar bibliographies are under preparation: Dutch by Karel Porteman and Marc van Vaeck, French by Daniel Russell and Billy Grove, German by Sabine Mödersheim and myself, Jesuit traditions by G. Richard Dimler. We should be delighted to hear from anyone interested in collaborating on Latin, Italian and eastern European emblematics. Ideally, we want to publish both bibliographies of secondary literature on these areas, and separate critical evaluations of that material.

Thus far we have only distributed the results of research in the print medium, but many of us work with computers, not only for text-processing, but also in database formats. *The Union Catalogue of Emblem Books* project is first and foremost a database project, from which book publications are a by-product. In the next few years we can expect to witness fast and exciting changes, which will make it possible to consider on-line availability, while CD-ROM dissemination is already an option.

As I have been saying for years, the emblem is becoming increasingly important in the study of Renaissance and Baroque culture, but research is still hampered by the relative inaccessibility of the emblem books themselves.

The books themselves may be rare, but there are several well-known, large microform collections which contain emblem books. The largest is the IDC microfiche emblem project.[18] Then the Faber du Faur[19], Harold Janz[20] and Early English Books[21] microfilm collections contain many emblem books. After this we are left with the occasional reprints done by Olms, Scolar Press with its new series, and most recently by AMS Press.

Of the several important individual publications, mention should be made of Klaus Conermann's substantial three volumes dedicated to the German literary society "Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft,"[22] the Italian imprese collection *Le Pale della Crusca*,[23] and the Camerarius edition by Harms and Kuechen.[24] A further contribution to impresa studies is Alan Young's edition of 521 English tournament imprese.[25] Mention should also be made of an important forthcoming work: Alan Young's large documentation of emblematic flags and cornets created during the Civil Wars in England[26] will show again that far from being merely a symbolic device for jousting gentlemen and lovers, imprese were being designed as part of the propaganda war in England between the parliamentarians and royalists.

In 1977 the National Endowment for the Humanities in the U.S. identified as a high priority the creation of an Iconographical / Topological Dictionary,[27] which would include emblems. Indispensable though it may be, the Henkel / Schöne *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967, 2nd ed. 1976) is not the answer.[28]

Since 1985 some small progress has been made. Huston Diehl published her *Index of Icons in English Emblem Books, 1500-1700* (1986). Unfortunately, it is based on Rosemary Freeman's bibliography which seriously compromises Diehl's claim to completeness.[29] The firsfour volumes of the *Index Emblematicus* have also appeared, two devoted to Alciato[30] and the third and fourth to the earliest books in the English Emblem Tradition.[31] A further volume is in preparation on English Civil War flags and imprese. Although the work continues on the English tradition, on a Sambucus volume and another on dedicated to Herman Hugo, the *Index Emblematicus* as a series will make only a slight impact on the problem of indexing emblematics. A bolder approach is required.

Mention should also be made of a two important sets of Ripa concordances: Yassu Okayama's *The Ripa Index*[32] and Mason Tung's *Two Concordances to Ripa's Iconologia*.[33] Concordance A is devoted to Ripa's 1,309 personifications and their key words, as they appear in nine major Italian editions. Concordance B is a concordance of illustrations in sixteen editions. These two concordances to the most influential iconography ever published will become an indispensable tool in tracing Ripa's influence in the visual arts, literature and emblematics.

John Cull (College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass, USA) is completing work on an illustrated index to the icons and mottoes in Spanish emblem books. The work, which in its methods stands between the *Index* of Huston Diehl and the *Index emblematicus* volumes, promises to be the definitive work on the subject, thereby rendering accessible for the first time the wealth of information contained in the *inscriptiones* and *picturae* of Spanish emblems.

There are also other very promising projects underway. David Graham (Memorial University, Newfoundland, Canada) is using hypertext software on a Mac computer[34] to develop new strategies for analysing French emblems. Members of the ICONCLASS research group at Utrecht and Leiden are not only computerizing ICONCLASS, but have also developed techniques to analyse and access the verbal and visual information contained in Dutch printers' marks. Such printers' marks are, of course, in form and content closely related to imprese and emblems. The results are also available in CD-ROM format.

Elucidation of the Corpus

In addition to Diehl's *Index* and the *Index emblematicus* project mentioned earlier, a number of new reference works have been published which will help render the parts of the corpus more accessible. Bustamente's *Instrumentum Emblematicum*[35] contains more than 20,000 lemmatized Latin keywords deriving from Virgil, Ovid and Horace, among others. The *Instrumentum* enables us to trace texts of the emblem tradition to some of its most important classical roots. It is thus, as Johannes Köhler observes, "a tool for verifying and locating specific *lemmata*."[36] William S. Heckscher's *The Princeton Alciati Companion*[37] provides a bibliography of secondary sources on Alciato's emblems and an glossary of Neo-Latin words used by Alciato and the emblem writers of his time. Heckscher has produced a further invaluable reference tool for emblem scholarship, which is currently in press, entitled *Emblematic Variants*.[38] As the sub-title suggests, this is a listing of words and phrases which, in the course of the centuries have been

used as substitutes for and extensions of Alciato's term *emblema*. The rich and varied array of over one thousand entries should be of interest not only to the emblem specialist but also to art historians, philologists and cultural historians.

There are also a few books of wider scope dealing with different cross sections of emblematic traditions. The stag in Western art is the subject of Michael Bath's *The Image of the Stag*.[39] And death is treated by Gisele Mathieu-Castellani in *Emblèmes de la mort*.[40]

The Interpretation and Analysis of Emblems, Emblem Books and Emblem Writers

I shall attempt to review some of the most important trends, noting some interesting work in progress, and suggesting some future directions. In what follows I shall exclude the purely verbal art of literature, and concentrate on books rather than articles, because of constraints of space.

The interpretation of older literary texts is almost invariably based on historical-critical editions. There are no historical-critical editions of emblem books at all. What we have are a few facsimile reprints with introductory notes or essays of differing degrees of usefulness. The new Scolar Press and Olms series preface their facsimile editions with substantial introductions. Michael Bath's *Wither*,[41] Wolfgang Harms' *Camerarius*[42] and Anthony Hippisley's edition of Russian emblems by *Ambodik*[43] are representative. At long last, Höltgen's and Horden's new edition of Quarles has appeared in an Olms edition. One new venture also deserves mention here: AMS Press announced a new series of Emblem Reprints under the general editorship of John Manning and the first title will be an English Drexel (Zodiac), edited by Alan R. Young.

Given the size of the corpus, it is fair to say to say that a great deal remains to be done on European emblematics. Consequently, almost any new discussion of an emblem or emblem book or emblem writer represents a contribution to knowledge. Almost any critical approach, when intelligently applied, will yield results. There is room for all in this vineyard, and most tools will prove useful. For example, I see no reason to think motif studies are necessarily passé or irrelevant, nor do I see how deconstructive or post-modern discourses are necessarily helpful. Scholarship is a conversation, perhaps better likened to a conference call, in which no-one has the last word. I do, however, know one scholar who thinks his bibliographic enterprise is so monumental that it will stand a pyramid to his glory. He is not an emblem scholar. I trust none of us is

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sufficiently lacking in modesty or realism to think that his or her "lines to eternity grow."

In 1986 I observed that there are remarkably few monographs on individual emblem writers or studies of individual emblem books for that matter. The situation today is only marginally better.

The bibliography of writings on Alciato is impressive, but there is still no substantial, let alone definitive, study of "pater et princeps" of the emblem. Work proceeds but slowly on a census of Alciato editions.[44] Various theories concerning the emergence of the first edition of Alciato's *Emblematum liber* are reviewed by Bernhard Scholz in a recent issue of *Emblematica,*[45] and Virginia Callahan contributed a further note on the subject.[46] Apart from Heckscher's *The Princeton Alciati Companion*, mentioned earlier, the only other recent book on Alciato is the Callahan Festschrift entitled *Alciato and the Emblem Tradition* containing essays on various aspects of Alciato's emblems.[47] In addition to the publication of a number of individual articles, mention should be made of a larger work in progress. Denis L. Drysdall is planning a volume of essays on "Alciato and his Times,"[48] and John Manning is collaborating with a number of scholars to produce a volume documenting the vernacular reception of Alciato's emblems.

To conclude this bibliographic survey, I will call to mind the book-length studies, which have appeared since 1986, on French emblems by Daniel S. Russell,[49] Alison Saunders,[50] and Régine Reynolds-Cornell;[51] on German emblems by Ingrid Höpel,[52] and Sabine Mödersheim;[53] on English emblems by Karl Josef Höltgen,[54] Peter M. Daly and Mary V. Silcox,[55] and Michael Bath;[56] and on Jesuit emblems by Barbara Bauer,[57] and Gabriele Dorothea Rödter.[58] We are looking forward to the publication of Bernhard Scholz's book and Pedro Campa's study of the Spanish emblem tradition both announced in the Brill series.

Quo vademus? Theory

Theory is a big word which covers a lot of ground. There is work being done on theoretical questions concerning the emblem, and much more work needs to be done. For the sake of clarity, I would divide theoretical concerns into different categories.

Modern scholars — Heckscher and Wirth,[59] Schöne,[60] Jöns[61] and to some extent Scholz[62] — have attempted to create theories to encompass the various manifestations of the emblematic mode, or to explain its workings. In a sense, the

attempt was to provide a retrospective or bird's eye view of the various products of the print and material culture that can be properly considered emblematic.[63] But what is properly labelled "emblematic" will remain a matter of disagreement and on occasion contention. Part of the purpose for this modern theoretical exercise, whether articulated or not, was the necessary and laudable attempt to rehabilitate the phenomenon itself, to rescue the emblem from oblivion, from misunderstanding and even ridicule, and thereby to set the study of things emblematic on a firmer and more respectable basis. While there are still those who refuse to recognize the importance of emblematic manifestations, there is no longer much doubt about the importance of the subject itself. The numbers of conferences, lectures, papers, articles and books, and publication series are eloquent enough witness to the coming of age of an intellectual discipline.

"Discipline" is an important concept and a reminder that the marginalization of the emblem had much to do with the nineteenth-century organization of knowledge into discrete disciplines, which was then proliferated and fragmented in the twentieth century as specialization increased to the point where to be a specialist required that one be what is in German known as a "Fachidiot." The 1970's and 1980's have seen an increasing questioning of the traditional disciplines as structures for knowledge, and it is therefore no surprise to find that a phenomenon like the emblem, which embraces word and image and informs all aspects of culture, has attracted increasing interest.

Modern theory is the attempt to account for a huge and multi-facetted cultural phenomenon. It necessarily set up structures and models which could not contain all historical manifestations of the emblem. But that does not necessarily imply that all modern attempts to theorize are necessarily ahistorical and therefore suspect. Modern critics will discuss Shakespearean plays according to notions of tragedy which were not current in Elizabethan England, but that does not necessarily invalidate the insights that they can produce. There is no reason why a modern scholar should impose upon himself or herself the necessarily myopic perspective which a given emblem writer or emblem creator in a given place and time is heir to.

Modern emblem theory was initially, and quite properly, concerned with accounting for the various forms that the emblem took; it sought to elucidate the functional interrelationships between text and image, thing and word, thing, word and meaning or concept, whether implied or stated. There is no need to review the important contributions of Heckscher and Wirth, Schöne and Jöns; readers can find an evaluation of those theories in existing literature.[64] Each theoretical edifice has

proved stimulating and useful until such time as either major defects were discovered, or until alternative ways of looking at the phenomenon were presented.

One problem with the modern critical edifice, whether erected by Heckscher and Wirth, or Schöne, has resulted from the occasional misapplication of theoretical statements either made by those who sought to simplify, or to apply theoretical statements in a normative fashion so as to, in effect, exclude certain phenomena from the emblem genre, or to chastise the emblem writer for his failure to produce an emblem which could live up to the expectations of the new modern theory.

The value of theory does not necessarily reside in its permanence but in its productivity. Louis Pasteur observed that truth is fertile. Certainly the value of theoretical constructs lies in their fertility. Can we work with them? Do they give us an increased understanding of concrete phenomena? Are they sufficiently flexible to allow for developments not necessarily included or foreseen?

Modern theory looks at the parts that make up the emblematic whole, the functional relationship of the parts, as well as various semantic and epistemological concerns. These latter could usually be subsumed under the heading of word-image relationships, and thing-meaning relationships. This also involved different modes of experience and differing ways of elucidating that experience. The medieval book of the world fixes one end of a spectrum which slides ultimately through to modern empirical science at the opposite end. Modern theory does not necessarily abstract the phenomenon from its cultural context in order to view it *in vitrio*.

Opposing such modern theoretical constructs is the attempt to focus more narrowly on historically delimited contexts for theoretical discourse. And here we may say with Bertolt Brecht that truth is concrete. Concretely, how did Giovio understand the impresa in mid-sixteenth-century Italy? How did Dutch practitioners understand and use the emblem in the sixteenth-century?[65] How did the Germans in Braunschweig, especially Schottel[66], and the Nuremberg poets and writers conceive of the emblem in mid-seventeenth-century Germany? What can George Wither's use of emblem terminology tell us about the way one Englishman in the 1630's understood the traditions that he inherited when he used Van de Passe plates from Rollenhagen's humanist emblem book?[67] What will the theoretical explorations of a Jesuit like Masen or Menestrier tell us about the use of emblematic forms among members of the Society of Jesus?[68] And we should never forget that the Jesuit order was anything but an association of hermits withdrawn from what is today amusingly called the real world. The Counter-Reformation served God, the Pope and the Prince, not necessarily always in that

order. G. Richard Dimler's research shows that the theories of the Jesuit Masen cannot embrace or even explain the emblem production of his fellow Jesuit Herman Hugo.[69] There are degrees of cultural and historical specificity at work here. Indeed, it would appear that the theoretical statements of a Masen would lead to the total exclusion of the emblem production of a Herman Hugo. And so on, and so forth.

Many of these concerns were dealt with at a conference on Renaissance symbology held at the University of Chattanooga in June 1992. Case studies deriving from that conference will be published in a forthcoming volume entitled *Essays in Renaissance and baroque Symbol Theory*,[70] or in *Emblematica*.

Humanistic scholarship is not unlike research in the natural sciences insofar as both activities are carried out within a certain historical episteme; the proponents of both humanistic and scientific endeavours recognize, or should acknowledge, that their results are more like stepping stones than end markers.

Historicizing and Contextualising

Where should we be going in emblem studies? To some extent or another the emblem plays an important role in the vernacular and Neo-Latin cultures of all European countries. And I mean both the print and material culture. I would submit that our overriding concern is to understand the contribution of emblematic forms to particular historical cultures. The elucidation of such emblematic forms requires the contextualisation of the emblem, and this in turn will require many different kinds of information. The historical elucidation of the emblem also requires approaches that go beyond the description of content, accompanied by normative or evaluative judgements, or framed within such oversimplifications as Catholic-image versus Protestant-word. Polarising emblematics and iconography by reference to Catholic-eye-image-picture set against Protestant-ear-word-text is an oversimplification that can lead to distortions.[71] Höltgen's criticism of Lewalski and those who follow her blindly,[72] and Dimler's analysis of Arwaker's treatment of Hugo,[73] should have sensitized us to the dubious nature of such oversimplifications.

An historical approach will attempt to answer the simple sounding question: what does a given emblem communicate, how and to whom? To insist on the obvious, the emblem must be seen in its historical context. The metaphors we use to describe the relation of the phenomenon to its historical environment are revealing. We used to speak of "background" as though historical information on the life and times surrounding the writer and the work were somehow a static

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theatrical backdrop, something separate even distinct from the work. Today we speak of "context" recognizing an interplay between work and surrounding world. However, the work should not be regarded as a mere reflection of the context, but rather as part of that discourse which, in fact, helped to create the very reality that the emblem may be said to reflect. Historical information of many different kinds needs to be brought to bear on the emblem and always with an eye to the questions of intended reader as well as actual creator. The question of creator brings us to problem of authority in the emblem, which has attracted its due of attention recently.[74] It will suffice here to call to mind that a bi-medial form like the emblem is the product of differing kinds of activity involving a writer, one or more artists, a printer, bookseller, and often a translator. Some emblem books go under the name of the writer, others under the name of artist and yet others under the name of the publisher or bookseller. In each case, however, some often complicated form of collaboration was involved.

Any attempt to contextualise the emblem necessarily brings us into contact with semiotics and communications theory, the sociology and aesthetics of production and reception, in addition to the more traditional questions of history of all sorts, i.e. literary, philological, cultural, political, social, religious and intellectual. This means that serious emblem studies will frequently require a collaboration between, say, the literary scholar and local historian as well as the art historian, especially when architectural programmes are the object of study. The literary scholar will not always be sufficiently aware of architectural issues to elucidate the emblematic designs decorating buildings. For this reason a conference was held on the general subject of "Architecture and the Emblem" at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, which included both case studies and a discussion of more general issues.

Approaches deriving from semiotics and communications theory are being perhaps hesitatingly applied to the emblem. As I noted in 1986, the question is how does the emblem convey what information to which reader/observer? Holger Homann summarized such questions well in the announcement that the *Jahrbuch der Internationalen Germanistik* would devote a series to "Emblematik und Literaturwissenschaft."[75]

A number of scholars are looking at the emblem within its historical context in the manner sketched above. John Manning has been reassessing Whitney's emblems both in articles and an important introduction to the new Scolar Press facsimile edition.[76] In addition to his work on the English impresa tradition and the emblematic materials produced during the English civil wars, Alan Young has

contextualised Wenceslaus Hollar's engravings,[77] and some of the English translations of Jeremias Drexel.[78] Bart Westerweel's recent studies of the engraved love emblems of Philip Ayres are fine examples of this newer kind of historical contextualising.[79] Michael Bath is doing for Wither[80] what Manning did for Whitney, and Bath's new book-length study of the English emblem[81] will provide a new framework for the understanding of the whole English tradition.

The investigation of Dutch emblematics is now proceeding along these lines, especially through the studies of Karel Porteman. Indeed, a new volume of essays devoted to the Dutch tradition is in preparation.[82]

I should mention two forthcoming studies which situate English works in their contexts. Henri Estienne's *L'Art de faire les devises* (1645) was translated very soon after its appearance by Thomas Blount as *The Art of Making Devises* in 1646. Alan R. Young explores the cultural and political context in which Blount's work stands.[83] In the same volume, Mary Silcox places Puttenham's poetological discussion of emblematics in its courtly and political context arguing that "the same foundation of delight, deception and decorum shapes the creation of devices as of poetry in general."[84]

The attempt to see the emblem within its cultural and political context can be a complex matter. I shall illustrate this with some observations on the English emblem. Although the introduction of the emblem into England was probably not politically motivated, the form was certainly utilized in creating the Tudor ideology and in reinforcing the project of the Protestant Alliance. It is not a coincidence that Whitney frames his printed *Choice of Emblemes*, printed in the Netherlands, with an initial emblem addressed to Elizabeth, featuring the ivy-entwined column, and a final emblem devoted to Leicester. The extent to which the Tudor political ideology and the Protestant Alliance inform the book and shape its agenda still remains to be determined, since most of the emblems seem to me to be moral statements on a great variety of topics.[85]

Again, it may not be a matter of happenchance that when George Puttenham moves from a discussion of pattern poetry to emblem, the last pattern poem he discusses is the great column or spire, a pattern poem addressed to Elizabeth. And once again, it is clearly no accident that Willet opens his *Sacrorum emblematum centuria una* (1592?) with a similar naked emblem addressed to Elizabeth. He has other emblems commenting on political events in the period. And Van der Noot dedicates the French (1568) and English version (1569) of his emblematic collection, *Theatre of voluptuous worldlings*, to Elizabeth. In a series of studies

Roy Strong has established the extent to which the proponents of Tudor ideology used emblem and impresa in the portraiture, paintings and celebrations of the period.

But the English emblem is obviously not solely concerned with affairs of court, national politics and the international requirements of the Protestant Alliance. A history of the English emblem will need to determine the extent to which middle class and mercantile interests are reflected. John Harvey's fireplace using Alciato panel is a case in point.[86]

The anonymous collection of *Emblems divine, moral, natural, historical* opens with a phoenix emblem addressed to the citizens of London recalling the devastating fire of 1666. The 24-line poem, facing the picture of phoenix proper with outspread wings, mentions the destruction of "the riches, the prosperous trade and the wealth" of London which are now being renewed and extended. This emblem is adapted from Whitney (177 on Nantwich) who takes a Paradin impresa and makes of it an emblematic comment upon a contemporary event, the destruction by fire of the town of Nantwich. Similar mercantile interests as well as a veiled reflection of the Civil War from a Royalist point of view will be found in the Marshall emblems dated 1650.[87]

Since the emblem is a bi-medial construct we are dealing with forms of intertextuality, and, if the term be excused, even with modes of "visual intertextuality."[88] Intertextuality, especially in the case of emblems, implies different kinds of selective reception and imitation, and it frequently involves different audiences.

One example can perhaps act as a focus for most of these theoretical concerns. Georgette de Montenay has an emblem (No. 71) with the motto "Idolorum servitus" [Servitude to idols] which depicts a nun, a bag of money in each hand, keeling before the golden calf set on a column encircled with ivy. What does this mean, and how is meaning communicated? There is a certain tension between the verbal statements in the motto and epigram and the silent intertextuality of the pictura. On the surface, at least, the emblem is a moral condemnation of the sins associated with the golden calf, and the epigram castigates "vice, idolatry and avarice." However, the golden calf surmounts a pillar entwined with ivy.[89] What does this motif communicate and to whom? How would a late sixteenth-century French reader have reacted to this emblem? How would a seventeenth-century English or German reader have received the polyglot version printed in 1619? How does a graduate student in 1993 read it?

The emblem as a whole does more than condemn certain sins. De Montenay's contemporary educated French reader would doubtless have recognized in the ivy-entwined pillar the impresa of the powerful de Guise family. When we bear in mind the author's Calvinist confession and recall the bitter Catholic-Protestant struggles in France during the latter sixteenth century, struggles in which the de Guise family were the implacable enemies of the cause for which Georgette de Montenay prayed and worked and wrote, then the visual motif of the ivy-entwined column supporting a golden calf can be read as a silent attack upon the arch-Catholic enemy. The picture then signifies the de Guise family as supporters of an idolatrous religion, the golden calf being an Old Testament type for the evil of idolatry, the worship of false gods, i.e. the false worship of God. And this is not the only anti-Catholic visual message in De Montenay's emblems. The keeling figure of Avarice in this emblem looks rather like a nun. Emblem 7 shows wolves fanning a fire, and they wear a monk's cowl; emblem 25 shows hypocrisy as a nun with a rosary.

De Montenay's collection of religious emblems was issued in a trilingual edition by Unkel in Frankfurt am Main in 1619. There is little reason to suppose that a middle class German in Frankfurt reading the 1619 edition would have recognised the De Guise impresa in this pictura, and read the emblem both as a religious and political condemnation. The German text highlights "Geitz, "Wucher" and "Gelt."[90] In a study of the French and German texts of the De Montenay emblems Marion Moamai has shown that different target audiences with their differing social and political contexts account for textual differences.[91] But then again a reader at the Wolfenbüttel court of the Herzog von Braunschweig might well have caught the De Guise reference. Wolfenbüttel was an aristocratic and emblematically literate society, and a Protestant society where the memory of the Bartholomew Day Massacre would have been fresh.

The middle class London reader in Jacobean England would have been likewise guided by the textual references to "greed for gold," and the worship of "Idols and Mamon," as the epigram puts it.[92] He would have missed the De Guise reference. But at the courts of James and Charles impresa and emblem traditions continued to flourish, and as in Protestant Germany the Bartholomew Day Massacre would not have been forgotten. A reader at court might well have recognized the silently visual condemnation of De Guise.

The visual intertextuality of De Montenay's emblem resides in the use of an impresa (De Guise) in a picture which has the effect of converting a general moral emblem (golden calf) into a negative comment on a specific person or group. The

emblem thus makes a comment that is religious and theological, but ultimately also political. The decoding of this message requires, however, a historical knowledge of the De Guise impresa and of religious and political developments in France in the mid and later seventeenth century.

Historicising and contextualising the emblem is the direction in which we should be going in studies of emblematics and iconography today and tomorrow.

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Notes

1. "AMS Studies in the Emblem" (New York: AMS Press), the Index Emblematicus project (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), and the "Corpus Librorum Emblematum," to be published by McGill-Queens University Press (the first two volumes were published by Saur [Munich]).

2. In addition to the series published by Brill, Olms, Scolar Press, and many individual titles, AMS Press has a series "Studies in the Emblem," edited by Peter M. Daly and Daniel S. Russell. The following have appeared or are in press:
No. 1. Peter M. Daly (ed.), *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*. 1988.
No. 2. John Manning (ed.), *The Emblems of Thomas Palmer: Two hundred poosees*. 1988.
No. 3. Alan R. Young, *The English Tournament Imprese*. 1988.
No. 4. Peter M. Daly (ed.), *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition. Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan*. 1989.
No. 6. Peter M. Daly (ed.), *The Index of Emblem Art Symposium*. 1990.
No. 7. John Manning (ed.), *Symbolicae philosophiae liber quartus et ultimus* by Abraham Fraunce. English translation by Estelle Haan. 1991.
No. 8. Wendy R. Katz, *The Emblems of Margaret Gatty. A Study of Allegory in Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature*. 1992.
No. 9. Mason Tung, *Two Concordances to Ripa's Iconologia*. 1992.
No. 10. Michael Bath, John Manning, Alan R. Young (eds.), *The Art of the Emblem. Essays in Honor of Karl Josef Höltgen*. 1992.
No. 11. William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman (compilers), *Emblematic Variants. Literary Echoes of Alciati's Term Emblema. A Vocabulary Drawn from the Title Pages of Emblem Books*. 1992.
No. 12. Ayers Bagley, Edward M. Griffin and Austin J. McLean, *The Telling Image. Explorations in the Emblem*.
Further volumes are in preparation.

3. Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1939; 2 ed. London: Warburg Institute, 1964; offset reprint, 1975 (all quotations are from this edition); *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Part II. Addenda et Corrigenda*, 1974.

4. Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1948 (rpt. 1967).

5. See John Landwehr, *Dutch emblem books*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1962; *Emblem books of the low countries*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1970; *German emblem books*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1972; *French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese books of devices and emblems 1534-1827*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1976). Landwehr's most recent bibliography is entitled *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries 1542-1813. A Bibliography*. Utrecht: Hes, 1988. This work supercedes the earlier bibliography. All of Landwehr's bibliographies need to be used with prudence, see review by Karel Porteman in *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 211-215, and B. van Selm in *Dokumentaal* 17 (1988), pp. 152-157.

6. See Fieler's Introduction (p. x) to Henry Green's edition of Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (in the Blom facsimile reprint). New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.

7. Pedro F. Campa, *Emblematica Hispanica. An Annotated Bibliography of Spanish Emblem Literature to the Year 1700*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990.

8. See Note 5.

9. In *Emblematica* 2 (1987), pp. 139-187.

10. In *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 333-376.

11. The updated list prepared by David Weston was published in 1988. *A short title catalogue of the emblem books and related works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Glasgow University Library (1499-1917)* (originally compiled by Hester M. Black, edited and revised by David Weston). Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988.

12. See Carsten-Peter Warncke, "Emblembücher in der Herzog August Bibliothek. Ein Bestandverzeichnis", *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 9.2 (1982), pp. 346-70.

13. *Emblem Books in the Princeton University Library. A Short-Title Catalogue* (compiled by William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman with the assistance of Stephen Ferguson). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Library, 1984.

14. By Bart Westerweel, Lucia van der Drift and Marima Wladimiroff.

15. *Emblem Books at the University of Illinois. A Bibliographic Catalogue* (compiled by Thomas McGeary and N. Frederick Nash), Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1993.

16. See Peter M. Daly, "The Union Catalogue of Emblem Books project and the *Corpus Librorum Emblematum*", *Emblematica* 3 (1988), pp. 121-133.

17. See Peter M. Daly and Mary V. Silcox, *The English Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Literature*, "Corpus Librorum Emblematum". Munich, London, New York, Paris: Saur, 1990; and *The Modern Critical Reception of the English Emblem*, "Corpus Librorum Emblematum". Munich, London, New York, Paris: Saur, 1991.

18. IDC (Inter Documentation Company [Leiden, The Netherlands]) has an on-going project to provide all emblem books on microfiche.

19. Curt von Faber du Faur's microfilm series is known as *German Baroque Literature: Yale Collection*. New Haven: Research Publications, Inc. The catalogue is entitled *German Baroque Literature: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Yale University Library* (2 vols.). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958 & 1969. Microfilm reel numbers are given in *Bibliography-Index to the Microfilm Edition of the Yale University Library Collection of German Baroque Literature*. New Haven: Research Publications, 1971.

20. The microfilm collection is known as *German Baroque Literature: Harold Janz Collection*. New Haven: Research Publications. The printed catalogue with reel numbers is entitled: *German Baroque Literature: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Harold Janz and a Guide to the Collection on Microfilm* (2 vols.). New Haven: Research Publications, 1974.

21. *Early English Books 1475-1640*. A series of microfilms published by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan (U.S.A.). *Early English Books 1641-1700*. A series of microfilms published by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan (U.S.A.).
    There are also the following microfilm collections:
    German Books Before 1601
    French Books Before 1601
    Italian Books Before 1601
    Books Printed in the Low Countries Before 1601
    French Books 1601-1700
    Italian Books 1601-1700
    Hispanic Culture (15th-17th Centuries)
published by General Microfilm Company, Cambridge, Mass.
    Finally there is the Vatican Library Collection: *Microfilms of Rare and Out-of-Print Books in the Vatican Library*. List Number 38 (Renaissance Literature: Emblem Books, Formularies, Dictionaries, Mythologies). These are available through inter-library loan in North America from Saint Louis University (The Pius XII Memorial Library: Vatican Film Library).

22. Klaus Conermann (ed.), *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft geöffneter Erzschrein. Das Köthener Gesellschaftsbuch Fürst Ludwigs I. von Anhalt-Köthen 1617-1650*. Weinheim: Verlag Acta humaniora, 1985, 3 vols. Reviewed by Peter M. Daly in *Emblematica* 3 (1988), pp. 198-203.

23. Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Lucia Tongiori Tomasi (eds), *Le Pale della Crusca. Cultura e simbologia*. Florence: Presso L'Accademia, 1983.

24. *Joachim Camerarius, Symbola et emblemata (Nürnberg 1590 bis 1604)* (facsimile edition with introduction by Wolfgang Harms and Ulla-Britta Kuechen). Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1986-1988, 2 vols. Reviewed by Peter M. Daly in *Emblematica* 6 (1992).

25. See Alan R. Young, *The English Tournament Imprese*. New York: AMS Press, 1988, and his essay "The English Tournament Imprese", in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (ed. Peter M. Daly). New York: AMS Press, 1988, pp. 61-81. See also Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*. London: George Philip, 1987.

26. The collection will appear as Volume Three of *The English Emblem Tradition* (*Index Emblematicus*), forthcoming from The University of Toronto Press.

27. A survey of "German Research Tool Needs" was carried out in 1977 in the United States and Canada for The National Endowment for the Humanities. See *Monatshefte* 70 (1978), pp. 239-53.

28. Not all the emblems from the 47 books represented are included, and neither the mottoes nor the epigrams are indexed.

29. See the reviews by Alan R. Young, *Emblematica* 2 (1987), pp. 200-203, and by Mary Silcox, *MRDE* 6 (1993), pp. 287-289.

30. Peter M. Daly with Virginia W. Callahan and Paola Valeri-Tomaszuk, assisted by Simon Cuttler, *Index Emblematicus: Andreas Alciatus. Volume 1: The Latin Emblems. Indexes and Lists. Volume II: Emblems in Translation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

31. Peter M. Daly in collaboration with Leslie T. Duer, Anthony Raspa and Paola Valeri-Tomaszuk, assisted by Rüdiger Meyer and Mary V. Silcox, *The English Tradition.* Volume One. *Index Emblematicus.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

32. Yassu Okayama, *The Ripa Index.* Beukenlaan, Netherlands: Davaco Press, 1992. This work indexes the personifications and their attributes in five editions: 1603 (Italian), 1624 (Talian), 1644 (Dutch), 1677 (Dutch) and 1644 (French). ICONCLASS notations are used.

33. Mason Tung's *Two Concordances to Ripa's Iconologia,* Vol. 11, in "AMS Studies in the Emblem". New York: AMS Press, 1993. Tung's Concordance A is devoted to Ripa's 1,309 personifications and their key words, as they appear in nine major Italian editions. The editions are: 1593, 1603, 1611, 1613, 1618, 1625, 1630, 1645, and the 1764-1767 Perugia edition by Orlandi. Concordance B is a concordance of illustrations in sixteen editions. Contained are all the major Italian editions, the French editions of 1644 and 1766, the Dutch editions of 1644 and 1699, the German editions of 1704 and 1760, and the English editions of 1709 and 1779.

34. See David Graham's article published in *Emblematica* 5 (1991), pp. 271-85.

35. José Manuel Díaz de Bustamente. *Instrumentum Emblematicum.* (Alpha-Omega, Reihe B, Indizes, Konkordanzen zur Mittel- und Neulateinischen Philologie). Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms-Weidmann, 1992, 2 volumes.

36. In his review in *Emblematica* 6 (1992).

37. William S. Heckscher, *The Princeton Alciati Companion. A Glossary of Neo-Latin Words and Phrases used by Andrea Alciati and the Emblem Book Writers of his time, including a Bibliography of Secondary Sources relevant to the Study of Alciati's Emblems.* New York: Garland, 1989.

38. The full title is *Emblematic Variants. Literary Echoes of Alciati's Term Emblema. A Vocabulary Drawn from the Title Pages of Emblem Books* (compiled by William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman), vol.10 in "AMS Studies in the Emblem". New York: AMS Press.

39. Michael Bath, *The Image of the Stag. Iconographic Themes in Western Art*. "Saecvla spiritalia" vol. 24. Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1992.

40. Gisele Mathieu-Castellani, *Emblèmes de la mort. Le dialogue de l'image et du texte*. Paris: A.-G. Nizet, 1988, reviewed by Daniel S. Russell *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 394-8.

41. See Michael Bath (ed.), Wither's *A Choice of Emblemes*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989.

42. *Joachim Camerarius, Symbola et emblemata (Nürnberg 1590 bis 1604)* (facsimile edition with introduction by Wolfgang Harms and Ulla-Britta Kuechen). Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1986-1988, 2 vols.
    The sixty-one page introduction is important, in that it provides a valuable overview of the biographical and personal circumstances that led to the creation of the *Symbola et Emblemata*. The editors discuss Camerarius as a scientist and an emblem writer; they place the Camerarius emblems in the tradition that leads from the *impresa* to the emblem, and they discuss the reception of Camerarius' emblems in the print medium and in material culture. The Camerarius emblems provide a revealing test case in the question of authority and authorship in that they document a mode of humanistic collaboration between family members, friends and scholars, best characterized by the word "amicitia."

43. Published as volume 1 in the Brill series "Symbola et emblemata."

44. See Mason Tung, "Towards a New Census of Alciati's Editions: A Research Report that Solicits Help from the Scholarly Community and Curators of Rare Books & Special Collections". *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 135-76.

45. See Bernhard F. Scholz, "The 1531 Augsburg Edition of Alciato's *Emblemata*: A Survey of Research". *Emblematica* 5 (1991), pp. 213-54.

46. See Virginia Woods Callahan, "A Comment on the 1531 Edition of Alciato's Emblems", *Emblematica* 6 (1992), pp. 201-4.

47. The volume, *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition: Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan* (ed. Peter M. Daly). New York: AMS Press, 1989, contains the following: a list of the Alciato Studies by Virginia Woods Callahan; Konrad Hoffmann, "Alciato and the Historical Situation of Emblematics"; Egon Verheyen, "Alciato's Hercules Emblem (No. 138) and Related Scenes. Questions of Interpretation"; Michael Bath, "Honey and Gall or: Cupid and the Bees. A Case of Iconographic Slippage"; Peggy M. Simonds, "Alciati's Two Venuses as Letter and Spirit of the Law"; John Manning, "A Bibliographical Approach to the Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Editions of Alciato's *Emblemata*"; Peter M. Daly and Bari Hooper, "John Harvey's Carved Mantle-Piece (ca. 1570): An Early Instance of the Extra-Literary Use of Alciato Emblems in England"; Daniel S. Russell, "Reading Alciato in Sixteenth-Century France: Simon Bouquet's *Imitations et traductions de cent dixhuit emblemes*"; Pedro F. Campa, "Diego López's *Declaración magistrale de las emblemas de Alciato*: A Seventeenth-Century Spanish Humanist's View."

48. The volume will likely contain essays on: Alciato and history of law, Erasmus's *Adages* — A Pervasive Element in Alciato's *Emblems*, Alciato and Erasmus, Geoffroi Tory's *Epitaphia septem* and Alciato's emblems, Alciato and Boniface Amerbach, Les *Emblèmes* d'Alciat, écho des discussions

philologiques de son temps (L'épigramme?), Alciato among the commentator, The *De singular certamine* in the context of the times, The *Contra vitam monasticam*, and The *De verborum significatione* and language theory.

49. Daniel S. Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France*. Lexington: French Forum, 1985, reviewed by Kenneth Lloyd-Jones in *Emblematica* 1 (1986), pp. 371-5.

50. Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book. A Decorative and Useful Genre*. Geneva: Droz, 1988, reviewed by Barbara C. Bowen in *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 392-94.

51. Régine Reynolds-Cornell *Witnessing an Era. Georgette de Montenay and the Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes*. Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, 1987, reviewed by Kenneth Lloyd-Jones in *Emblematica* 3 (1988), pp. 192-7.

52. Ingrid Höpel, *Emblem und Sinnbild. Vom Kunstbuch zum Erbauungsbuch*. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1987, reviewed by Bernhard F. Scholz in *Emblematica* 3 (1988), pp. 181-92.

53. Sabine Mödersheim, *"Domine Doctrina Coronat": Die geistliche Emblematik Daniel Cramers (1568-1637)*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994. (= *Mikrokosmos* 38); "Biblische Metaphorik in Daniel Cramers "80 Emblemata Moralia Nova", in *The European Emblem. Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference 11-14 August, 1987* (ed. Bernhard F. Scholz, Michael Bath and David Weston). Leiden: Brill, 1990, pp. 107-116; also Introduction to the facsimile reprint of Cramer's *Emblemata sacra*. Hildesheim-New York: Olms, 1992.

54. Karl Josef Höltgen, *Aspects of the Emblem. Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context*. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1986, reviewed by Michael Bath in *Emblematica* 1 (1986), pp. 375-9.

55. Peter M. Daly with Mary V. Silcox, *The Modern Critical Reception of the English Emblem*, "Corpus Librorum Emblematum". Munich, London, New York, Paris: Saur, 1991. AMS Press (New York) has published a several titles dealing with the English tradition: see Note 2.

56. Michael E. Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*. London & New York: Longman, 1994.

57. Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische "ars rhetorica" im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*. "Mikrokosmos" vol. 18, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1986.

58. Gabriele Dorothea Rödter. *Via piae animae. Grundlagenuntersuchung zur emblematischen Verknüpfung von Bild und Wort in den "Pia desideria" (1624) des Herman Hugo S. J. (1588-1629)*. "Mikrokosmos" vol. 32, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1992.

59. William S. Heckscher and Karl-August Wirth, "Emblem, Emblembuch", in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol.5. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1959, cols. pp. 85-228.

60. Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock*. Munich: Beck, 1964 (2nd ed. 1968).

61. Dietrich Walter Jöns, *Das "Sinnen-Bild". Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966.

62. Bernhard F. Scholz, "Didaktische Funktion und Textkonstitution im Emblem," *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 13 (1981), pp. 10-35; "Emblematisches Abbilden als Notation: Überlegungen zur Hermeneutik und Semiotik des emblematischen Bildes", *Poetica* 16 (1984), pp. 61-90. Also in H. Paetzold (ed.), *Modelle für eine semiotische Rekonstruktion der Geschichte der Ästhetik*. Aachen: Rader, 1986, pp. 35-63; "Das Emblem als Textsorte und als Genre: Überlegungen zur Gattungsbestimmung des Emblems", in *Zur Terminologie der Literaturwissenschaft* (ed. Christian Wagenknecht). Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1988, pp. 289-308.

63. For an earlier consideration of the work of Heckscher, Wirth, Jöns and Schöne, see Peter M. Daly, *Emblem Theory: Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre*. Nendeln: KTO, 1979, and *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between Literature and the Emblem in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

64. See Note 63.

65. See Karel Porteman, "The Early Reception of Alciato in the Netherlands". *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 243-254; "The Earliest Reception of the Ars Emblematica in Dutch: An Investigation into Preliminary Matters", in *The European Emblem: Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11-14 August, 1987* (ed. Bernhard F. Scholz, Michael Bath and David Weston). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990, pp. 33-53; "'Embellished with Emblems'. About the incorporation of emblems in other genres in Dutch literature", in *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Tradition and Variety. Selected Papers of the Glasgow International Conference, 13-17 August, 1990* (ed. Alison Adams and Anthony Harper). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp. 72-74.

66. Ingrid Höpel, *Emblem und Sinnbild. Vom Kunstbuch zum Erbauungsbuch*. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1987.

67. Peter M. Daly, "George Wither's Use of Emblem Terminology", in *Essays in Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory* (ed. Peter M. Daly and John Manning). New York: AMS Press, forthcoming.

68. Judi Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory". *Emblematica* 2 (1987), pp. 317-36.

69. G. Richard Dimler, "Jakob Masen's Imago Figurata: From Theory to Practice". *Emblematica* 6 (1992).

70. *Essays in Renaissance and baroque Symbol Theory* (eds. Peter M. Daly and John Manning). New York: AMS Press, forthcoming.

71. Tibor Fabiny's paper at the Szeged conference provided a useful overview of these modes without forcing the pattern onto the interpretation of given emblems, thus avoiding the pitfalls involved in applying a "macro" structure.

72. See Karl Joseph Höltgen, "The Devotional Quality of Quarles's Emblemes", in *Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context.* "Problemata Semiotica" 2. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1986, pp. 55-61. See also Höltgen, "Francis Quarles's Emblems and Hieroglyphikes: Some Historical and Critical Perspectives", in *Emblem Books and The Telling Image* (ed. Ayers Bagley et al.). New York: AMS, forthcoming. See also Daly and Silcox, *The Modern Critical Reception of the English Emblem.* "Corpus Librorum Emblematum". Munich, London, New York, Paris: Saur, 1991, pp. 124-128.

73. See G. Richard Dimler, S.J., "Edmund Arwaker's Translation of the *Pia Desideria*: The Reception of a Continental Jesuit Emblem Book in Seventeenth-Century England", in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (ed. Peter M. Daly). New York: AMS Press, 1988, pp. 203-224.

74. Daniel S. Russell, "The emblem and authority". *Word & Image* 4 (1988), pp. 81-87; Wolfgang Harms, "The Authority of the Emblem". *Emblematica* 5 (1991), pp. 3-29.

75. See Holger Homann, *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik*, vol. 11 (1979), Heft 2, pp. 128-29, and vol. 13, Heft 2 (1982), pp. 8-9.

76. See John Manning, "Geffrey Whitney's Unpublished Emblems: Further Evidence of Indebtedness to Continental Traditions", in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (ed. Peter M. Daly). New York: AMS Press, 1988, pp. 83-107; "Introduction" to *A Choice of Emblemes*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989; "Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*: A Reassessment". *Renaissance Studies* 4 (1990), pp. 155-200. See also Kenneth Borris and M. Morgan Holmes, "Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*: Anglo-Dutch Politics and the Order of Ideal Repatriation". *Emblematica*, forthcoming.

77. See Alan R. Young, "Wenceslaus Hollar, the London Book Trade, and Two Unidentified English Emblem Books", in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (ed. Peter M. Daly). New York: AMS Press, 1988, pp. 151-202.

78. See Alan R. Young, Note 77, and his introduction to the forthcoming edition of the English translation of Drexel's *Christian Zodiacke* (New York: AMS Press).

79. See Bart Westerweel, "Philip Ayres and the Dutch Love Emblem: A Contextual Analysis" to appear in the volume of essays (Leiden: Brill, 1997) deriving from the conference at Leiden on "The Anglo-Dutch Literary Trade in Matters Emblematical."

80. See Note 41.

81. See Note 56.

82. Under the editorship of Karel Porteman and Daniel S. Russell, to be published by AMS Press.

83. See Alan R. Young, "Henri Estienne's *L'Art de faire les devises* and Thomas Blount's as *The Art of Making Devises*: The Translation of Authority", in *Essays in Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory* (eds. Peter M. Daly and John Manning). New York: AMS Press, forthcoming.

84. "*Ornament of the Civill Life*: The Device in Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie*", in *Essays in Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory* (eds. Peter M. Daly and John Manning), New York: AMS Press, forthcoming.

85. See Note 76.

86. See Peter M. Daly and Bari Hooper, "John Harvey's Carved Mantle-Piece (ca. 1570): An Early Instance of the Use of Alciato Emblems in England", in *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition. Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan* (ed. Peter M. Daly). New York: AMS Press, 1989, pp. 177-204.

87. See Peter M. Daly with Mary V. Silcox, "William Marshall's Emblems (1650) Rediscovered". *English Literary Renaissance* 19 (1989), pp. 346-374.

88. See Peter M. Daly, "The Intertextuality of Word and Image in Wolfgang Hunger's German Translation of Alciato's *Emblematum liber*", in *Intertextuality: German Literature and the Visual Arts* (ed. Ingeborg Hoesterey and Ulrich Weisstein). Columbia S.C., Camden House, 1993, pp. 30-46.

89. In her monograph *Witnessing an Era. Georgette de Montenay and the Emblèmes ou Devises Chrestiennes* (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, 1987) Régine Reynolds-Cornell failed to notice this telling motif.

90.   Wo das Hertz wird genommen ein /
            Vom Geitz vnd Wucher / ist es rein
        Vorhin gewesen / so wirds dann
            So gar verfelscht / daß es nicht kan
        Gott dienen in des Himmels Thron
            Bewgehrt allein vom Gelt den Lohn
        Gelt ist sein Gott / sein Seligkeit /
            Gelt ist sein Frewd / sein Ewigkeit.

91. See Marion Moamai, "Dame d'Honneur and Biedermann: The German Translation of Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes, ov devises chrestiennes*". *Emblematica* 4 (1989), pp. 39-62.

92.   He that is greedie to get gould,
            So long he lives, in this world,
        Or thus worshipp, he Idols stil,
            For such one, is impossible;
        That he shall see, or ever obteine,
            That kingdome, of heauen fine,
        Because he worshippes, Idoles and Mamon,
            And fersahkes God, and his Sonne.
William Marshall did something similar in the 1650s in England using a golden bull in an anti-Catholic and anti-papal emblem to indicate the idolatrous nature of Catholicism. See Note 87.

Robin Headlam Wells

Microcosmos: Essentialist Anthropology in Renaissance Europe

Some years ago I published an article on the iconography of the Renaissance lute rose in which I argued that the interlacing strapwork of the typical rose, far from being just a piece of pleasing decoration, had a very precise meaning.[1] In effect the lute rose is a mandala whose geometry is symbolic of a harmonious universe in which the same mathematical laws that govern the macrocosm are recapitulated at the level of the microcosm. Although it draws on an ancient tradition of Pythagorean number symbolism, this symbolic geometry should not be seen as the quaint survival of long-forgotten mysteries. On the contrary, it was a living expression of what were still regarded as fundamental metaphysical realities. In the present paper I should like to develop some of the implications of this argument in the light of recent claims concerning the existence of a representative body of anti-essentialist thought in Renaissance Europe.

The strapwork of the Renaissance lute rose has its origins in the ubiquitous Islamic rosette, a design that originated in the tenth century and is found throughout the Muslim world. By repeating an infinitely extendible geometrical motif the artist gives us, in effect, an incomplete picture of a pattern that exists in its entirety only in infinity. Informing this geometric motif is a long tradition of representing the cosmos by means of number expressed diagrammatically. The belief that numbers are the basis of all physical reality originates in the school of Pythagoras (6th century BC). For the Pythagoreans mathematics was a key that could unlock the hidden mysteries of a universe created on harmonic principles: it explained the revolutions of the heavens; the harmonious rhythms of the natural world; even the life of the individual soul. By charting the correspondences between the manifold levels of existence, the numerologist provided a quasi-scientific account of human nature and its place in the universal scheme of things. It was Plato who first proposed an exact correspondence between the music of the spheres and the harmonies of the soul. In the *Timaeus* he explains how the gift of music was bestowed on man for the purpose of harmonizing the spirit: harmony, which has motions akin to the revolutions of the Soul within us, was given by the Muses to him who makes intelligent use of the Muses, not as an aid to irrational

pleasure... but as an auxiliary to the inner revolution of the Soul, when it has lost its harmony, to assist in restoring it to order and concord with itself.[2]

In comparing the revolutions of the soul with "the revolutions of Reason in the Heaven"[3], Plato laid the basis for the doctrine of analogy between macrocosm and microcosm, a principle that dominated medieval and Renaissance metaphysical anthropology and that was to survive well into the seventeenth century. One of the principal channels through which these ideas were transmitted to the Middle Ages was Arabic philosophy. In the work of Avicenna (980-1037), greatest of the Arabic philosophers, the traditional analogy between microcosm and macrocosm was extended and developed into a highly complex psycho-physical theory. Soon after his death Avicenna's works made their way to Spain, and from there to Christian Europe. He was a well-known authority in fifteenth and sixteenth-century England through John Trevisa's and Stephen Batman's translations of the encyclopaedic *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus (fl. c.1220-40). Avicenna has been described as one of the supreme names in the history of ideas, "an epoch-making thinker who determined the course of much Western thought."[4] As a Neoplatonist he was particularly interested in the means by which music was able to rehabilitate the soul and, in Plato's words, "restore it to order and concord with itself." Although Plato claimed that music could have a therapeutic effect on the soul, he did not explain how this process actually worked. Arab Neoplatonism attempted to provide that explanation. The result was an elaborate system of correspondences in which the four bodily humours were attuned to their equivalent elements through the agency of music. The most important instrument in Arab philosophy was the 'ud, direct ancestor of the Renaissance lute. The 'ud was a symbolic focus for the system of correspondences that is fundamental to Pythagoreanism. Its four strings were conventionally identified both with the elements and with the corresponding humours and were dyed accordingly: yellow for bile, red for blood, white for mucous, and black for black bile.[5] As well as being identified with the elements and humours, the four strings of the 'ud were associated with the signs of the zodiac, winds, seasons, periods of life, and times of the month and of the day. These were related in turn to human temperament and to the faculties of both body and soul.[6]

The 'ud occupies a place of special honour in medieval Arabic philosophy; indeed it was known as the "philosopher's instrument." According to the ninth-century philosopher and music theorist al-Kindi, every detail of its construction has an arithmetical or geometrical basis in philosophy or astrology.[7] It is at once a symbol of the cosmos — its arched belly was compared to the dome of the

heavens[8] — and a practical means of realizing the rehabilitative function of music that is central to Arabic Neoplatonism. As it became assimilated into European musical life in the later Middle Ages through the brilliant Islamic society that flourished in Spain from the tenth century[9] the 'ud brought with it a complex body of Pythagorean musical lore. That lore was to survive into the Renaissance.

In the prestige it accorded to literature and the arts, the Islamic civilization of medieval Spain far surpassed anything that Western Christendom was able to offer and had a profound influence on the course of European culture.[10] In the twelfth century there was a revival of interest in Pythagoreanism, notably at the School of Chartres.[11] The principles of Pythagorean number symbolism were already familiar in the West from the work of well-known writers like Macrobius and St Augustine.[12] But with the impetus of new ideas from the Islamic world there was renewed interest in numerology. Number symbolism is a fundamental aspect of the medieval artistic imagination;[13] insofar as it was capable of showing that all fixed aggregates defined by the same number were related to one another, numerology provided the Christian writer, not just with a way of structuring his work, but with a means of imparting knowledge of man, of nature, and consequently of God. As Sir William Ingpen puts it, since the created universe is "an harmonious body, containing number, order, beauty, and proportion," the best way to know its author is "to begin with numbering."[14] In the Middle Ages the most dramatic monuments of Pythagorean symbolism were not works of literature but buildings. The medieval Gothic cathedral was designed as a visible embodiment of divine order; in the words of Robert Jordan, it was "an analogue of creation itself, a concrete microcosm of the abstract, musico-mathematical perfection of the universe."[15] One of the most remarkable features of the Gothic cathedral is the rose window. Adelhard of Bath (fl. early 12th century), who had travelled as far as Syria and committed himself to making Arab philosophy known to the Christian world, believed that, through a study of the seven Liberal Arts, man is capable of intuiting the *musica mundana* and participating in its harmonies.[16] A similar vision inspired the great rose windows of the thirteenth century. In the silent music of their geometry each of these windows embodies the fundamental principles of the Pythagorean universe. In his analysis of the rose in the north transept of Chartres cathedral Painton Cowen explains how everything in the window is derived from three basic figures: the equilateral triangle (representing the Trinity or the soul); the square (unfolding the relation between spirit and matter, Father and Son); and the circle (symbolizing the perfection of the cosmos itself).[17] Its hidden geometry symbolizes the interpenetration of microcosm and macrocosm. It

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is this principle that Alain de Lille (c. 1128-1202), most influential of the Chartrian Neoplatonists, describes in a key passage from the *Plaint of Nature*.[18] Man's own nature, says Alain, is formed "according to the exemplar and likeness of the structure of the universe so that in him, as in a mirror of the universe itself, Nature's lineaments might be there to see. For just as concord in discord, unity in plurality, harmony in disharmony, agreement in disagreement of the four elements unite the arts of the structure of the royal palace of the universe, so too, similarity in dissimilarity, equality in inequality, like in unlike, identity in diversity of four combinations bind together the house of the human body."[19]

The Neoplatonists of the twelfth-century Renaissance believed that through an understanding of this universal mystery man could come to know his true essence and thus realize Timaeus' ideal of rational self control based on a knowledge of the laws of nature. With the Neoplatonic revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a reaffirmation of the belief that the harmony of the universe was a function of mathematical laws. Revival of interest in the principle of universal harmony is reflected in the flood of Renaissance treatises with titles such as *De harmonia mundi totius* (Francesco di Giorgio, 1525), *Harmonices mundi* (Kepler, 1619), and *Harmonie universelle* (Mersenne, 1636). It is reflected also in the preoccupation of Renaissance painters, sculptors, and architects with Vitruvius' theories of architectural proportion.[20] In claiming that temples should be modelled on the proportions of the human body, Vitruvius (lst century BC) was endorsing the traditional Pythagorean belief that man is the measure of all things. As the Italian mathematician, and friend of Leonardo da Vinci, Luca Pacioli (1445-1509) wrote in a treatise entitled *De proportione*, "from the human body derive all measures and their denominations and in it is to be found all and every ratio and proportion by which God reveals the innermost secrets of nature."[21] The well-known figure of the Vitruvian man inscribed in a circle within a square is a symbolic representation of this idea. By basing their designs on Vitruvian principles, architects like Alberti (1404-72) and Palladio (1508-80) were not so much celebrating man himself as attempting to reproduce in microcosm the harmonies of a mathematical universe.

In Renaissance England the Pythagorean revival manifests itself in a variety of ways — in a renewed interest in astrology and magic; in works of popular astronomy; in architectural treatises; in theatre design; and in number symbolism of all kinds. The greatest Elizabethan example of the numerologist's art is *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser's description of the House of Alma is a symbolic

restatement of Vitruvian architectural principles. The geometric figures on which Alma's castle is based — circle, triangle, and square — are the basis of all Pythagorean representations of the universe and serve to articulate the interpenetration of microcosm and macrocosm. The same figures form the basis of the Renaissance lute rose.

As the medieval cosmos was gradually superseded by the Copernican universe, the doctrine of correspondence began to lose its power as an anthropological model, and eventually became simply a figure of speech without any basis in reality. The mathematical language of circles, squares, and triangles that had once been the *lingua franca* of Renaissance philosophers, architects, and instrument makers became a dead language. However, it would be quite wrong to imply that the new astronomy was the immediate cause of the demise of Pythagoreanism as an intellectual system, or that there was anything like a clean break with the old ideas. On the contrary, it was Pythagorean principles that inspired the great Renaissance astronomers. It was their search for a universal model that was more harmonious, more rational, and above all simpler, than the old Ptolemaic model that led Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo to formulate their new theories.[22] Indeed, without his passionate conviction that the harmony of the solar system was expressible in musical notation, Kepler would never have discovered the celebrated Third Law of the *Harmonices Mundi* (1619), the law that was eventually to lead to Newton's theory of gravity.[23] Based, as it was, in mathematics, Pythagoreanism seemed to promise an account of the universe that was more scientific than the traditional medieval model with all its beautifully labyrinthine complexities. It was the same search for a more scientific method of inquiry that led political philosophers to look for a key to the meaning of human society in nature rather than in God's will. When the sixteenth-century Italian historian Gasparo Contarini explains the legendary stability of the Venetian republic, he appeals to Pythagorean principles of natural harmony.[24] A similar concern to discover the universal laws of nature can be seen in Renaissance metaphysical anthropology. Among the most influential of the Neopythagorean philosophers of the fifteenth century is Pico della Mirandola with his systematically mathematical view of the universe.[25] It has been suggested that Pico is typical of a growing tendency in this period to de-centre man, to show, that is to say, that human nature is not a trans-historical datum, but is discursively produced.[26] This could hardly be further from the truth. Far from de-centering man, Pico is concerned to locate man precisely at the centre of the universe ("medium mundi").[27] Like Alain before him, Pico sees man as a kind of alembic in which

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are distilled all the materials of nature; he is, to use a particularly appropriate modern metaphor, the interface between God and nature ("interstitium et quasi cynnus natura").[28] Because man is a microcosm of the whole universe, he can acquire a knowledge of nature's laws through an understanding of his own essence: hence the importance for Pico of the ancient maxim "know thyself."[29] Man's celebrated freedom of choice is a function, not of his lack of a nature that is uniquely and essentially human,[30] but of his precisely defined location on the map of cosmos. Just as Alain imagined the voice of God explaining how there will always be contradictory principles at war within man, the one with the power of corrupting him and changing him into a beast, the other capable of transforming him into a god[31], so Pico's deity makes it clear that, if man allows himself to be ruled by the sensual side of his nature he will become brutish, but that if he cultivates the rational side, he may become like an angel.[32] Like the Neoplatonists of the twelfth-century Renaissance, Pico sees the final stage in this process of spiritual rehabilitation as an intuitive sympathy with the *musica mundana*: "If through moral philosophy the forces of our passions have by a fitting agreement become so intent on harmony that they sing together in undisturbed concord ... then we shall ... drink the heavenly harmony with our inmost hearing."[33]

Pico composed his *Oration* in 1486. The same formulaic view of man's essentially divided nature is rehearsed in the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth centuries.[34] The gulf that separates the fifteenth-century psychologist from his eighteenth-century counterpart is vast. Yet despite the revolutionary changes in scientific method that divide the pre-modern from the de-mythologized modern world, traditional patterns of thought die hard. When Alexander Pope proposes to reduce "the science of Human Nature" to "a few clear points" he is writing as a true representative of the Enlightenment. But his characterization of man as an oxymoronic figure ("darkly wise and rudely great") teetering insecurely on the isthmus between angels and brutes[35] would have made immediate sense to Alain some six centuries earlier, or indeed to St Augustine seven centuries before him.[36] In the light of such a long and continuous tradition of essentialist anthropology it would seem unwise. speak of an anti-essentialist Renaissance *episteme*, or to claim, as Foucault does, that "man is only a recent invention, a figure not yet two centuries old."[37] It is true that in fifteenth-century Italy there was a reaction against the rhetorical and lyrical celebration of human rationality and freedom that characterizes the early humanist movement, and a recognition, especially in Pomponazzi and his followers, of the illusory nature of man's supposed powers of self-determination. But this reaction takes place within an

essentialist view of humanity.[38] After the Reformation the meliorist view of human nature came under increasing attack. The new challenge came from two main quarters: from radical Protestants on the one hand, and from primitivists on the other. Neither of these positions can be described as anti-essentialist. The former replaced Pythagorean essentialism with an uncompromising assertion of the innate and absolute corruption of the natural man, the latter with a belief in his inherent goodness. Donne's *Hymn to God my God, in my sickness* is a good example of just such a substitution of one form of essentialism for another. Beginning with what looks like a classic Pythagorean statement of the perfectibility of the soul through attunement to the *musica mundana*, the poem performs the kind of *volte-face* that is so typical of Donne and concludes with an acknowledgment of the fact that it is only by accepting his own innate and essential depravity that the writer can entertain any hope of salvation. Only by a total obliteration of the old Adam can Donne learn to sing the New Song and thus hope to join the "Quire of Saints." To argue, as Catherine Belsey does[39], that Donne's Hymn de-centres its human subject is to misunderstand either the whole drift of the poem, or the soteriology that it articulates with such ingenious precision, or perhaps both. However, if humanists — and it has to be emphasized that in the sixteenth century this means both conservatives and radicals — continued to assert that man is "an Epitome or Compend of the whole creation" they should not be dismissed simply as representatives of the tail end of a pre-scientific mysticism.[40] Although modern scholarship commonly uses the term "principle of analogy," to describe the doctrine of correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm, what this theory actually refers to is, not the metaphoric, and therefore strictly speaking improper, comparison of the teleology of one category with that of another, but the operation of an identical law throughout the universe: a state is not, strictly speaking, *like* a human body; rather, states and bodies are different structures that happen to obey the same universal laws. Just as Kepler's empirical observations convinced him that behind the confusing phenomena of nature was a harmonious world of unchanging mathematical realities, so the anthropologist believed that a study of the telos that defines the true essence of human nature could lead to an understanding of those same laws of universal nature.

Thanks to the research of A.K. Hieatt, Christopher Butler, Alastair Fowler and other scholars it is now common knowledge to all students of this period that Elizabethan poets were in the habit of organizing their works in accordance with Pythagorean structural principles. But because the best-known Elizabethan numerologist (Spenser) happened to be an antiquarian, it has been popularly

assumed that Pythagoreanism was a quaint and unrepresentative eccentricity even in the sixteenth century. Only recently has it begun to be clear just how false that view is. As T. McAlindon shows in *Shakespeare's Tragic Cosmos*, the age's most profound imaginative attempts to understand man's psychological, political and ethical life are informed by an essentialism that is deeply rooted in Pythagorean tradition.[41] That same view of human nature is encapsulated in the iconography of the lute rose; like the medieval rose window, whose geometry it shares, it symbolizes the interpenetration of microcosm and macrocosm. I would suggest, in conclusion, that we should treat with some scepticism Jonathan Dollimore's claim — now widely regarded as an axiomatic truth — that it is historically incorrect to read Renaissance literature "through the grid of an essentialist humanism."[42] Indeed I would go further and say that only a profound ignorance of Renaissance iconography could lead one to suppose that It is possible to read this period through the grid of an anti-essentialist constructivism.

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Notes

1. Robin Headlam Wells, "Number Symbolism in the Renaissance Lute Rose". *Early Music* 9 (1981), pp. 32-42. For an expanded version of this paper see Robin Headlam Wells, *Elizabethan Mythologies*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994, chap 5.

2. Plato. *Timaeus* (trans. R.G. Bury). Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann 1929, 47D

3. Ibid., 47C

4. David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*. London: Longman, 1962, p. 197; see also Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*. London: Longman, 1975, 263ff.

5. Henry George Farmer, "The Influence of Music: From Arabic Sources". *PLMA* (1926), p. 103; see also Titus Burckhardt, *Moorish Culture in Spain* (trans. Alisa Jaffa). London: Allen & Unwin, 1972, p. 71

6. Farmer, op. cit., pp. 97-8

7. Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900-1900)*. Munich: Henle, 1979, p. 258

8. Farmer, op. cit., p. 101

9. Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy*. 9 vols. London: Burns Oates, 1946-75, 2. p. 196-9; Knowles, p. 199

10. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. 1927. Repr. New York: Meridian, 1957, pp. 278-337; Copleston, vol. 2. p. 186-200; Crombie, A.C. Augustine to Galileo: The History of Science AD 400-1650 London: Falcon P, 1952, pp. 19-43; Knowles. p. 193-205

11. Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972, p. 11-73; see also Russell Peck, "Number as Cosmic Language", in *Be Things Seen: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought* (ed. David L. Jeffrey). Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1979. p. 48

12. Saint Augustine, *Confessions* (trans. William Watts, 1631). Loeb Classical Library. 2 vols. London: Heinemann, pp. 1922-5.

13. Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*. New York: Cooper Square, 1969.; see also Peck, p. 47-8

14. Sir William Ingpen, *The Secrets of Numbers According to Theologicall, Arithmeticall, Geometricall and Harmonicall Computation*. London, 1624, p. 2

15. Robert M. Jordan, *Chaucer and the Shape of Creation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1967, p. 47

16. Though it is not thought that Adelhard had any direct connection with the School of Chartres, his ideas anticipate the fundamentals of Chartrian thought (see Wetherbee, p. 21-2).

17. Painton Cowen, *Rose Windows*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1979, pp. 124-5

18. Alain de Lille, *The Plaint of Nature* (trans. with a commentary by James J. Sheridan). Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9

20. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*. 3rd ed. 1962. Repr. London: Tiranti, 1967.

21. Quoted by Wittkower, p. 15

22. Edwin Arthur Burtt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*. Rev. ed. 1932. Repr. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949, pp. 23-73

23. Eric Werner, "The Last Pythagorean Musician: Johannes Kepler", in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music* (ed. Jan La Rue). London: Oxford UP, 1967, p. 868; see also Burtt, p. 52

24. Gaspar Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (trans. Lewes Lewkenor). London, 1599, pp. 64-5; see also Ellen Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice". *Ren Q* 30 (1977), p. 511-37

25. Burtt, p. 42

26. Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*. 1984. Repr. Brighton: Harvester, 1986, p. 169

27. Pico della Mirandola, "Oration on the Dignity of Man" (trans. Elizabeth Livermore Forbes), in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (ed. Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr.). Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1948, p. 225

28. *Ibid.*, p. 235

29. *Ibid.*

30. This view was commonplace in criticism of the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. However, as William G. Craven rightly remarks, "the idea of man literally choosing his own nature, in a metaphysical sense, would have been nonsensical to Pico" (William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Symbol of his Aae*. Geneva: Droz, 1981, p. 29). Dollimore's interpretation of Pico's anthropology seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Cassirer's *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* (1927).

31. Alain, pp. 118-9

32. *Ibid.*, p. 225

33. Mirandola, p. 234

34. See for example Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*. Rev. ed. London, 1618, p. 633; Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (ed. Halliday Sutherland). 1906. Repr. London: Dent, 1962, p. 39; Alexander Pope, *The Poems* (ed. John Butt). London: Methuen, 1963, p. 511, 516

35. Pope, pp. 502, 516

36. St Augustine writes: "Love lifts us up [to heaven]... Our body with its lumpishness strives towards it own place" (2.391); cf. *Confessions*, VIII.x, (1.451-3).

37. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966), unattributed English trans. 1970. Repr. London: Tavistock Publications, 1977, xxiii. J.G. Merchior describes Foucault's account of the Enlightenment *episteme* as "a brazen historical caricature" (*Foucault*. London: Fontana Collins, 1985, p. 99).

38. Antonio Poppi, "Fate, fortune, providence and human freedom", in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner and Eckhard Kessler). Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988, pp. 641-67.

39. Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice*. London: Methuen, 1980, p. 87

40. Rudolf Allers, "Microcosmus: from Anaximandros to Paracelsus". *Traditio* 2 (1944), pp. 364-5

41. T. McAlindon, *Shakespeare's Tragic Cosmos*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991, chaps 4, 8.

42. Dollimore, p. 155

Tibor Fabiny

Catholic Eyes and Protestant Ears
(The Conflict of Visuality and Aurality
in a Hermeneutical Perspective)

"And all the people saw the voice"
(Exodus 20: 18, Philo's translation)
"I see a voice!"
(Shakespeare: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*)

It seems appropriate to me that at a conference on iconography we should devote some discussion to the general and theoretical questions of the nature of images and visuality. The significance of the question is revealed immediately by the mere fact that the word "icon" has so many derivatives expressing diametrically opposed and frequently passionate, even fierce, attitudes to pictures. On the positive side there is the attitude of iconophilia (love of images), iconodulia (veneration of images) and iconolatria (worship of images). On the negative side there is iconomachy (active opposition to images), iconophoby (hatred of images) and iconoclasm (the active attack of images). And with a touch of self-irony we may add that whoever devotes his or her energy to the pursuit of this question can be defined as suffering from iconomania. Undoubtedly, there is prejudice on each side: following Jonas Barish's idea of "anti-theatrical prejudice"[1] Clifford Davidson speaks about "anti-visual prejudice".[2] But if we happen to have more sympathy for the work of Walter Ong[3] or Walter Kelber[4] we may defend the oral and the aural tradition by inventing the term of "anti-aural prejudice".

It cannot be denied that in the religious discourse of the past 2000 years there has frequently been a dramatic tension, or even conflict, between seeing and hearing and this has often been manifested as the ultimate conflict between the "eye" and the "ear". Indeed, the visual and the aural modes are two basic types of religious cognition. David Chidester, in a recent and excellent book on the subject[5], argues that religion consists of strategies for opening eyes and ears to whatever may be perceived to be sacred."[6] In the following lecture we shall have

to turn to some concrete, historical examples but our approach is intended to be rather hermeneutical than historical.

We shall confine our investigations to the history of Christianity being aware, however, that confrontations between the image and the word took place not only in Christianity but in Judaism and Islam as well, as Joseph Gutmann has reminded us in his book.[7]

A Brief Historical Sketch of the Conflict Between the "Eye" and the "Ear"

The Hebrew Bible, which Christianity regards as the Old Testament, is undoubtedly iconoclastic in its tone. Prophetic religions have always tended to be iconoclastic. The Israelites passionately and desperately fought against the visually manifested pagan cults of the surrounding heathen people. In Deuteronomy it is the Lord who summons his people to be iconoclasts : " Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess serve gods. "(Deut.12). The Decalogue contains the famous second commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image" (Exodus 20:4). It is never the picture or the image but the word coming from the "mouth" of God that is able to convert, revive or rejuvenate a people.

In the New Testament the apostle Paul, again, appeals to the ear with his *fides ex auditu* : "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God" (Romans 10: 17) The early church fathers, especially Tertullian, passionately attacked the idols of the pagans as well as the adoration of the image of the Emperor. The first Christians, therefore, were seen as atheists in the Roman Empire.

It seems to be evident that the respect for images and symbolism has more to do with the meditative Johannite than with the more argumentative Pauline Christianity. True, however, that the iconophils, in their debates with the iconoclasts, appealed to Colossians 1:15 where Christ is said to be the *eikon* of God. In Byzantine or Eastern Christianity the veneration of images has developed perhaps as a feature that distinguished Christianity from Judaism or the emerging Islam. The iconoclasts, however, found that the very existence of icons is the great obstacle to converting the Jews and the Muslims. The most famous outbreak of iconoclasm in Byzantine Christianity took place between 726 and 843. As it is well known the long struggle came to an end with the victory of iconophils.

Without going into historical details let us try to understand the positions of each party. Those who defended the veneration (and not the worship!) of the icons argued that respect for the image is transposed to the archetype, the invisible God. Christ is the true image while human beings are, because of sin, the distorted

images of God. The iconoclasts' position on the other hand, could sound as follows: if the "eye" is too much attached to the images, it becomes dependent on "fixities" whereas God is always different from our fixities: He always challenges, even destroys our images of him. Therefore, if we fail to recognize this unceasing divine activity and continue to respect *our* fixed images of him, we might become the captives of our imagination and thereby the servants of idols. Image, sight or vision are not as trustworthy in the revelation of the sacred as the word that we receive through hearing.

The cult of images and relics in medieval Western Christianity ie. Roman Catholicism, lacked the sophisticated theology of the Eastern veneration of icons. Pope Gregory, for example, defended the significance of pictures in Christian life. He said the images are introduced in the churches so "that those who are ignorant of letters may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books."[8] In spite of some local outbursts of an iconoclastic anti-visual prejudice, as for example in Charlemagne's court in the 12th century[9], the Middle Ages remained consistent in acknowledging the primacy of the eye over the ear. The average believer was meant to be satisfied with the "sight" of *corpus dei* during Eucharist and he or she was less concerned about understanding the word of God. Sermons were homilies and not proclamations of the word. Borrowing a term of Paul Ricoeur (to which we shall later return) we may argue that in the Middle Ages the stress was upon the *manifestation* and not on the *proclamation* of the sacred. There was a more or less unbroken tradition from Philo of Alexandria through Athanasius, Augustine and on to Bonaventura on the primacy of visuality in religion. Eusebius' old notion prevailed throughout the Middle Ages: "the evidence of our eyes makes instruction through the ears unnecessary."[10] Pilgrimages, adoration of relics and images, pomp and grandeur, festivity, the elevation of the host and most other forms of Catholic ritual all appealed to the eye.

The Reformation radically reversed the medieval relationship between the "eye" and of the "ear". The reformers, with their rediscovery of the "word" that comes from the mouth of God, stressed almost exclusively the significance of the divine voice appealing primarily to the ear of the believer. Luther turned Eusebius' dictum the other way round by saying that "the ears are the only organs of the Christian."[11] Elsewhere he said: "A right faith goes right on with its eyes closed; it clings to God's Word; it follows that Word; it believes the Word."[12]

Margaret Miles tells us that the Reformation's emphasis on the primacy of the ear and hearing in religious cognition had been anticipated in the fourteenth

century by Meister Eckhart who also recognized the priority of hearing over seeing. Meister Eckhart associated hearing with passivity which makes one able to hear the voice of God. Seeing, on the contrary, makes one's active faculties work. But the problem is that these faculties are themselves sinful. Therefore, passivity and powerlessness are necessary if one is to hear the voice of a totally different being. Meister Eckhart said:

> Hearing brings more into a person, but seeing one gives out more, even in the very act of looking. And therefore we shall all be blessed in eternal life by our power to hear than by our power to see. For the power to hear the eternal word is within me and the power to see will leave me; for hearing, I am passive, and seeing I am active. Our blessedness does not depend on the deeds we do but rather on our passiveness to God...God has set our blessedness in passivity.[13]

Luther and the reformers reaffirmed the significance of this passivity in listening to, and hearing, the word of God. Passivity is necessary so that the activity of the word (*extra nos*, beyond our sinful beings) could have its effect. Luther even saw the human language as a response to the word of God and this language, he found, was born when one had pondered in one's heart the word of God. The following aphorism is attributed to Luther: "Do not look for Christ with your eyes, but put your eyes in your ears...The Kingdom of Christ is a hearing Kingdom, not a seeing Kingdom."[14] It was Luther's former colleague Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt who launched a militant, iconoclastic attack on the Catholic churches of Wittenberg. Before doing this he wrote a pamphlet on the abolition of images (*Von Abtuhung der Bilder*). In this pamphlet he admits that he had deeply been attracted to images since childhood: "My heart since childhood has been brought up in the veneration of images, and a harmful fear has entered me which I gladly would rid myself of, and cannot."[15] Karlstadt debates with Pope Gregory and the "Gregorians" (*Gregeristen*) that they granted honor to the images while God granted this honor only to his word. Christ said that his sheep would *hear* his voice (John 10:27), not that they would see his image or that of his saints. He also appeals to the prophet's skeptical question in Habakkuk 2: 19: "Is it possible that it [an image] can teach. "Can this give revelation?" (Revised Standard Version). "The implied answer is obviously no. Then images cannot be considered as books, for books teach."[16] Karlstadt also comments on the uselessness of the veneration

of the crucifix because "crucifixes teach merely how Christ died, not the infinitely more important truth of why he died."[17]

The image-smashing fervor of Karlstadt and his followers devastated the churches of Wittenberg in December 1521 and the iconoclastic outbreaks spread like wildfire to Zwingli's Zurich (June, 1524), to Bucer's Strassburg and to Oecolampadius's Basel.

In England radical Protestant iconoclasm[18] went hand in hand with anti-theatricalism[19] and this was manifested in the Puritans attacks on the Elizabethan theatre. The anti-theatrical Puritan pamphlet-writer Antony Munday also appealed to the idolatrous eye as opposed to the less-wicked ear:

> There commeth much evil in at the eares, but more at the eies, by these two open windowes death breaketh into the soul. Nothing entereth in more effectualie into the memorie, than that which commeth by seeing, things heard do lightlie pass awaie, but the tokens of that which wee have seen, saith Petrarch, sticke fast in us whether we will or no.[20]

The great fathers of the Reformation have always held more balanced views than the practising iconoclasts. Luther's views on images, for example, were not so fiercely iconoclastic as those of his radical followers. His attitude was more moderate and more civilized as well. He once said that his own writings had "done more to overthrow images than he (Karlstadt) ever will do with his storming and fanaticism."[21] Luther discussed the subject of images and iconoclasm in the treatise *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments*. Here he wrote:
"I approached the task of destroying images by first tearing them out of the heart through God's Word and making them worthless and despised."[22] Luther was convinced that the Karlstadtian manner of iconoclasm was "to make the masses mad and foolish, and secretly to accustom them to revolution."[23] Luther, on the contrary, admitted that his translation of the New Testament contained Cranach's woodcuts of the Apocalypse. As is well-known, he even designed the visual-emblematic symbol of his faith, the so-called "Luther-rose".

At this point we finish our brief historical survey of the struggle between the eye and the ear as the primary means of religious cognition. By turning to the ideas of some extreme radicals we have sharpened the contrast in order to dramatize this confrontation and conflict. With the great figures of the Christian

tradition like Augustine or Luther the significance of the eye or the ear is not an exclusive either/or question, only the emphasis is different.

Chidester writes that by the end of the sixteenth century with the advance of the modern age "Seeing and hearing...became two antithetical, autonomous options for organizing knowledge, no longer two coordinates of a unified perceptual sensibility."[24] Moreover, as Michel Foucault also noted, by the end of the sixteenth century "things and words were to be separated from one another...the eye was thenceforth destined to see and only to see, the ear to hear and only to hear".[25] It has been frequently noticed that with the advance of the modern age "the eye came to dominate the epistemic field of Western European thought."[26] Walter Ong, among others, has recognized that in the new age there was "a shift toward the visual throughout the whole cognitive field."[27]

Hermeneutical Conclusions

After this brief historical sketch we shall attempt to draw some hermeneutical conclusions. First of all, it must be noted that in spite of the implications of the title of this presentation the epistemological conflict between the eye and the ear points far beyond the doctrinal or confessional differences between Catholics and Protestants. A Norwegian scholar, Thorlief Boman in an excellent and much debated book[28] finds that the criterion of truth was different in these cultures: "Because the Greeks were organized in a predominantly visual way and the Hebrews were organized in a predominantly auditory way, each people's conception of truth was formed in increasingly different ways."[29] The Greek were visualizers and their culture was ultimately a spatial one while the verbalizing Hebrew culture was formed exclusively by the word of God. The voice is uttered as a temporal sequence, thus the ultimate reality for the Hebrews was time rather than space. The eye-appealing Greek religion is more contemplative while the ear-appealing Hebrew faith is prophetic. In terms of artistic expressions the eye envisages the pattern which may correspond to the Aristotelian idea of *dianoia* (meaning) and the ear is sensitive to the time sequence of *mythos* that is the story or the narrative. As Northrop Frye has frequently reminded us, pattern (or meaning) and rhythm (or narrative) are two aspects of literary works of art at the level of archetypes. And a literary work of art appeals to the visual (*opsis*, "doodle") as well as to the musical (*melos*, "babble").[30]

I have promised to return to Paul Ricoeur's excellent essay on "Manifestation and Proclamation" which masterfully places the eye and ear debate into a hermeneutical perspective. Beginning with the phenomenology of the manifestation

of the sacred, Ricoeur discusses Rudolf Otto's and Mircea Eliade's ideas of the sacred and of the numinous. For Eliade, the phenomenology of the sacred is possible because the sacred *manifests* itself in rocks and trees that the believer generates. However, Ricoeur finds that Eliade has not stressed enough the difference between the idea of the sacred in pagan religions and that of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The difference, for Ricoeur, lies between manifestation and proclamation. Therefore, after the phenomenology of manifestation Ricoeur goes on to discuss the hermeneutics of proclamation. "With the Hebraic faith the word outweighs the numinous. Of course the numinous is not absent from, say, the burning bush or the revelation at Sinai. But the numinous is just the underlying canvas from which the word detaches itself. The emergence of the word from the numinous is ... the primordial trait that rules all the other differences between the two poles of the religious."[31] Israel's theology is organized around certain fundamental discourses like the Torah, prophecy, the story, hymnic, wisdom or apocalyptic discourse. The speeches in the Hebrew Bible as well as the most typical forms of discourse Jesus used like the parable, the proverb or the eschatological sayings were meant to uproot the audience, namely, to disorient in order to reorient. "One does not become a disciple. . . without uprooting oneself"[32]

In his final conclusion Ricoeur argues that manifestation and proclamation should not be mutually exclusive. The iconoclastic approaches are usually exclusive. Modern culture adopted an iconoclastic discourse when it banished the sphere of the sacred into the realm of unreality. In Christianity the loss of the sacred is particularly noticeable in modern Protestantism, especially in Dietrich Bonhoeffer's idea of a "religionless religion". The loss of the sacred and the idea of manifestation necessarily leads to the impoverishment of religion. True, says Ricouer, "there would be no hermeneutic if there were no proclamation. But there would be no proclamation if the word, too, were not powerful; that is, if it did not have the power to set forth the new being it proclaims."[33] The word and manifestation, that is: the eye and the ear are reconciled in the prologue of St. John's Gospel: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory..." "In this way -says Ricoeur- the manifestation of the sacred is dialectically reaffirmed and internalized into proclamation."[34] The eye-appealing ancients and archaic symbols of the sacred like the city or the temple, the *axis mundi* and so on, are not abolished but dramatically inverted, reoriented. There is the New Zion, the New Jerusalem and the Golgotha becomes the new *axis mundi*.

Ancient symbols, and we may add this to Ricoeur, are *fulfilled* with the new proclamation.[35]

And there is one last thing that reconciles the age old tension and dramatic conflict of the eye and the ear. In his recent book on the iconicity of Old Russian culture, Valerij Lepahin[36] writes an excellent chapter on the idea of *hesychasm* or "the living icon". Its notion implies that human beings were originally created in the image or "icon" of God but they lost this image with the fall. However, due to Christ's sacrifice, that is through the image or the icon of Christ, their human icon can also be purified and the original divine icon can be restored in them. Thereby human beings may become "living icons", themselves radiating the glory of God. Now, after reading Lepahin's thoughts on the subject, I immediately associated this notion of the "living icon" with Luther's famous idea of *viva vox evangelii*, the "living voice" of the Gospel. Luther emphasized several times that if the empty and dead words are filled with the spirit through God's initiative, they will come to life, thereby gaining special power that is able to regenerate the hearers and create beings anew. And this is our final conclusion, namely that the notions of the "living icon" and of the "living voice" reconcile the tension between manifestation and proclamation, the age-old conflict between the senses of the eye and the ear which, in their long, desperate struggle and mutual exclusion, have frequently been, perhaps, only blind and deaf.

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Appendix

Religious and Symbolic Cognition	
EYE	**EAR**
SEEING	HEARING
LIGHT	VOICE
VISUALITY	AURALITY
VISUALIZERS	VERBALIZERS
IMAGE	WORD
ICONOCENTRIC	LOGOCENTRIC
SPACE	TIME
GREEK	HEBREW
CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT
CONTEMPLATION	PROPHECY
PATTERN (MEANING)	RHYTHM (NARRATIVE)
OPSIS	*MELOS*
PICTURA	*SCRIPTURA*
EMBLEM	
PLAY	PULPIT
STAGE	PAGE
THEATRE	
SPECTACLE: sight, show, theatricality, pomp, relics, pilgrimage, cult	ANTI-SPECTACLE: textuality "invisible reality"
Extreme: ICONOLATRY	Extreme: LOGOLATRY, BIBLIOLATRY
MANIFESTATION	**PROCLAMATION**
"LIVING ICON" "LIVING VOICE"	

Notes

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9. Anthony Ugolnik, "The *Libri Carolini*: Antecedents of Reformation Iconoclasm", in *Iconoclasm Vs. Art and Drama* (eds. Clifford Davidson and Ann Eljenholm Nichols). Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series 11. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Istitute Publications, 1988, p. 1-32.

10. Quoted in Margaret Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1985, p. 41

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p.152

13. *Ibid.*, p. 101

14. Quoted in Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation. Down Went Dagon*. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1986, p. 36

15. Quoted in Carl C. Christensen, *Art and Reformation in Germany*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1979, p. 25

16. *Ibid.*, p. 33

17. *Ibid.*

18. Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Law Against Images*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: London University of California Press, 1973.

19. Barish, op. cit.

20. Quoted in Michael O'Connell, "The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm Anti-Theatricalism, and the Image of the Elizabethan Theater", *ELH* 52 (1985), p. 282

21. Quoted in Christensen, op cit., p. 42

22. *Ibid.*, p. 45

23. *Ibid.*, p. 49

24. Chidester, op. cit., p. 134

25. *Ibid.*, p. 132

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Thorlief Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*. London: SCM Press, 1960.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 206

30. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957.

31. Paul Ricoeur, "Manifestation and Proclamation" *Journal of the Blaisdell Institute* XII.1 (1978), p. 21

32. *Ibid.*, p. 23

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36. Valerij Lepahin, *Az óorosz kultúra ikonarcúsága*. [The Iconicity of Old Russian Culture] Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szláv Filológiai Tanszék, 1992, p. 48-57

CASE STUDIES

Middle Ages

Ryszard Knapiński

The Iconography of the Romanesque Plock Door (Nowgorod)
as Symbol of the Universal Character
of Ecclesiastical Art[1]

The history of the bronze door of Plock

The Romanesque door, which was cast in Magdeburg in the years between 1152 and 1154 was the first masterpiece of this kind in Poland. It was originally intended for the cathedral in Plock but has been in Nowgorod for centuries.[2] Together with the door in Gnesen, it belongs to the masterpieces of European casting in the 12th century.

It is highly improbable that the door was produced in the Crimea, in Byzantium, or Poland.[3] Friedrich Adelung's assertion that the door was cast by Master Riquin and his apprentice Waismuth, seems plausible.[4] Bishop Alexander of Plock (1129-1156), who came from Malonne in Wallon, donated the door and the Bishop of Magdeburg, Petrus Wichmann von Seeburg (1154-1192), supported the contract.[5]

Since Adelung deciphered the epigraph *"De Blucich"* which can be seen on the plate with the depiction of Bishop Alexander, it is certain that the door in Nowgorod originally comes from Plock.[6]

One may hypothetically assume that Bishop Alexander's stay in Magdeburg on his journey to the coronation of Friederich Barbarossa in Aachen (1152) could have been the occasion for commissioning the foundry in Magdeburg.[7] At that time, Wichmann was Metropolit of Magdeburg. Depictions of both bishops and probably the Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa can be found below the reliefs of Plock door.

Opinions on the history of the door in the first years after its production diverge. According to the most recent architectonic studies of Robert Kunkel and to one pictural testimony, the bronze door was located at the side portal of the northern nave of Plock Cathedral.[8]

The history of this monument cannot exactly be reconstructed. Russian and foreign merchants who were travelling to Nowgorod, were the first to mention the door in the 16th century. Their reports were collected by Adelung.[9]

Different names prove that there are numerous "legends" about the door of Plock.[10] The fact that the Russian Orthodox Church has used the door for the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nowgorod since the 15th century has influenced the naming: it has often been called the Nowgorod door (Adolf Goldschmidt, Hermann Fillitz, Hermann Beenken, Willibald Sauerländer).

Consequently, the door must have been removed and transported elsewhere at some time. The answer to the question when this must have happened has to remain hypothetical. The most likely assertion seems to be that the door was carried off by the Lithuanians and the Prussians in the year 1262 because in the selfsame year, the Lithuanians attacked the city of Plock during the absence of Prince Siemovit I (1248-1262). The city was plundered and damaged by fire. This assault was an reprisal against Masovia which had fought in alliance with the German Order of Knighthood against Lithuania. Most probably, the door of the cathedral fell a prey to the Lithuanians, was carried off and later on presented as a gift to the city of Nowgorod (Alexander Gieysztor, Kazimierz Askanas, Tadeusz Żebrowski, Alexander Brückner).[11] According to this incident, the door is called "voiennyi trofiej", i.e. war-booty, in Russian and Soviet literature.[12]

The question which still remains is when the door from Plock became a part of Nowgorod Cathedral. The Russian characters on the door equal those on the icons of the Nowgorod School dating from about 1430.[13] The Russian Master Abraham (Abram) could have been the one who newly arranged the plates of the door and affixed inscriptions on them. He also put his own portrait on the lower fillet of the border of the left door-wing.

The door is said to have been in the orthodox Nowgorod Cathedral eversince and, apart from functioning as the entrance-door, to have been worshipped as a bronze "icon". In the course of time the function of the door has changed as well. It lost its original purpose in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia for the door has remained closed and thus has not been used as entrance anymore. It was taken as booty.

The iconological significance of the door has altered too. In Nowgorod, it was interpreted as an icon of Christ which illustrated scenes from his life. This conception had an impact on the incorrect arrangement of the plates, the iconological meaning of which was wrongly interpreted.

After the above mentioned reports, various alterations have been made on the door.[14] In recent times, the door has been evacuated several times: during the Russo-Swedish wars, probably during the battles with Napoleon and, the last time, in 1941 when it was taken to Siberia. To render the transport easier, the plates were removed from the wooden surface, hidden in the ground for several times, and then put together again.[15] This caused changes in the sequence of the pictures.[16]

The eminent rank of this piece of art is shown by the fact that five copies were made of the door: two from plaster in the second half of the 19th century (Moskow, Nuremberg), two from plastic in the 70s of our century (Gnesen, Warsaw), and only one in bronze, which was installed in Plock Cathedral in November 1981. After decades, this production of the first bronze copy encouraged new research on this famous masterpiece.[17]

The changing significance of the iconography of the plates on the Plock door

The main purpose of all research to clarify the stilistic and iconographic problems has not been achieved. One has tried to describe that which the plates depict. All of the articles claim that the sequence of the plates should be to the effect that the course of *Christ's Childhood* and *Passion* be illustrated in a narrative manner. Under these circumstances, one has attempted to integrate the plates with scenes from the Old Testament, namely on the basis of a typological comparison.

Under such iconographic presuppositions, the Russian Master of casting Abram probably rearranged the plates of the door for the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nowgorod. Nevertheless, such a version caused some plates to be left over because they were neither compatible with the *Vita Christi* nor the typological classification. In this case, the Russian Church considered mainly those bronze pictures as orthodox which depicted the prominent celebrations or events of Salvation. Hence, cyrillic signs were affixed on these plates. Depictions which were ambiguous or inconsistent with this program remained without a title. Other plates, however, were incorrectly interpreted (e.g. the motif of St.Peter in prison was interpreted as Christ at the column). This shows very clearly how a Western piece of art - i.e. the bronze door, being cast in Magdeburg and transported to Nowgorod in the course of time - was officially accepted by the Orthodox Church and idolized as "copper icon"; this means, it was declared orthodox.

All this happened without thoroughly considering the deeper sense of the original composition of the plates.

Erwin Panofsky and other authors have pointed out that a mere iconographical description is not sufficient to scientifically explain a piece of art.[18] Such a description is certainly part of research but it needs more explanation. It should answer the question for which purpose the concrete iconography was used and whom it served. Such a concept certainly proceeds from iconographic assumptions but it leads to iconological discoveries and contents.

All the reflections on the door of plock have never sufficiently explained the logic of the depictions on the plates. We consequently adopt the question about the iconological meaning of the depictions on the reliefs as a yet unsolved question. Did the donor and maker of the door intend to only illustrate the *Vita Christi*?

The cycles of depictions which show the *Vita Christi* were predominantly devided into two parts: the scenes from *The Childhood* and from *The Passion* of the Lord.[19] In both cycles, and especially where Christ is represented as a grown-up, scenes about miracles performed by Christ were added in order to convince the spectator of his divine nature and power. The series of pictures from *The Childhood* reminds the viewer of the incarnation, whereas that from *The Passion* alludes to the secret of Salvation. The depiction of *The Glory of the Adored Christ* - who is enthroned in divine majesty, power, and might as he will appear as judge at the end of time - is supposed to be the completion of both cycles.

On the Plock door, the plates which depict *The Incarnation*, *The Salvation*, and *The Majesty of Christ*, stand out in a particular way. Thus, the three most important christological dogmas are represented. On the other hand, the themes of Christ as miracle-worker or teacher-prophet are lacking. In case it should be an illustration of the *Vita Christi*, these themes should not be missing. Obviously one left them out on purpose after having devoted so much space to the pictures from the Old Testament. In addition to that, figures of angels and saints are introduced. A special group are the *Figures of Church Representatives*: the bishops Alexander and Wichmann, the deacons, lecturers, and makers of the door. Under the ornaments of the border and on the slender plates, little figures can be found which have so far not been identified in terms of iconography or contents. In these, we recognize the personification of *Vices* and *Virtues* according to the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius, a picture of the *Minnesängers* and *The Widow of Sarepta*.[20]

From these results we deduce that the makers of the door did not intend to merely illustrate the *Vita Christi*. As mentioned before, the episodes from the life of Christ illustrate the religious verities.

But which purpose did the other pictures of the Plock sculpture serve? We formulate the thesis that all the depictions of the Plock door are meant to express the dogmas which are contained in *The Credo*. It is a shorter version of the credo which is known as *Apostolic Credo* in contrast to the credos which were passed during synods and dealt with religious doctrines.[21]

The Credo as iconological key in the tradition of the door of Plock
The verification of this thesis starts from the analysis of the main plate consisting of three parts and which can be seen on the left wing of the door.
As we know, the plates have been removed and rearranged several times in the past. This also happened here. The arrangement of the main plate as we can witness it today (one part of the *Collegium Apostolorum with Mary + Traditio Legis + the other part of the *Collegium Apostolorum with Saint Peter*) is wrong since Saint Peter is shown twice in such a composition.[22] The centerpiece should be replaced by another plate, i.e. the representation of *The Ascension of Christ*. This plate, however, is placed at the bottom of the right wing.
One ought to take into consideration that in early times of Christian art *The Ascension of Christ* illustrated also *The Descent of the Holy Ghost*[23] and was often connected with *The Mission of the Apostles*. Consequently, the reconstruction led to the result that the whole arrangement of the depictions on the Plock door was originally headed by the composition of *The Ascension of Christ*.
In their hands, the Apostles hold opened scrolls, which normally feature the Doctrines of the Credo. The words are, however, missing here owing to lack of space and to technical reasons. Such a scheme of composition belongs to the depictions of the *Collegium Apostolorum*. It is reminiscent of the feast which was celebrated on July 15th, under the name of *Divisio Apostolorum* according to the liturgy of the Church. In Poland, the oldest proof of this feast in Gnesen can be found in a missale of the 11/12th century (rps BKapGn 149).[24] The suggested reconstruction of the centerpiece of the left wing led us to a scene which is the annunciation-prologue of the entire iconographical program, i.e. *Credo Apostolorum - Apostolic Credo - Symbolum*.
The oldest Polish paleographic monument showing the *Credo Apostolorum* is a lead plate which was discovered in the tomb of Bishop Maur († 5.3.1118). The bishop was buried in such a way that his head touched the plate, on which not only his name and date of death were inscribed but also the *Credo Apostolorum* written

in singular upper case letter; thus provided with the credo, Bishop Maur entered the hereafter.[25]

In the art of the 12-13th century, a representation of Aposteles without scrolls and books was sufficient for an understanding of *The Credo*, since the attributes were reduced. At that stage of iconographic evolution, the names of the Apostles appeared instead of the sentence of *The Credo*, then the scroll became the symbol of the spread of the word remaining blank or altering into a closed book. The Apostle-figures were to be interpreted in this sense in Polish medieval art of the 12th century: on the western façade of the Cistercian Basilica in Trebnitz, on the architrave of the central portal of the Lateran-Canons-Basilica in Czerwinsk, and in the murals of the western apse of the Benedictine Collegiate Church in Tum near Łęczyca.[26] Unfortunately, only fragments of these works of art have survived.

In 12th century Poland, the most copious illustration of *The Credo Aposotolorum* were the reliefs of the Plock door. The iconography of this door is an example for the transfer of motifs in painting to a sculpture. Drawings from the *Utrecht Psalter*, which were copied very often, probably served as original patterns. As it seems, miniatures of the *Aetewold Benedictionale* (Anglo-saxon, Winchester, 971-984) or the *Benedictionale by Robert de Jumieges* (Winchester, about 980)[27] may have been the centerpiece of the formal line of evolution. Apart from particular similarities as to the representation of some biblical scenes (e.g. The Baptism of Jesus, The Women at the Sepulchre, etc.), analogies between the floral frame of the miniatures and the border of the Plock door are clearly visible.

As mentioned before, the present arrangement of the plates on the door of Plock does not correspond with the original version. The traces of the disassembly and the reassembly are distinctly discernible (cf. the scenes of *The Flight into Egypt, Traditio Legis, Psychomachia*). The basis of the arrangement of the plates was always the *Vita Christi*. The exclusive depiction of the *Vita Christi* ought to have eliminated some of the plates from the abundant collection, but exactly those remnants could be used for the interpretation of *The Credo Apostolorum*. That is the reason why we suggest to arrange the plates in the following order:

PROLOGUE *Ascension and Descent of the Holy Ghost*, at the same time *The Mission of the Apostles (Divisio Apostolorum)*, who, before going on the mission, read the various articles of the *Symbolum*

I. CREDO IN DEUM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM. CREATOREM CAELI ET TERRAE. (I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth): *The Creation of Eve, The Fall of Man*

II. ET IN JESUM CHRISTUM FILIUM EIUS UNICUM. DOMINUM NOSTRUM. (And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord): *The Baptism of Christ*

III. QUI CONCEPTUS EST DE SPIRITU SANCTO. NATUS EX MARIA VIRGINE (Begotten by the Holy Ghost, born by the Virgin Mary): *The Annunciation, The Visitation, The Birth of Jesus* and as interpretation of this article: *The Sacrifice in the Temple, The Adoration of the Magi, Herod, The Slaughter of the Innocents, Rachel, The Flight into Egypt*

IV. PASSUS SUB PONTIO PILATO. CRUCIFIXUS ET SEPULTUS EST. (He suffered under Pontius Pilate. He was crucified and buried): *Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem, The Betrayal of Judas, The Scourging, Mysterium Crucis*

V. DESCENDIT AD INFEROS. TERTIA DIE RESURREXIT A MORTUIS. (He descended to the dead and the third day he arose again from the dead): *Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimataea, Christ's Descent into Hell, The Women at the Sepulchre*

VI. ASCENDIT AD COELOS. SEDET AD DEXTERAM DEI PATRIS OMNIPOTENTIS. (He ascended into heaven, and sitteth to the right hand of God the almighty Father): *The Reception of Elias in Heaven, The Ascension of Christ, Maiestas Domini*

VII. INDE VENTURUS EST IUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS. (Thence He shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead): *Maiestas Domini*, door-handle with a *Lion's Jaw*

VIII. CREDO IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM. (I believe in the Holy Ghost): *The Annunciation, The Baptism of Jesus, The Ascension of Christ, Pentecost (The Descent of the Holy Ghost)*
SANCTAM ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM (The Holy Catholic Church): allegorical - *The Creation of Eve* and *The Widow of Sarepta*, historical - *Traditio Legis, The Liberation of Peter from Prison, The Bishops Alexander and Wichmann*

IX. SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM. (The communion of the Saints): *The Assembly of the Aposteles, Mary, Saints* in various scenes, *Saint Mauritius with his disciples Exuperius and Candidus*

X. REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM. (The remission of sins): *The Baptism of Jesus, The Mission of the Apostles, Deacon with a Censer, The Fall of Man, Mysterium Crucis, Psychomachia*

XI. CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM. (The resurrection of the dead): *Elias, The Widow of Sarepta, Mysterium Crucis, Christ's Descent into Hell, The Women at the Sepulchre,* door-handle with a *Lion's Jaw*

XII. ET VITAM AETERNAM. AMEN. (And eternal life. Amen): *Maiestas Domini, Depiction of the Saints.*

To compare the present arrangement of the plates with the reconstruction, we show two schemes: a traditional one known from literature, which orients itself by the *Vita Christi*, and a new one which is based on the *Credo Apostolorum.*[28]

It was said before that due to the fact that the interpretation of the Plock door is based on *The Apostolic Credo*, a rearrangement of the plates is necessary. A rearrangement would avoid mistakes in designation as well as inconsistencies such as the double depiction of Saint Peter in one scene. And, under these conditions, all pictures would be required and become meaningful. The manner in which the plates are arranged in Nowgorod and Plock at present neither presents a complete cycle of the *Vita Christi* nor conveys the suggested typological or allegorical messages. A correct explanation of the biblical contents of this door would allow a clear notion of the religious doctrines in their full range until the 12th century. Such an explanation is based on biblical quotations and texts from the Magisterium Ecclesiae, the Early Fathers, preachers of the ecclesiastical doctrins, and other authors. In the course of such a study it becomes evident that one can speak of a development of the iconography, very similar to the development of the dogmas. For this rason, we should not be confused by the fact that the same pictures of the Plock door have been related to different religious articles. This fact is due to the program and technical reasons.

The iconography of the plates on this door is a fine example for the development of pictural forms within Christian art; it represents an interpretation of the religious doctrins in a sculptural form. That way, a unique Catechism of the 12th century has survived until today. Assuming that this door represents a western door of an orthodox church, one may interpret the iconography of this masterpiece

as a symbol of the universal character of ecclesiastical art and as a link between West and East.

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Notes

1.Translated by Götz Ahrendt

2. One has attempted to determine the exact date. According to these attempts, the year 1152 is the *terminus a quo* whereas the year 1154 the *terminus ad quem*. Cf. A. Poppe, "Kistorii romanskich dwieriej Sofii Nowgorodskoj" [On the history of the Romanesque door of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod], in *Sriedniewiekowaja Rus*. Moskwa, 1976, pp. 191-200; A. Poppe, "O dacie wykonania Drzwi Plckich w warszatacie magdeburskim" [On the date of production of the Plock door in the Magdeburg workshop], in *Notatki Płockie* (from now on: NP). 1977, No. 2, pp. 25-30 (literature on Bishop Wichmann can be found there as well); A. Poppe, "Die Magdeburger Frage" [The Magdeburg problem], in *Europa Slavica - Europa Orientalis. Giessener Abhandlungen 100*. 1980, pp. 297-340; A. Poppe, "Some observations on the bronze doors of the St. Sophia in Novgorod", in *Les pays du Nord et Byzance* (ed. R.Zeitler). Uppsala, 1981, pp. 407-418; A. Poppe, "Z nowszych badań nad Drzwiami Płockimi" [On the most recent research on Plock door], in *Romańskie Drzwi Płockie* (from now on: RDP). Płock 1982, pp. 30-38; A. Poppe, "O Drzwiach Płockich...", in NP 1985, No.1, pp. 14-22. A seminar of the Historic Institute of the University of Warsaw dealt with open questions about Bishop Wichmann; cf. L. Kościelak, "Sprawa postulacji Wichmana na arcybiskupa Magdeburga" [The problem of the appointment of Wichmann as Archbishop of Magdeburg], in NP, 1978, Nr.3, pp. 51-56.

3. Z. B. K. Furmankiewiewczówna, "Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie", in *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Czynności PAU*, t.25, 1920, Nr.8; Z.B.K. Furmankiewiewczówna, "La porte de bronze da la cathedrale de Gniezno". *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 63 (1921), 1.sem., pp. 361-370; L. Lepszy, *Złotnictwo w Polsce* [The Polish art of goldsmithry]. Kraków, 1932, p. 250; W. Sauerländer, *Die Bronzetür von Novgorod* [The bronze door of Novgorod]. Munich 1963, p.55. During his stay in Poland as a guest of the Society of Art Historians in fall 1984, Sauerländer confirmed that he still supports his hypothesis on the origin of the door in Plock.

4. F. Adelung, *Die Korssünschen Thüren in der Kathedralkirche zur Heil. Sophia in Nowgorod* [The Korssünian doors in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod]. Berlin 1823. Since it was made "in fabrica ecclesiae magideburgensis", the door is also called the Magedeburg door (H. J. Mrusek, *Drei Deutsche Dome. Quedlinburg, Magdeburg, Halberstadt* [Three German Cathedrals. Quedlinburg, Magdeburg, Halberstadt]. Dresden, 1963, p. 80, footnote 23.

5. B. Stasiewski, the author of the article Wichmann, LThK, vol.10, col.1090, does not give a first name for the bishop. J.D.Fiorillo, *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland und den vereinigten Niederlanden* [The history of drawing arts in Germany and the united Netherlands]. Vol.II, Hanover, 1817, p. 166 and J.G.Büsching (review on Fiorillo, in *Wiener Jahrbuch der Literatur*, vol.II, 1, Vienna, 1818, 5.116) give his first name: Petrus. Cf. Adelung, p. 126.

6. Adelung, pp. 23-26; cf. A. Poppe, "Notatka o odczytaniu 'Blucich' jako Plock" [News about the deciphering of "Blucich" as Plock], in J. Chojnacki (ed.), *Romańskie Drzwi Płockie*, 1152-ok. 1430-1982, p.38.

7. B. Töpfer, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa", in *Deutsche Könige und Kaiser des Mittelalters* [German kings and emperors of the Middle Ages]. Leipzig, 1989, pp. 159-160, 174. Bishop Alexander was probably able to represent the juvenile Prince of Plock Boleslaw Kędzierzawy (Curly Hair) at the coronation of Barbarossa in 1152. Prince Boleslaw quarreled at that time with his brother Wladyslaw Wygnaniec (The Refugee). He was under the protection of the Saxon Prince Konrad then, whose sister was Wladyslaw's wife. Pope Eugen III. excommunicated Prince Boleslaw at the turn of the year 1148/49. Bishop Alexander may have tried to obtain an annulment of the excommunication in order to maintain the peace between Piast and Saxony. Cf. T, Wasilewski, "Boleslaw IV Kędzierzawy", in *Poczet królów i książąt polskich* [Pictual chronicle of the Polish rulers]. Warsaw 1980, pp. 98-102; T. Żebrowski, *Zarys dziejów diecezji płockiej* [Historical overview of the diocese Plock]. Plock, 1976, pp. 30-31; T. Żebrowski, "Rola ośrodka kościelnego płockiego w dziejach Polski w średniowieczu" [The role of the ecclesiatical center of Plock in medieval Poland], in NP, 1987, Nr.3, pp. 29-34; M. Gębarowicz, "Aleksander z Malonne", in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary]. Warsaw, 1935, vol.1, pp. 65-66; Cz. Deptuła, "Kościół płocki w XII w." [The Plock church in the 12th century]. *Studia Płockie* 3 (1975), pp. 67-84; Cz. Deptuła, "Aleksander z Malonne". *Ek* 1, col.340; J. Hockay, *Alexandre et Gautier, deux Malonnois en Pologne en XII siècle*. Malonne 1976, *passim*; R. Knapiński, "Głos w dyskusji W 750 rocznicę lokacji miasta Płocka" [Discussion on the occasion of the 750th anniversary of the foundation of the city of Plock], in NP, 1987, Nr.3, pp. 41-43.

8. Polish scientists have devoted themselves to the relations between the doors of Plock and Gnesen. The research on both sculptures, which was iniciated by Joachim Lelewel in the 19th century, has been continued until today. Cf. J. Lelewel, "Drzwi olścielne Płockie i Gnieźnieńskie z lat 1133, 1155" [The doors from Plock and Gnesen of the years 1133, 1155], in J.Lelewel, *Polska wieków średnich, czyli w dziejach narodowych polskich postrzeżnia* [Medieval Poland]. Poznań, 1851, vol.4, pp. 261-329. This article was updated by Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "Joachim Lelewel jako histryk sztuki w świetle badań Drzwi Płockich i Gnieźnieńskich" [J.Lelewel as art historian with regard to research on the doors of Plock and Gnesen]. *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* (from now on: BHS) 14 (1952), Nr.1, pp.10-38). Dobrzeniecki's opinion was unjustifiedly critisized by Marian Morelowski. This criticism was published in the section reports and reviews: BHS 15, 1953, Nr.2, pp. 95-96. Lelewel did not know the door from own experience; he wrote his treatise in Brussels, where he lived in exile. Lelewel's notes on the Plock door in Novgorod were verified on the spot by Bishop Wincenty Chościak-Popiel (*Pamiętniki ks. Wincentego Chościak-Popiela, arcybiskupa warszawskiego* [Memoirs of Wincent Chościak-Popiel, Archbishop of Warsaw], wydane przez ks. J.Urbana. Kraków 1915). He was Bishop of Plock and driven away to Novgorod by Russian troops. The exact description of the notes taken by Chościak is given in the article by R. Knapiński, "Romańskie Drzwi Płockie w Nowogrodzie Wielkim w opisie wygnańca - biskupa Chościak-Popiela" [The Romanesque Plock door in Novgorod in the description of the exiled Bishop Chościak-Popiel], in NP, 1983, Nr.4, pp. 3-7; A. Brykczyński, "La porte de bronze connue sous le nom de porte de Plock". *Revue de l'Art Chretien* 1903, Mars, pp.138-142; A. J. Nowowiejski, *Płock. Monografia historyczana, napisana podczas wojny wszechświatowej, poprawiona i uzupełniona w roku 1930* [Plock. A historical monography written during World War I, corrected and supplemented in 1930]. Płock, 1930 (2nd ed.), pp. 187-188 (1st ed. 1917); M.

Gebrarowicz, "Drzwi koscielne tzw. płockie w Nowogrodzie Wielkim" [The so-called Plock church door in Novgorod], in *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie 3*, 1923, Nr.2, pp. 65-68; M. Morelowski, "Drzwi Gienźnieńskie, ich związki ze sztuką obcą, a problem rodzimości" [The door of Gnesen and its relation to foreign art and the problem of native art], in *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie* (ed. M.Walicki). Wroclaw, 1965, vol.1, pp. 45, 94-95. Russian art historians also dealt with the door of Novgorod, however, without contributing any essential results (Cf. P. A. Tolstoj, *Swiatyni i driewnosti Wielikogo Nowogoroda*. Moskwa, 1862; W. N. Lazariew, *Isskustwo Nowogoroda*. Moskwa, 1947; W. N. Lazariew, *Istorija russkogo iskusstwa*. Vol. 2, Moskwa, 1954, pp. 7-15; W. N. Lazariew, *Iskusstwo sredniewiekowoj Rusi i Zapad (XI-XV w.)*. Moskwa, 1970; M. W. Alpatow, *Historia sztuki*. Vol. 2, Warsaw, 1968, p. 110; M. Karger, *Nowgorod*. Leningrad, 1970, pp. 78-82; D. Lichaczow, *Nowgorod*. Leningrad, 1984, fig. 12-15). The study focused mainly on the origin, the workshop, the history, and the iconography of the piece of art. R. Kunkel, *Architektura katedry, płockiej do schyłku XVI wieku* [The architecture of the Plock Cathedral until the end of the 16th century]. Warsaw, 1985 (manuscript), pp. 19, 21, footnotes 50 and 51, pp. 165-175bis.; R. Kunkel, "Katedra płocka w średniowieczu". BHS 50, 1988, Nr. 3, pp. 187-200; cf. also Żebrowski (Note 4), p. 72. The cathedral was built after Western models by Bishop Alexander in the years 1129-1144. It was a Romanesque basilica with two towers on the western façade, three naves, a transept, and a scarcly altered presbyterium. The entrance of the cathedral was probably located on the northern isle, i.e. asymmetrically shifted towards the northern tower. In this portal, the bronze door was installed. A picture showing that state of the Romanesque cathedral has survived until today in form of a wax seal of the 12th century. A. J. Nowowiejski, pp. 196-199.

9. This was the beginning of scientific research on the door, which was continued by other German art historian in the 20th century. In my article, I only cite those authors who have contributed essential results to the research on the Plock door. This remark does not only refer to German scientists. A. Goldschmidt, "Die Stilentwicklung der romanischen Skulptur in Sachsen" [The stylistic development of Romanesque sculptures in Saxony]. *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 21 (1900), p. 227; A. Goldschmidt, *Die Bronzetüren von Nowgorod und Gnesen* [The bronze doors of Novgorod and Gnesen]. Marburg, 1932 (review: E. Meyer, A. Goldschmidt, "Die Bronzetüren...". *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 54 (1933), col. 843-847; F. Pohorecki, Adolph Goldschmidt, "Die Bronzetüren...". *Roczniki Historycze* 9 (1933), pp. 121-129; M. Walicki, A. Goldschmidt, "Die Bronzetüren...". *BHS* 3 (1934), No.1, pp. 59-60); M. Hasack, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildwerke des 13. Jahrhunderts" [On the history of German pictural works in the 13th century]. *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 19 (1906), Nr.12, pp. 370-380; G.Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* [History of German art]. Berlin, 1921, p. 170; E. Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* [The German sculpture of the 11-13th century]. Munich, 1924, pp. 91-92, fig.22; H. Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland, 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* [Romanesque Sculptures in Germany, 11th and 12th cent.]. Leipzig, 1924, pp. 54-57; R. Hamann, *Geschichte der Kunst* [History of art]. Berlin, 1933 (2.ed. 1935, 3.ed. 1955), pp.256-257; R. Hamann, the Polish edition, *Historia sztuki*, Warsaw, 1934; M. Wallis, M. Walicki, J. Starzyński, "Dzieja sztuki polskiej" [History of Polish art], in *ibid.*, vol.1, pp. 256-259, vol.2., p. 928; H. Leisinger, *Romanische Bronzen. Kirchentüren im mittelalterlichen Europa* [Romanesque bronze sculptures. Church doors in medieval Europe]. Zurich, 1956; W. Sauerländer, p. 56; H.-J. Krause, E. Schubert, *Die Bronzetür der Sophienkathedrale in Nowgorod* [The bronze door of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod]. Leipzig, 1968 (2nd ed.

1976); H. Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter* I (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol.5). Berlin, 1969 (2nd ed. 1984), p. 106, 109, 246; G. Zarnecki, *Romanik*. Munich, 1978, p. 118; U. Götz, *Die Bildprogramme der Kirchentüren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* [The pictural programs of church doors of the 11th and 12th cent.] (Phil. Diss.). Tübingen, 1971. The results from the research by U. Götz were considered in *Lexikon der Kunst*, vol.III, Berlin, 1975, pp. 592-593 (the bibliography only cites the German titles); U. Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters* [The door-handles of the Middle Ages]. Berlin, 1981; U. Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters 800-1200* [Bronze doors of the Middle Ages 800-1200]. Munich, 1983. The Plock-Novgorod monument became also a source of inspiration for religious picture meditation. To the iconography of the plate refers: P. Roth, *Fürchte Dich nicht* [Do not be afraid]. Würzburg, 1978.

10. On the one hand it was called "korsunic" which refers to its connection with the former capital of Christendom in Rus-Korsun (Cheron), (cf. Siegmund von Herberstein, 1517). Freiherr Siegmund von Herberstein (1486-1566) acted twice in diplomatic mission (in 1517 and 1526) by order of Emperor Maximilian I and Emperor Karl V. In 1549, a Latin edition of his reports was published in Vienna: *Rerum Moscovitarum commentarii*, which was published in German in 1557. Cf. L. Bazylow, *Historia Rosji* [History of Russia]. Vol.1, Warsaw, 1983, p. 41; F. Adelung, op. cit., p. 119, quotes from "Mein Siegm. Freih. zu Herberstain Raittung und Antzaigen meines Lebens", in *Kovachich's Samml. kl. noch ungedr. Stücke*. Ofen, 1805. 8.I., p. 147: "Da liess man mich sehen ain kupferne Kirchthur, die aus Kriechenland sollt gebracht sein worden vor vil Hundert Jaren, als man aus derselben geget gezogen, und ain Statt die Sy Corsun nennen, belegert." Adelung also refers to the edition *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*. Basel, 1556, p. 75.

On the other hand, it was assumed that the door was identical with the lost door from the Swedish capital of Sigtuna and for this reason it was called "Sigtunic" (Martin Aschaneus, 1611; Georg Wallin, 1729; Nikolai Karamzin, 1825; Iwan P. Szaskolski, 1949; Marian Morelowski, 1956). The assertion of M. Aschaneus was taken up by A. Goldschmidt, op. cit., p. 7, footn. 1. K. Askanas cites: *Brązowe Drzwi Płockie w Nowogrodzie Wielkim*. Płock, 1971, p. 29; G. Wallin, *Sigtuna stans et cadens*. Uppsala, 1729, part 2, p. 238: "Vetus est traditio, Ruthenos hoc tempore" (i.e. at the time of the robbery in Sigtuna in 1187) "inter cetera spolia, veluti opima secum abstulisse Portas urbis Sigtunensis, in lacum vero Skarwen demersisse earundem claves. Sed utrumque fabulosum est, ut patebit ex sequentibus. Primum quod ad Portas attinet, ferreas fuisse nonnulli credunt, alii ex aere conflatas, easque adhuc Moscoviae adservari etc". (Quoted according to F. Adelung, op. cit., p. 124. The complete title of the treatise by Wallins, ibid., p. 133); M. Morelowski, op. cit., p. 95, footn. 89, pp. 144, 115; M. Karamzin, *Historya Państwa Rossyiskiego...* Warsaw, 1825, vol.3, p. 76: "Kronikaze szwdzcy powiadają, z*e Rossayanie...w dniu 14 lipca zdobyli Sygtune staroz*ytne szwedzkie miasto i tak ie spustoszyli, iż ono na zawsze utraciło swóy stan kwitnący i wraz z wielo bogactwy pochwycili srebrną cerkiewną bramę, którą ozdobiona byla Katetralna cerkiew Nowogrodzka..." (The following translation is based on the author's own translation of the Polish version: "The Swedish chroniclers report that the Russians ... conquered the old Swedish town of Sigtuna on July 14th, that they plundered it in such a way that it had lost its flourishing development for a long time, and that they carried off the silver church door among many other preys. The orthodox cathedral in Novgorod was decorated with this door"). Karamzin supplys the above quoted text with the annotation No. 85: "Dalin claims that the church door in Novgorod was called the Swedish, that he must have heard of the Korsunic doors, that in the orthodox church, the so-called Swedish door could be found indeed, which was,

however, not made from silver but from copper"; I. P. Szaskolski, "Priedanije o Sigunskich Worotach i jego dostowiemost" [The legend of the Sigtunic door and its sublimeness], in *Uczonyje Zapiski Leningradskogo Gossudarstwiennogo Uniwiersitieta. Serija Istoriczeskich Nauk*, Wyp. 14 (1949), pp. 120-135. A plaster copy in the Historical Museum of Moskow, which was made in the second half of the 19th century, is called the Sigtunic door. A copy in the Germanische Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, which dates from the same time, is also called the Sigtunic door.

11. A. Brückner, Tysiąc lat kultury polskiej [1000 years of Polish culture]. 3. ed., Paris, 1955, col. 230-231, footn.1 (1.ed., Kraków, 1931; 2.ed., Warsaw, 1939).

12. The description in the Historical Museum in Mowkow calls the door "wojennyi trofiej", i.e. war-booty. Cf. J. Chojnacki, "W sprawie katedralnych Drzwi Płockich z połowy XII w. w Nowogrodzie Wielkim" [On the Plock cathedral door from the middle of the 12th century in Novgorod]. NP 4 (1970), pp. 3-4. Ibid. also the transriptions of inscriptions from the Museums of Moscow and Nuremberg.

13. Andrzej Poppe ("O napisach ruskich na Drzwiach Płockich" [On the Russian inscriptions of the Plock door]. NP 5 (1971), pp. 16-19) found out by means of paleographical analysis that the Cyrillic signs were affixed about 1430 and that the door was declared "othodox" by the Russian Church.

14. F. Adelung collected documents about it (op. cit., pp. 117-120). In 1821 Pawel Swinin realized that the door must have been altered and made smaller. This could be deduced from the fact that some of the inscriptions were covered by the borders. Cf. P. Swinin, *Otieczestwiennije Zapiski* [Patriotic remarks], 1821, July, No. 15, p. 9 (cited according to Adelung, op. cit., p. 124).

15. 45 years after the publication of Adelung's book, the Bishop of Płock, Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, was prisoner in Novgorod. He visited the Cathedral of Saint Sophia guarded by two soldiers on October 22nd, 1868, and writes in his memoires as follows: "The plates are not arranged in their original sequence. There is a disorder which is caused by the fact that the door was buried for years during the various wars and, as the sextons told me, the plates were arbitrarily affixed on the boards after they had been excavated". The remarks which Chościak-Popiel made on the rearrangement of the plates are very informative. He also mentioned technical details and the condition of preservation.

16. The last exodus of the door was during World War II when the treasures of Novgorod were saved for fear of the German troops. One part of the treasures were transported to Kirow by train in the summer of 1941, another part was buried, and a lot of other things, among which was the door of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, were taken out of town by ship. All these masterpieces were brought back to the Novgorod Kremlin four years later. Cf. J. Konczin, "Zachowane w stanie nienaruszonym" [Preserved in undamaged condition]. *Kraj Rad* 21 (1982), p. 20.

17. At the suggestion of the Scientific Association of Plock, and its chairman Jakub Chojnacki in particular, the bronze casting was executed - with the financial support of Petro-chemistry, Plock - in Poland. The silicon negatives were produced in Novgorod by Polish craftsmen at the permission of the Soviet Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs. Cf. RDP, pp. 130-131. The result of a certain research stage was the PhD dissertation of R.Knapiński, (*Credo Apostolorum w romańskich Drzwiach*

Płockich [The Credo Apostolorum on the Romanesque Płock door]. Płock, 1992), which was defended at the Catholic University of Lublin in 1988.

18. E. Panofsky, *Studia z historii sztuki* [Studies on art history]. Warsaw, 1971, p. 83; E. Kaemmerling (ed.), *Ikonographie und Ikonologie*. Cologne, 1987; R. van Straten, *Einführung in die Ikonographie* [Introduction to iconography]. Berlin, 1989.

19. Cf. from the numerous literature on this subject e.g.: G. Schiller, *Ikonograpie der christlichen Kunst* [Iconography of Christian art]. 2nd ed., vol.1., Gütersloh, 1969, pp. 36, vol. 2 (1968), pp. 24.

20. R. Knapiński, "'Psychomachia' Prudencjusza w romańskich Drzwiach Płockich" [The "Psychomachia" by Prudentius in the Romanesque door of Płock], in F.Drączowski, J.Pałucki (eds.), *Wczesnochrześcijańska asceza. Zagadnienia wybrane*. Lublin, 1993, pp. 99-109.

21. J. N. D. Kelly, "Apostolisches Glaubensbekenntnis" [The Apstolic Credo]. LThK 1, col. 760-762; H. Denzinger, *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen* [Compendium of credos and dogmas]. Freiburg - Breisgau, 1991, pp. 23-34.

22. Mary's presence in the Traditio Legis scene cannot be explained. Dogmatic reasons for this are lacking and there are no iconographic traditions which could support it.

23. Cf. A. A. Schmid, "Himmelfahrt Christi" [The Ascension of Christ]. LCI 2, col. 268-276; St. Seeliger (ed.), "Pfingsten" [Pentecost]. LCI 3, col. 415-423.

24. W. Danielski, "Apostolowie III. W. liturgii", in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, Lublin, 1971, vol.1, col. 833-834.

25. M. Walicki (ed.), *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku* [Polish Pre-romanesque and Romanesque art until the end of the 13th cent.]. Warsaw, 1971, vol.1,2, pp. 711-712; Literature which includes the present state of research can be found there.

26. Cf. for example: H. Beenken, p. 210; A. Zinkler, *Die Rekonstruktion des mittlelalterlichen Baues der Klosterkirche in Trebnitz* [The reconstruction of the medieval building of the monastic church in Trebnitz]. Breslau, 1940; D. Frey, *Das romanische Tympanon des Westportals an der Klosterkirche in Trebnitz* [The Romanesque tympanum on the western portal of the monastic church in Trebnitz]. Breslau, 1940; Z. Świechowski, *Architektura na Śląsku do połowy XIII wieku* [Silesian art until the middle of the 13th cent.]. Warsaw, 1955, pp. 68-72, fig.380-382; M. Walicki (ed.), pp. 214.

27. O. Pächt, *La miniatura medievale*. Torino, 1987, pl. XIX, fig.186,188,189.

28. Cf. also the charts in R. Knapiński, "Die romanische Tür von Plock in Nowgorod. Neue ikonographisch-ikonologische Überlegungen" [The Romaneque door of Plock in Novgorod. New iconographic-iconological considerations], in *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 30 (1991), p. 61.

Joanne Snow-Smith

The Iconographic Tradition of Saint Anne in the "Human Trinity":
Medieval and Renaissance Imagery

Chartres Cathedral has always been called the Queen of Cathedrals (Figure 1). This, the first cathedral of the High Gothic built near Paris, includes the west facade, dating from 1150, of an earlier church, which was burned in 1194.[1] The edifice was dedicated in 1260; the transept is of the fourteenth century, the northwest spire of the sixteenth.

Fire destroyed the church five times and each time it was rebuilt, more splendidly than before. It is a monument to the love and deep devotion to the Virgin Mary of the people during the Medieval period. The cathedral was the dominant feature of the famous town which lay in the center of fertile agricultural land and which also became an important trading center.

Chartres was also a major city of pilgrimage because of the cathedral's *sacred relic*, the tunic of the Virgin which was said to have been the garment which she wore at the birth of Christ.

It was given to Charlemagne by the Emperor of Constantinople at Aix-La Chapelle at Aachen and later transferred to Chartres in 876. After the fire in 1194 that destroyed the town and the Romanesque cathedral of Chartres, except for the two towers and the Royal Portal, an emotional outburst of religious fervor gripped the community. It was discovered that, although much of the cathedral had been destroyed by fire, the Virgin's tunic had been rescued. For the rebuilding of the cathedral, gifts flowed in from all over France and Europe — from kings to peasants.[2]

By 1222 the main part of the new cathedral was complete, and all sculpture and stained glass was in place for the cathedral's dedication in 1260 — culminating in one of the greatest masterpieces in Europe. One of the true glories of Chartres can be seen in its magnificent stained glass windows which help to create a spiritual sanctuary which continues to evoke a sense of awe. The cathedral is an encyclopedia of church history and theology.

It is within this grouping of stained glass windows that we encounter perhaps the earliest representation of Saint Anne as an essential person in the genealogical scheme called the "Human Trinity" — that is, Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child which parallels the Divine Trinity of God the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit (Figure 2).

In the north Rose Window with the theme of the *Glorification of the Virgin,* the Madonna and Child are depicted in the very center. In the lancet windows beneath the Rose Window we see the kings of Israel and Saint Anne with the Virgin Mary.

Saint Anne had become another revered saint of Chartres because her presumed skull, looted by the crusaders from Constantinople, had recently been bequeathed to the cathedral. It was here that the cult of Saint Anne, as the mother of Mary, was founded. Pilgrims continued to flock to Chartres Cathedral not only to honor the Virgin Mary but now also to venerate the Holy Relic of Saint Anne. In the central lancet window, we see Anne holding her daughter in a pose resembling that of the Virgin and Child (Figure 3).

The cult of Saint Anne began to spread slowly beyond the confines of Chartres Cathedral to other countries during the fourteenth century but swept through Europe emotionally and artistically in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3]

Although the narrative of the parentage of Mary does not appear in the New Testament, it appeared in the apocryphal *Gospel of the Birth of Mary,* attributed to Saint Matthew, and was received as genuine and authentic by the Early Church. It is found in the works of Saint Jerome, a Father of the Church, who was active in the fourth century. The principal part of this Gospel is contained in the *Protevangelium of James,* written about 150 A.D., a work which was generally accepted as canonical in the Christian world, with frequent allusions to it within the Patristic literature.[4]

The story of Saint Anne and her husband Joachim became widespread after its inclusion in the popular thirteenth century collection of hagiographical legends written by Jacopo de Voragine in his *Legenda aurea.*[5] It provided the inspiration for the important cycle of frescoes of the *Lives of Mary and Jesus* painted by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua between 1305 to 1306. The great ages of painting began with Giotto in this small chapel built by the Scrovegni family as part of the palace (now destroyed) that they had erected within the ruins of an ancient Roman arena — whence its name.

The conception and birth of Mary are told in simple pictorial form in which the figures are portrayed in understandable human situations — they express all the human emotions from joy to despair just as did the people in the Italian towns. The people responded to these images in which an emotional, human quality was involved and took them into their hearts in a very personal way — the Christian story was brought down to a human level, into their own world. It was on this stage that Saint Anne was introduced, pictorially, to the populace as a loving, caring and benevolent mother of the Virgin Mary and grandmother of the Christ Child — the people invited her into their homes and her cult began to grow strong. Her story is as follows:

After twenty years of marriage, Anne and her rich husband Joachim were still childless. In the first scene Joachim is being expelled from the temple in Jerusalem after going there to make a sacrifice on a feast day. He was rebuked because he was childless. "Joachim," the legend states, "all confused for this thing, durst not go home for shame." Instead he retires to the sheepfold and stays with the shepherds in the desert.

While there he makes a sacrifice on a mountain top to God, to win His favor, whose acceptance is symbolized by the hand of God reaching down from Heaven. Then he returns to the sheepfold again. In a dream, an angel tells him of the future birth of Mary by his wife Anne and that he must go to meet her at the Golden Gate.

In the meantime, Anne is praying in her garden for a child, according to the legend, and seeing a nest of sparrows in a tree, cried, "Woe unto me, even the fowls of the heaven are fruitful." She promises that if her prayers are answered, she will dedicate her child to the service of God. Then an angel appears to her (Giotto depicts her in her home) and gives her the same message that Joachim has received. As a sign of her conception of a child, she must go and meet her husband at the Golden Gate. This scene of their meeting has always been regarded as symbolizing the immaculate conception of Mary (Figure 5). This is a very tender and powerful representation. In Medieval and Renaissance art it is very rare to see a portrayal of a man and a woman kissing because the act of kissing was considered sacred, inasmuch as it was believed that each was giving the other his/her soul. This dated back to the feudal vow between a lord and his vassal which was sealed with a kiss on the mouth making it binding.

This particular scene will play an extremely important role in the direction that the imagery of Saint Anne will follow during the next century in Italy.

The next scene takes place in the same house as the *Annunciation to Anne*. The *Birth of the Virgin Mary is* represented with a portrayal of the approving God the Father in the gable of the roof.

The final scene involving Saint Anne is the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*. In keeping with Anne's promise that she would dedicate her child to the service of God if her prayer for a child were answered, Anne took her three or four year old daughter Mary to the temple to begin her service to the Lord. Legend states: "And being placed before the altar, she danced with her feet, so that all the House of Israel rejoiced with her, and loved her." These apocryphal legends achieved a considerable success and provided the general populace with a richly embroidered account of the early life of the Virgin Mary, her mother and son, which nicely complemented the canonical Gospels. Not only did they appeal to popular piety but also furnished artists with inspirational themes which allowed them to express their own interpretations in a very personal manner.

This imagery of Saint Anne falls into several major categories. The first is the *Life of the Virgin Mary,* as we have just seen in Giotto's frescoes, and the tondo by Fra Filippo Lippi painted in 1452, now in the Pitti Palace.

Another image is that of Saint Anne as a sacred tabernacle. Mary was considered the Temple of God who carried the Savior in her womb; thus, Anne's body was also holy because she had conceived the pure Virgin in her own womb. In Figure 7 we see a panel of Saint Anne conceiving the Virgin. She is kneeling, her womb is surrounded by the gold rays of an aureole within which the small Virgin stands, nude, with long hair and hands joined together.[6]

It is significant to note that this imagery was an adaptation of the *Maria Gravida*, the pregnant Virgin Mary, in which the Christ Child within her womb is clearly visible. This theme was principally used in the north and was widespread for several hundred years.[7] By associating this same imagery with Saint Anne, the sanctity of the mother's womb also takes on the daughter's aspect of the holy tabernacle sacred enough to have produced the Immaculate Virgin.

Another important theme in the imagery of Saint Anne is called the *Descendants of Saint Anne*, based on a curious legend known in the Middle Ages. It relates that after the death of Joachim, Anne married his brother, Cleophas and produced a daughter. Later, widowed again, Anne married Salome and became the mother of her third daughter, also named Mary. Each new daughter then later married and produced children. Representations of the *Descendants of Saint Anne* are found largely in the countries of Northern Europe (Figure 6). In many of the

paintings, all of the descendants are gathered about the Human Trinity.[8] The origin of this genealogical legend is unknown. The Apocryphal Gospels and the Eastern Church ignored the triple marriage of Anne.

However, it found its way into the Life of Saint Anne in Jacopo de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. It is significant to note that this new account presents serious contradictions with the Apocryphal Gospels. The *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Figure 5), symbolizing the Conception of Mary, was considered an almost miraculous event, coming as it did after Anne's long period of infertility. Her later marriages and offspring appear to negate the importance of the miracle of Mary's conception. However, this legend was very popular in the fifteenth century, even resulting in enrichment as well as complication of the imagery. By the middle of the sixteenth century, nevertheless, artists began to abandon this theme.[9]

A theme closely identified with that one is *The Holy Parentage* (Figure 8). Saint Anne and Mary are often seated on a high and large chair with the grandmother holding the infant Jesus on her right arm, while the Virgin is reading a book. Joachim, behind, at times holds in his right hand a basket of fruit. This imagery was often conflated with that of the *Descendants of Saint Anne*.

The most frequently depicted image of Saint Anne is that which is called *Saint Anne Trinity*, a theme especially popular in northern Europe and later in Italy. This imagery could take several different forms. Saint Anne is usually seated next to Mary with the Christ Child in between, or she is holding a child-size version of her daughter and also the Christ Child (Figure 9), or Mary is holding Jesus while being held by her mother.

In an important panel by the Master of Frankfurt, mid-fifteenth century, the Divine Trinity is shown on the vertical axis of the composition, Father, Son and Holy Spirit; while the "Human Trinity" of Saint Anne, the Christ Child and the Virgin Mary form the horizontal axis.

As mentioned previously, these versions of *Saint Anne Trinity* were usually found in the northern countries where they were produced continually. However, in Renaissance Italy, the image of Saint Anne Trinity is changed to reflect explicitly her elevated position utilizing a scheme that was constantly in use to depict the Divine Trinity.

In Masaccio's fresco of the *Trinity* in Santa Maria Novella, painted about 1426 (Figure 11), it is immediately apparent that the figures are placed on the vertical axis of the composition. Since Medieval times the vertical axis was considered the anagogical axis, representing the highest spiritual level of the

subject.[10] As Stephen Nichols has pointed out, this axis was standard in the great tympana of the Romanesque period such as in the *Last Judgment* on the tympanum of Saint-Lazare, Autun. Here the theophanic image of Christ sits in judgment on those forming the horizontal or historical axis.

It is this same treatment of the figures arranged along one vertical and transcendent (anagogic) axis that Masaccio utilized in his panel painting of the "Human Trinity," done in 1424, in which Saint Anne is seated on a throne with her daughter placed in front on a step holding her grandson (Figure 12).

This scheme in which the bodies are placed closely together symbolizes the unity of the Human Trinity in which the ties that bind are both human, that is, generational, and divine as the will of God. Within this arrangement, the elevated position of Saint Anne is made manifest.

In Italy it was not her genealogical rôles as grandmother of Jesus and as a motherly teacher of Mary that were stressed but rather her rôle as a sacred tabernacle which produced the Immaculate Conception of Mary; that is, the belief that Mary was without original sin from the very moment of her conception.[11]

It was the theological controversy between the *Maculists* who refuted this belief and the *Immaculists* who supported this position that was responsible, I believe, for the veneration and honor that began to be focused on Saint Anne in Italy in the late fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[12]

During this period the acrimonious controversy existed principally between the Dominicans, the *Maculists*, who strongly denounced as heretical and "diabolical dogma" the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the Franciscans, the *Immaculists*, who fervently supported the belief.

The theological controversy between the Franciscans and the Dominicans was not of recent origin but of long and bitter duration. The virginal sanctity of Mary and her exalted place in the divine plan of salvation were never in dispute and were insisted upon from the beginning of the Church as may be noted in the constant references in the writings of the early Fathers. Rather the matter at issue was the moment of the sanctification of Mary herself. The controversy began with the development of the more narrowly-defined Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, that is to say, the belief that the Virgin Mary had been preserved from the stain of original sin in the first instant of her conception in the womb of her mother, Anne, by virtue of a singular privilege and grace of God, granted in view of the merits of her son, Jesus Christ, and, of necessity, her soul, from the moment that it was

created and infused into her body, was entirely free from the sin of Adam and was filled with sanctifying grace.

Thus, the sanctity of Anne became of prime importance. The Italians called her *Anna Metterza*, popularizing the mystical idea of her conception of the Virgin without sin reserving for the grandmother a place of honor close to the Savior.

Despite efforts to inaugurate a reconciliation between the *Maculists* and the *Immaculists*, theological warfare was waged relentlessly throughout the next two centuries. It is of interest to note that the ultimate proclamation as dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by Pope Pius IX in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* in 1854 finally crowned the Franciscans with victory.

The controversy had also involved the transfer to Saint Anne of the purity of the Virgin Mary and also the idea of the predestination of both Mary and Anne. This excessive devotion to Anne was enhanced by a work published by Trithemius in 1494, the *De Laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae Tractatus,* in which he says that "God selected Saint Anne as the mother of Mary before the creation of the world." Later he adds that "Saint Anne conceived Mary without the stain of original sin."[13]

It was shortly after this publication appeared that Leonardo da Vinci was commissioned to paint this subject, and in 1501 he made several preliminary studies for the panel. In the one now in Venice the figures of Saint Anne (two heads sketched in), the Virgin and Child with the Lamb are compressed so that the intertwining bodies are clearly indicative of the unity of the Human Trinity.[14]

This sketch was reflected in another of the same subject for a cartoon, now lost, of which Leonardo himself explained its meaning to a visitor: "(He] explained how the Virgin was to express a human feeling in restraining her child from seizing the symbol of Passion, the Lamb, and how her mother Saint Anne, symbolizing the Church, her arms open to bring the Virgin and Child closer to the Lamb, was to express the idea that the predestined sacrifice was a celestial arrangement."[15]

Leonardo returned to the subject of the Human Trinity again in 1508 when he completed the famous cartoon worked in charcoal highlighted with white on brown paper, now in the National Gallery in London (Figure 13). The Lamb has been replaced by the figure of the young Saint John the Baptist. The major figures are so interwoven that they appear almost to represent a circular unity with the young saint echoing the curve with his youthful body. The sense of oneness, of wholeness is dramatically executed.

In the final version of this subject which he painted about 1510-11, now in the Louvre, Leonardo has returned to the use of the anagogical or spiritual axis for the positioning of the figures (Figure 14). Saint Anne, from her elevated position holding Mary on her lap, looks down benevolently and knowingly as her daughter futilely attempts to keep her son from the Lamb. Herein, Leonardo has raised the status of Anne to that of *Mater Ecclesia*, as mentioned earlier, Mother Church, a title usually reserved for her daughter. The Human Trinity has finally achieved its rightful place beside the Divine Trinity. It was Leonardo da Vinci who was able to artistically translate the momentous implication of Mary's immaculate conception within the sacred womb of her mother, Saint Anne.

While utilizing the lexicon of three dimensional naturalistic figures, indicative of his inauguration of the High Renaissance style, I believe that Leonardo has intentionally referred back to the earlier iconographic idiom of Saint Anne with the Virgin Mary *in utero* (Figure 7). In his innovative representation of placing the daughter on the lap of her mother, he has subtly composed a composition that becomes symbolic of the Immaculate Conception.

The exuberant and emotional devotion to Saint Anne so prevalent at this time in Italy was abruptly halted in the middle of the sixteenth century by the convening of the Council of Trent.[16] Nevertheless, the drawings and paintings by Leonardo together with those of his antecedents and followers, have remained as artistic monuments to the veneration and honor that were accorded to the mother of the Virgin Mary and the grandmother of the Christ Child — the Human Trinity — during the Renaissance.

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Notes

1. The literature on Chartres Cathedral is vast; however, for a recent cogent account of this building, see James Snyder, *Medieval Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, 4th-14th century.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall and New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989, pp. 361-373.

2. Anne Fremantle: *Age of Faith.* New York: Time Incorporated, 1965, pp.127-130.

3. For a recent study with its main focus on the history of the late medieval image of Saint Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary containing significant information regarding the Saint's story and her other rôles, see Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary". *GESTA* XXXII/I, The International Center of Medieval Art, 1993, pp. 69-80.

4. See Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha I* (ed. William Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson), Philadelphia, 1965. For the story of Saint Anne specifically, see pp. 374-378, 1965, pp. 21-84, 363-417. Cf. H. Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels" *Harvard Theological Review* lxxiii.1-2, 1980, pp.105-130.

5. See *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (trans. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger), 2 vols., London: Longmans-Green, 1941.

6. For an examinative of the artistic imagery of Saint Anne represented in her many rôles, see Dominique Costa, *Sainte Anne*. Nantes: Musée Dobrée 15 Octobre-15 Décembre, 1966, pp. 5-84.

7. For an exhaustive study of this important theme of *Maria Gravida*, see Gregor Martin Lechner, OSB, Munich and Zurich: Verlag Schnell and Steiner, 1981. The 297 plates of this subject which the author includes provide much heretofore unknown information.

8. For examples of this unusual scene, see Costa, op. cit., Plates 9, 10, 11 and 12.

9. For the history of this curious theme, see idem., pp. 23-25.

10. On this important observation, see Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983, pp. 42-49.

11. For the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, see E. D. O'Conner, *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958.

12. On this hostile controversy in particular, see W. Sebastian, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception from after Scotus to the end of the Eighteenth Century". In idem., pp. 235-238.

13. See Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*. New York: College Art Association of America in conjunction with the *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1957, pp. 40-41.

14. For examples of these early sketches by Leonardo, see Alessandro Vezzosi, ed., *Leonardo dopo Milano — La Madonna dei fusi (1501)* (intro. Carlo Pedretti). Firenze: Giunti Barbèra, 1982, Plates 21, 31 and 32.

15. Carlo Pedretti, *Leonardo: A Study in Chronology and Style*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd. — New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation Ed., 1982, pp.104-105.
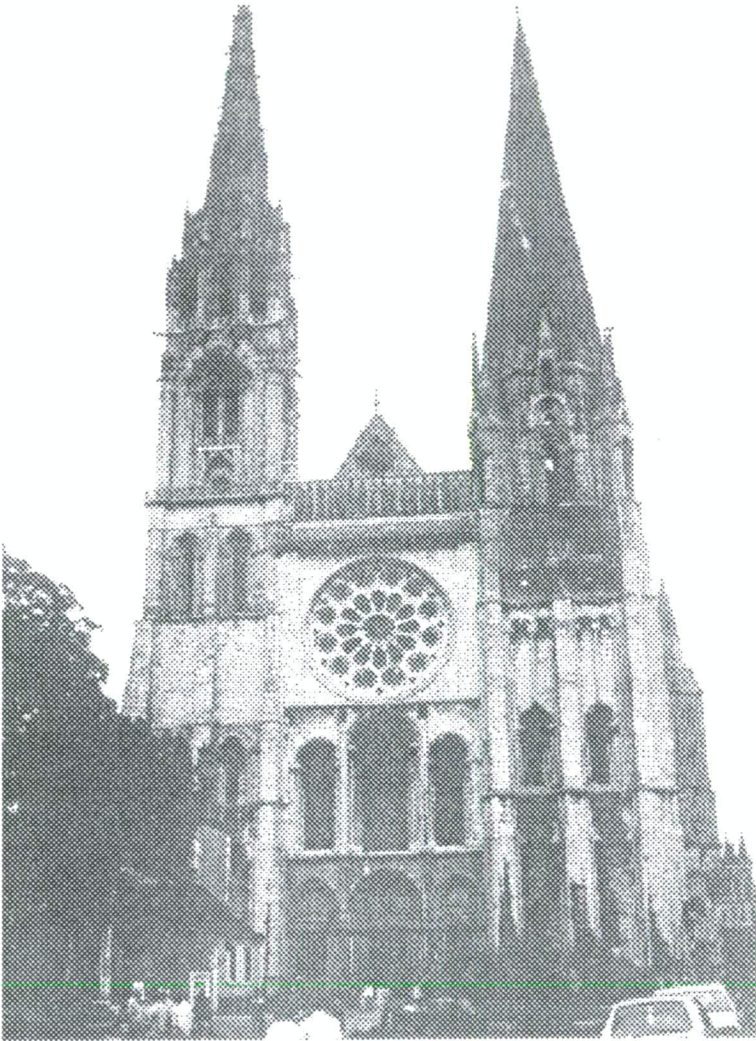
16. See Costa, op. cit., p. 39.

Figures

Figure 1. Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Chartres. 1194-1260. (Photograph by Jo Nilsson)
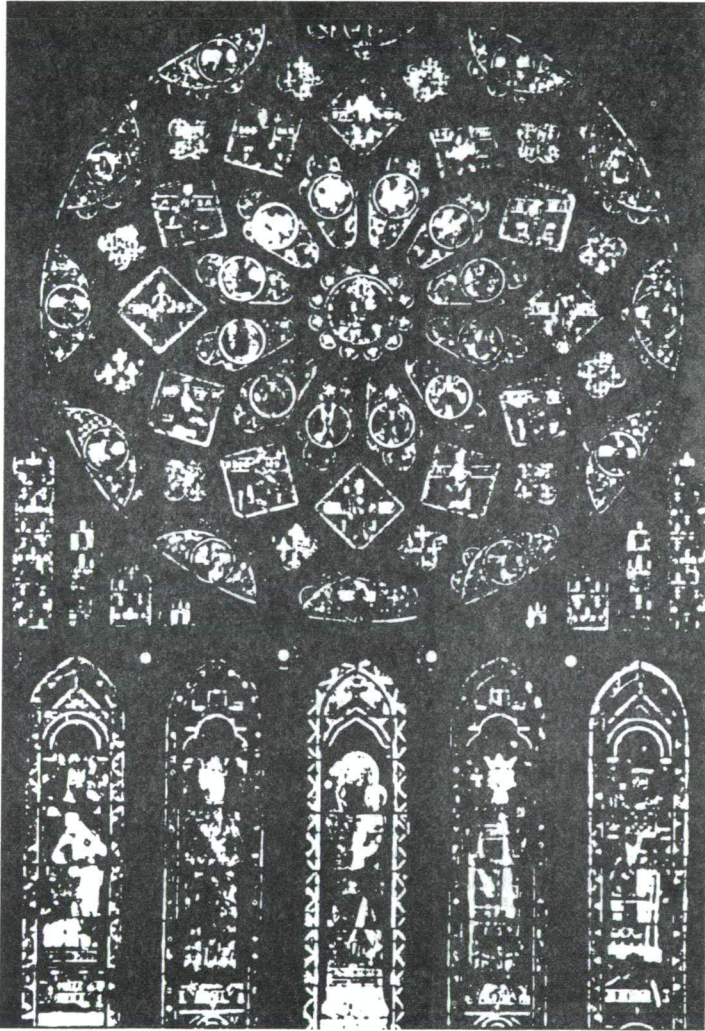
Figure 2. North Rose Window
— *Glorification of the Virgin* with five lancet windows.
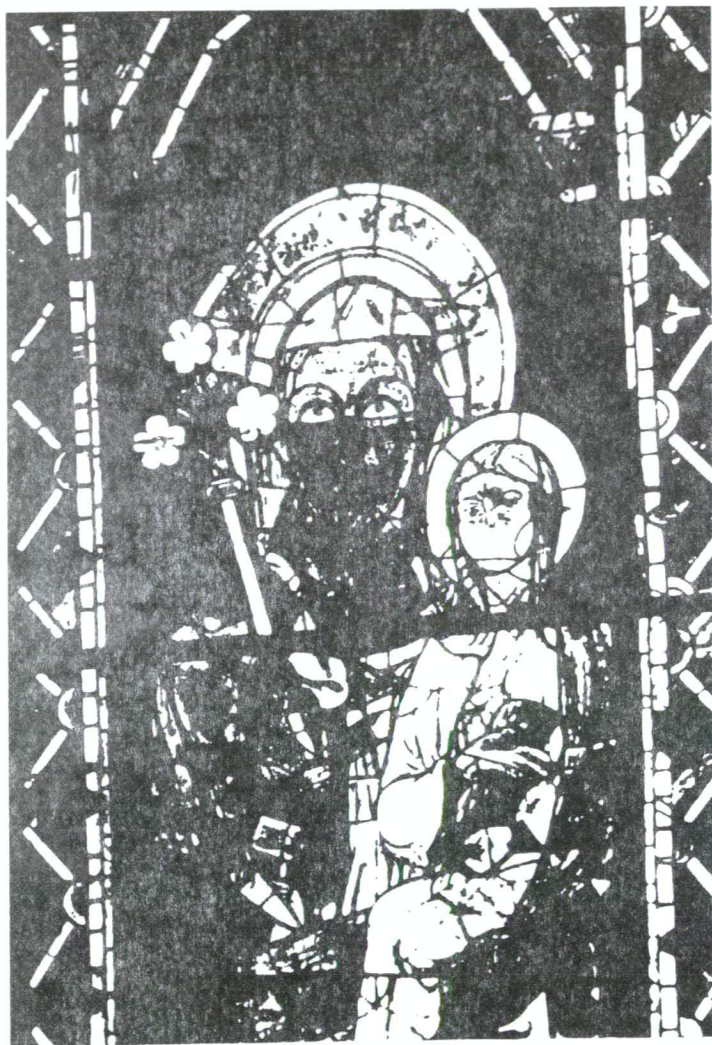Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Chartres.

Figure 3. Detail of Saint Anne holding
the infant Virgin Mary.
Lancet window under the North Rose Window.

Figure 4. Fresco of *The meeting at the Golden Gate* by Giotto. Arena Chapel.
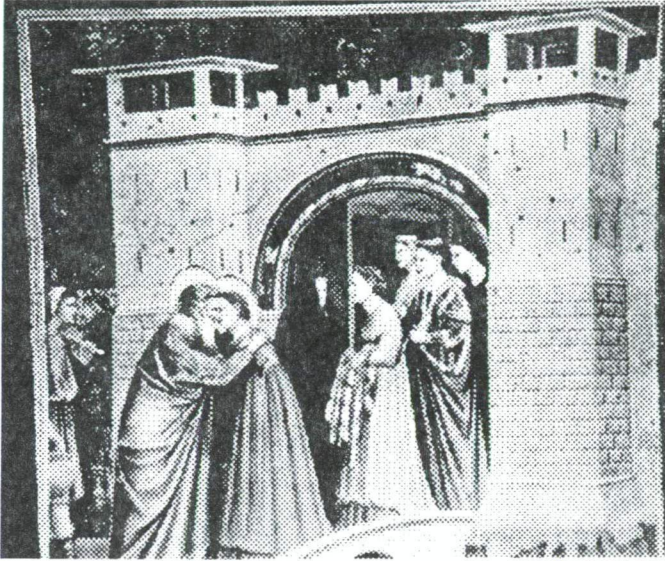

Figure 5. Derick Baegert, *Descendants of Saint Anne*. Panel painting on new canvas. Late 15th and early 16th century. Anvers.

Figure 6. Jean Bellagambe, *Saint Anne conceiving the Virgin.*
Panel painting. Late 15th or early 16th century. Douai.

Figure 7. *Holy Parentage*. Dutch School.
Second half of 15th century. Basle. Panel painting.

Figure 8. *Saint Anne Trinity*. Anonymous. Student
of Veit Stoss. Central Franconia. 1510-1515. Wood. Munich.
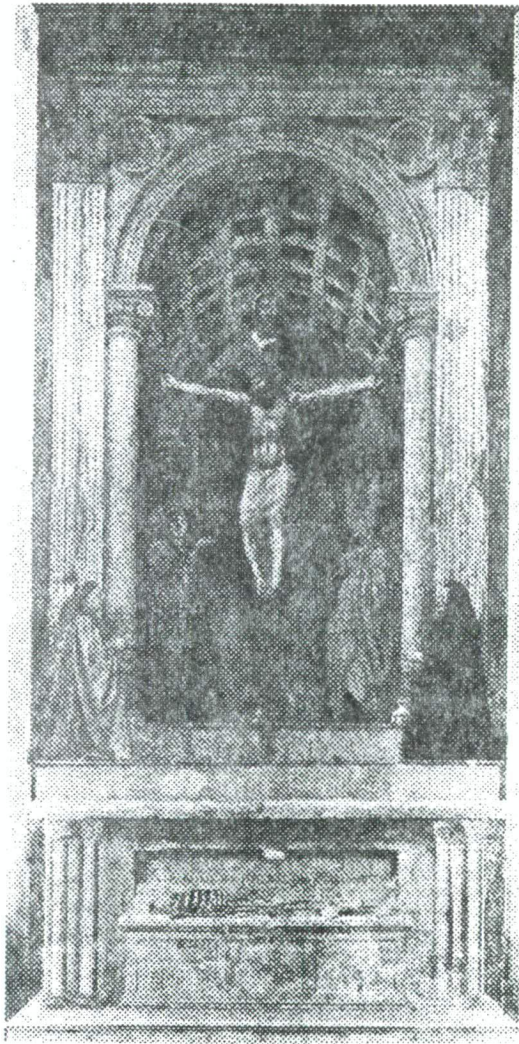
Figure 9. Masaccio, *Trinity*. 1427.
Santa Maria Novella, Florence.
Alinari/Art Resource photo.

Figure 10. Masaccio, *Saint Anne with the
Virgin Mary and Christ Child*. 1424.
Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 11. Leonardo da Vinci, Cartoon for *The Holy Family*.
Royal Academy of Arts, London.
Alinari/Art Resource, New York photo.

Figure 12. Leonardo da Vinci, *Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child*. c. 1510-11. Musée du Louvre. Alinari/Art Resource, New York photo.

Renaissance and Reformation

Karl-Heinz Magister

Colonial Iconography of Discovery —
The Invention of America in Early Modern English Literature
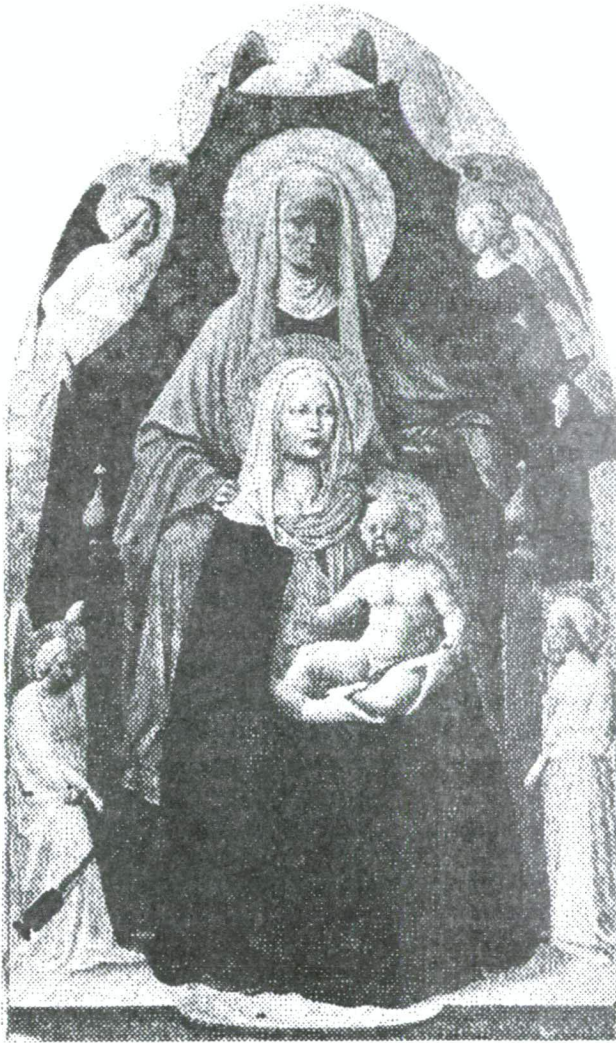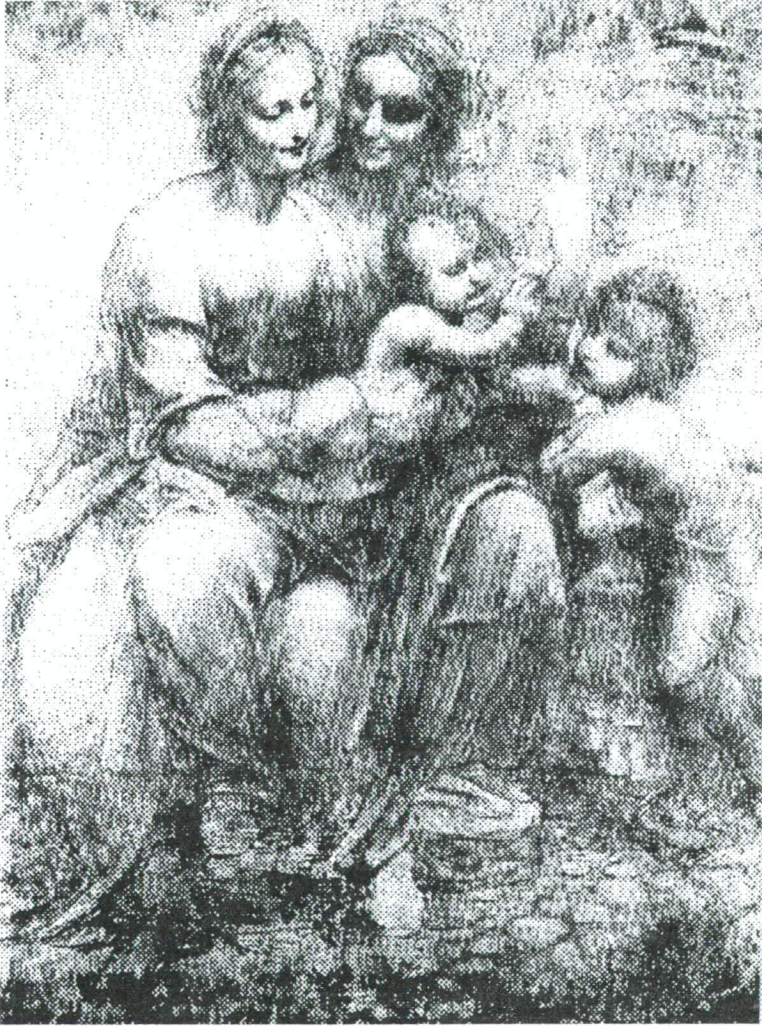
The early English discourse of discovery and exploration of the American continent during the second half of the 1580s manifests a vivid use of metaphoric and iconographic language which highlights the powerful colonizing momentum of the Elizabethan age. This was achieved by a strong interrelation between the act of discovering and the act of writing, between the political commission of colonial propaganda on the one hand and its discriminating mode of scientific and artificial representation on the other. The deep symbolic and emblematic structure of the colonial discourse was due to a multiple and complex mediation between the different forces and interests of colonization: authorized and supported by the crown, initiated and commissioned by outstanding figures of the aristocracy like Sir Walter Ralegh and Sir Francis Walsingham, and publicized and inspired by the geographer and publisher Richard Hakluyt, the author of *The Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) and the huge historiographic collection of European discovery in *The Principle Navigations* (1589). Seafaring adventurous and privateering pirates like Sir Francis Drake and Simon Ferdinando, the discoverers proper like Martin Frobisher, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Richard Grenville and John White who carried out this big enterprise as commanders and governors *and* as surveyors and authors of the "true reports" of the newly found land form the last but most important link in the process of early colonization. The story of the first English colonies on the territory of North Carolina — at that time called "*Ralegh's Virginia*" — was retold again and again as a coherent story of privation and frustration, of deteriorating relations between the white colonists and the Indian inhabitants and of dwindling chances for the Europeans to survive. This initial attempt of the English settlement in North America ends with John White's "lost colony" of 1587 as a *tragic* story, culminating in the myth of "Virginia Dare", the name of the first English born in America and performed as a dramatic story at the annual summer festival on the stage of the supposed site of Ralegh's colony. Virginia Dare, John White's granddaughter, whose baptism in the early days of August 1587 is being used as one of the significant tokens of the *lost colony*, has become — from an anglocentric point of view — a powerful symbol of the

"Arrival of the Englishmen" in America and of a heroically conceived national tradition, a signpost of Protestant conversion of the New World and of England's imperial pretensions.

The "overall coherence" of the "lost-colony" story has been achieved by an imaginary and mythologizing adaptation of the 'facts' to the requirements of a supposedly tragic story. Seen in the light of Hayden White's tropological theory of discourse the historical narrative of Ralegh's three abortive Roanoke-Island voyages can be considered as an "extended metaphor" that does not simply reproduce history but "it tells us in what direction to think about the events...; it calls to mind images of the things it indicates, in the same way that a metaphor does."[1] By way of metaphorical strategy Ralegh's abortive expeditions to North America are configured and made sense of as *tragic* by a complex use of icons and symbols: "lost colony" means the total disappearance of more than a hundred men and women in the North American swamps, Virginia — the name for a state to come at the Chesapeake Bay — here as a symbol for Elizabeth's failure to set up a colony of her own on Roanoke Island, "Virginia Dare" featuring a glorious future for a young English generation in the New World. Ralegh functions as the real tragic subject of discovery who has never been to that territory himself which owes him its name and who gets imprisoned for fifteen years and beheaded at the end: he falls a victim to his own ambition and unsuccessfulness as a discoverer and as a procurer of gold and treasures in Guiana for the corrupt and sumptuous Jacobean court.

The metaphorically structured colonial discourse is not a mirror image but a "sign system" encoding the bare historical facts as tragic — in spite of the English successful colonial history in the long run. This sign system involves the tailoring of the facts matching up the specific course of events, a fictionalization of history, the filling in of the gaps and missing information. "Ralegh's Virginia" is a story of gaps, historical inconsistencies and absurdities which the historian tries to conceal or to "explain" or to use them metaphorically as means of persuasion. The prevailing sign of Elizabethan colonial propaganda is the word *truth* claiming the verisimilitude of the discourse of discovery. Thomas Hariot's "Briefe and True Report" about a very small section of the American Indians' natural and social environment around Roanoke Island functions as an image of America grounded only on putative personal experience. The Indians who are not speaking English and are thoroughly silenced in the text and mistrusted completely function as eyewitnesses by way of an alleged communication with them. "Truth" as an unproved sign of the text's authority and Hariot's claim to the "credit of this

report" are based on the maintenance of the writer's honourableness and on the allegation "that things universally are so truely set down in this treatise by the author thereof, an Actor in the Colony."[2] The self-authorization of truth excludes other means of testimony, assuming an emblematic fiction of truth as an objective condition and therefore being external and preconceived to man's activity. But within this sign system the humanistic author-function constructs truth first of all towards an early modern epistemology of discovery: the Elizabethan traveler and discoverer is not the deliberate fraud and a simple reproducer of Mandeville's realm of fable and myth but an actor and author in and of the real world of different cultural, social and natural circumstances, rendering the strange and unbelievable and the marvelous of the New World by a new sign system familiar. My thesis is that the notions and objects of discovery functioning as metaphors and symbols within this early modern sign system reveal the New World as well-known to the English and make it worthy to be conquered. The English had a strong confidence in the system of symbolic representation and the executive power of signs. The explorers' success depended very much on the proper reading and manipulation of signs.

The idea of "discovery" itself is celebrated by recent commemoration of the year of 1492 as the founding myth of America's discovery which in this context actually features as "invention". This means the invention of a "new world", a new place, new people and new histories which have already been there for a very long time. It is due to the limited European approach towards the other "that existing things can be found anew, and that, once defined as new, they can serve as *icons of identity*". The authoritative texts of exploration "confuse new American species with known European plants and animals."[3] American commodities and products "as icons of identity" are described in comparison with those of allegedly similar shape, value and appearance, are defined by analogy, by their difference and identity. English travel to America turned into *discovery* functioning as invention, which meant the negation of ethnical otherness. Thus the Indians in Thomas Hariot's "True Report" were addressed as inhabitants or naturals, but were turned into savages, also fetished as "noble savages" in the process of colonization. "Discovery" is the sign of subjugation of the native American subject, the suppression of the memory of the Indian people. Queen Elizabeth's letters of patent granted to Richard Grenville and Walter Ralegh as well as Ralegh's and White's coats of arms are powerful signs, representing the colonists' legitimate right to the possession of American territory.

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The metaphor of "discovery" for invention was highlighted by the symbol of gold. The news about the Spaniards' plundering the treasures of the Incas and transporting full shiploads across the Atlantic filled the Elizabethans with an ardent desire for this precious metal. Gold became the incarnation of the riches of the New World and surely one of the most efficient ways of propaganda for American settlement. Thomas Hariot mentions it just once to meet the expectations of the English reader and his interest in America's "marvelous possessions", although gold was nowhere to be found in all "Virginia". Gold functioned as the colonists' alibi for the lack of material attractions of the discovered land. The Indians because of their completely different sense of value considered the Spaniards' desire for gold as unnatural and punished the Conquistadors by pouring melted gold down their throats.

Sir Walter Ralegh's futile search for the "fugitive gold" (Mary C. Fuller) — as depicted in his treatise about his expedition to the Orinoko river in 1595 "The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden city of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado)" — had disastrous consequences for Ralegh's future life. Gold became an object of Ralegh's fantasy and desire he never satisfies, a sign he never reads properly or rather never seems to actually believe in as a location of discovery. When he is about to enter the "golden" territory his pursuit of gold swerves, slows down, dodges, turns away. His discourse is characterized by divergences, hesitancy and indecision. The actual destination of his voyage gets out of his mind. The inaccessible territory is enhanced to a marvelous attraction by way of feminizing the name of the location as highlighted in the famous sentence: "To conclude, Guiana is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead". Ralegh's personification of Guiana as a virgin, or as a sexual object forbids violation, and much the more so the plundering of her treasures. Mary C. Fuller says: "Ralegh's feminization of Guiana, which construes discovery and conquest as forms of sexual violence, allows him also to represent at the symbolic as well as the literal level the absence of rape, the withholding of male desire."[4] Discovery is here a name for non-transgression, perhaps for some kind of a humane exploration and settlement in America. The representation of Guiana as a virgin territory which actually has severely been savaged and plundered by the Spaniards advocates new signs of fascination with the wonders of the New World based more and more on productivity and the esteem of the other in the real native world.

The real commodities, products and the skills and virtues of the American inhabitants which Hariot is fascinated with function as "icons of identity" or

difference in order to bridge the gaps or to enhance the otherness in the relation between the two culturally very different worlds. Maize becomes the symbol of American fertility which needs only to be made more efficient by European standards of productivity. Tobacco in Ralegh's Virginia has to compensate for the Spanish gold and is elevated to "divine tobacco" — the metaphor "tobacco-as-America" representing a successful Elizabethan colonial propaganda. Hariot's use of the Indian word "Vppòwoc" signifies the end of Spanish monopoly on tobacco and hence the English "expansionist desire" on the American continent: "tobacco does not merely stand for the New World but stands in for it by transforming England into a new world all its own."[5]

One of the outstanding metaphors of the early discourse of "discovery" is that of the *"New World"*, often enhanced to a flamboyant symbol for the land of the plenty, an American Arcadia, the New Jerusalem inviting the European settlers. The Elizabethan colonists, geographers, surveyors, ethnographers like John White and Thomas Hariot explored the unknown territory "as a field to be mapped out, or a contested terrain to be conquered"[6] for the setting up of a first permanent English colony. Hariot's literary discourse and John White's drawings and paintings as the most important documents of the "primal scene" of the encounter between the Indian and European cultures exhibit a pervasive interest in the natives' lives and environment. Theodore de Bry's famous engravings of White's Indian pictures (1590) appear Europeanized because they widely efface the peculiar features of Indian typicality and rather resemble the classical ideal of Renaissance portraits. And Hariot's ethnographic discourse ends up with the judgment of Indian values as trifles: they "do esteem our trifles before things of greater value", and copper "they esteem more than gold and silver" ("Roanoke Voyages", pp. 371, 425). "Trifle" becomes the powerful symbol of early English colonialism, the barter of cheap English goods for valuable American products of subsistence and precious metals, the exchange of nothings for somethings — as the English understatement of an "immaterial colonialism" or "trifling" and "uncoercive imperialism"[7] which is to pave the way for white supremacy and Anglican conversion.

To the Elizabethan colonists the New World did not cover more than the small coastal area around Roanoke Island, the "contact zone"[8] of ethnical encounter which was identical with the earliest and most western *frontier* for the European colonists across the Atlantic towards America. The metaphor of the frontier functions as ethnic, valuative, cultural, racial, religious, linguistic and sexual boundary. (The difference in sexuality became quite obvious during the first

longer stay of the English on the Algonquian Indians' territory in 1585/86. Captain Ralph Lane of that colony asserts to have noticed some great astonishment on the side of the "Savages", as he calls them, about the Europeans' abstinence from the Indian women over nearly twelve months of their stay.)

The sign of the "frontier" as the imaginary space of encounter and the catch-word of an anglocentric tradition of conquest and American nationhood delineates the colonists' boundary between civilization and *savagery*. "Savage" (often embellished by expressions like "noble savage" or "inhabitants") became the sign of otherness in America — distinctly opposed to the "civilized" European. From the English point of view the savagery of the Indians was paralleled by the savagery of their first colony, that of Ireland. Like the Indians the Irish were called savages because they were pagans or infidels, were idle and barbarous cannibals, and lacked everything the English identified as civilized: Christianity, clothing, European tools and weapons, were void of possession, out of which the conclusion was drawn that the country was vacant for *English* occupation. The colonization of Ireland and that of the New World were in time and character closely interrelated to each other in that the English transferred their colonial experience from Ireland to America. The discourse of discovery of the designated territory of "Ralegh's Virginia" rendered "the strange familiar by projecting the familiar onto the strange, their images of the Irish onto the native people of America. Initially, 'savagery' was defined in relationship to the Irish, and Indians were incorporated into the definition."[9] The colonial "tropics of discourse" associated the sign of savagery with "the forms of wilderness" (Hayden White), madness and heresy, reconstructed the medieval iconography of the Wild Man as sinful and accursed, as illiterate because mute, and in accordance with the degeneracy thesis as a crippled monster whose image represented the world of chaos against the world of — European — order. Shakespeare's Caliban in *The Tempest*, signifying the Elizabethan-Jacobean expansion into America, becomes the symbol of the wild man in Virginia and of the colonized, "a blend of the human and the bestial, of goodness and evil", as Alden T. Vaughan put it.[10] Caliban has become central to the "discourse of colonialism" and today to many "a metaphor for the indigenous cultures in an imperialist world."[11]

John White's iconographical representations of the American Indians go widely beyond the traditional ethnical prejudices of the Europeans against the American natives as monstrous savages. The portraits of the Algonquians of Roanoke Island, of Wokokon, Secota or of Pomeiock display great authenticity of ethnic presence, and preserve the original identity and the moral dignity of the

natives. Whereas de Bry's engravings from White's Algonquian portraits are geared up to be adjusted to the Renaissance expectations of harmony, decorum and beauty, much of the ethnic difference is erased, the Indians' appearances look "civilized" (although either Indian bodies are clothed). The European representation of the other denounces the ethnological discourse of difference and iconographical scarcity as primitive and undeveloped naive art, thereby obliterating the colonial "boundary between civilization and savagery". In following the Renaissance tradition of "speaking pictures" de Bry's imitations of the Indian warrior, the Prince, the priest, "the virgins of good parentage", the chief men and ladies, the conjurer, the women of Dasemonquepeuc often bear an emblematic resemblance to Cesare Ripa's figures of Chastity, Sapience, Temperance, Divina, Experience, Prudentia. They function as *icons* of *Christian* virtue and classical beauty. According to the respective colonial purpose the representational machinery and metaphorical strategy of discovery plays the game of difference and identity. The setting up of difference as well as the elimination of difference are two sides of the same colonial process. The explorers, says Stephen Greenblatt, "want the natives to be at once different and the same, others and brothers."[12]

White's geographical and topographical representations in his maps of the New World — beginning with the first landing of the colonists on Puerto Rico and ending up with the "Map of Ralegh's Virginia" — are distinguished by their narrative nature whereas Hariot's *Briefe and True Discourse* has definitely iconographical qualities. The pictorial maps "Fortified Encampment" and "Entrenchments" are conceptualized as a narrative story of Sir Richard Grenville's expedition to the New World. Both artifacts prove true Hayden White's word of the "historical narrative as an extended metaphor". They represent the distinctly colonial intentions of conquest and settlement on foreign territory — by way of signs and symbols of a fortification: entrenchments, water ditches, a scarp and counterscarp and a number of bastions with some hidden entrances. There are arrays of soldiers around the entrenchments with arquebuses, pikes and swords. The defensive walls and entrenchments are charted in unnatural shapes of sharp-edged pikes with barbed hooks and clear-cut boundaries in a hostile contrast to the natural environment. White's colonial metaphors in preparation for conquest and settlement reveal a persistent military representational strategy.

His pictorial maps documenting the arrival of the English in America are constructed according to an emblematic principle of the universality and totality of the world. They can be read as fractal historic-geographical metaphors of the New World. These "maps" with their different overlapping scales and layers rather

resemble *icons of chaos*, all being conducive to representing the general story of early modern English discovery and conquest. Their bird's-eye views make visible the rough geographical outlines of the coastal territory and the limitations of the military site. The scale beneath that surface reveals topographical details inside and beyond the boundaries of the encampments. When breaking through these ever increasing scales the tropical nature will be visible with symbols and icons of flora and fauna, and passing that scale we recognize general historical movements of colonization in the New World. Behind that — as the last stage of the pictorial universe — the historical event of the first landing of the colonists on the American continent engendered by historical individuals like the General Sir Richard Grenville can be watched, who is to be seen sitting on horseback amidst twenty-seven men returning from an expedition at the concrete historical moment of the 23rd May 1585, after which day the fort is said to have been abandoned and set on fire. White's maps are lacking any "contact zone", the space of intercultural communication. De Bry's engraving of White's picture "The Arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia" brings to light — again from the bird's-eye view — just the event of the English colonists' approaching Roanoke Island, but still in some distance to (as if in fear of) the Indian inhabitants, representing strangeness and hostility and intentions of conquest rather than the often reported friendly encounter with the natives. Indian villages and their inhabitants with their rituals and activities of daily life routine are reproduced on a larger scale in single close-ups — icons and evidences of an already existing self-sufficient Indian civilization.

Max-Planc Society, Berlin

Notes

1. Hayden White: *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins UP 1978, p. 91.

2. *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*. Vol. I. Ed. David Beers Quinn. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1991, p. 319.

3. Frederick E. Hoxie: "Discovering America." *The Journal of American History* 79.1992, 3, pp. 835, 838.

4. Mary C. Fuller: "Ralegh's Fugitive Gold: Reference and Deferral in *The Discovery of Guiana*." *Representations* 33.1991 Winter, p. 58.

5. Jeffrey Knapp: *An Empire Nowhere. England, America, and Literature from* Utopia *to* The Tempest. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1992, p. 152, 162.

6. Leah S. Marcus: "Renaissance/Early Modern Studies." In *Redrawing the Boundaries. The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn. New York: The Modern Language Assoc. of America, 1992, p. 60.

7. Knapp, op. cit., pp. 10, 12, 14.

8. Marie Louise Pratt: *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London & New York: Routledge 1992, p. 6.

9. David Beers Ouinn: *The Elizabethans and the Irish*. Quot. in Ronald Takaki: "*The Tempest* in the Wilderness. The Racialization of Savagery." *The Journal of American History* 79. (1992), 3, p. 895.

10. Alden T. Vaughan: *Shakespeare's Caliban*. New York: The Modern Language Assoc. 1991, p. 137.

11. Jeffrey L. Hantman: "Caliban's Own Voice. American Indian Views of the Other in Colonial Virginia." *New Literary History* 23.1992, p. 71.

12. Stephen Greenblatt: *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1991, p. 109.

Attila Kiss

The Imagery of Violence
in English Renaissance Tragedy
A semiotic approach

Drama is always inherently a meta-drama which acts out and foregrounds the unbridgeable gap between the symbol and the Real. The *self-conscious metatheatricality* of Renaissance drama serves to scrutinize from several aspects the problems of the constitution of the subject and his/her discursive situatedness in the ideological mechanism of society. This practice continues medieval traditions of involvement and stage-audience interaction, but it does not aim at enveloping the spectator in the metaphysical reality of allegory, but rather questions and *unsettles* the identity of the subject through the uncertainty established by the foregrounding of the problematics of show vs. reality, subjection vs. authority, role-playing vs. authentic identity, *writing as opposed to being written.*

Desire, which pours our discourse into the chasm between the elusive Real and the imaginary structures maintaining our identities, is by definition in the centre of dramatic art. The distance (or intimacy) between spectator and symbolic action re-enacts the split that separates the material and the meaningful, Chaos and identity, fluidity and the fixation of meaning. The thetic break that gives rise to duality and representation is problematized in a multi-layered complexity by the theatre, where identification and its suspension are constantly at work in the stage-audience and the actor-role dichotomies.

"Metadramatic" performances play with this internal characteristic of the art, and *foreground* the problematics that resides in identity and role-playing, reality and representation, involvement and the shattering of mimetical illusion. Thus, the desire for the Other, the motor of signification which creates *and* tries to bridge the thetic gap between Self and Real, is also the constitutive and focalized element of metadrama. Desire to cover up and picture reality in its totality, to come up with a sign or a role that stops the dissemination of signifiers and digs down to the heart of the Real (that is, the role, the mask, the body): this is what metadrama centres around, and this representational enigma is the reason why metadrama so often stages the Abject.

Renaissance drama aims at involving the audience in the experience of representational attempts to get beyond the discursive embeddedness and limitations of the subject, to transcend the limits of language. The themes favoured by Renaissance tragedy, especially the *revenge motif*, serve to create situations in which rules of discursive identity-formation can be tested.

According to Robert Knapp, *desire* (for the Real, for authority, for the Other, with which the subject no longer has a direct contact) enters the new drama in three new themes: the production of corpses, the love of women, and violent, disruptive theatrical rhetoric.[1] *Sexuality, the body and disruptive discourse*: all being present both in Renaissance comedy and tragedy, they participate in a semiotic attempt to devise representational techniques that surpass the very limits of representation and show up the most faithful image of the Real. This attempt indeed will turn into an ironic and also subversive denial of the possibility of such techniques, but in order to trace the emergence of this irony, we have to examine in greater detail the theatrical logic of stage representation in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, and the relationship between theatre and authority. In this period, which is a transition from emblematic into photographic theatre[2], the real subversive power of the theatre is not in the questioning or critique of ideology and authority, but in the problematization and negation of total representational techniques in which all ideologies and power sturctures are grounded.[3]

A semiotic analysis of the three themes introduced above will inevitably lead to the debates about the nature of representation in English Renaissance drama. Arguments about the dominance of the word or the image on the Renaissance stage of course pertain to the problem of staging the corpse, the sexual body or the questioning of the power of discourse. I think the peculiarity of the Elizabethan and the Jacobean stages is that they foreground and undermine at the same time traditional emblematic ways of representation, thus providing a negative semiotic answer to the epistemological uncertainty of the turn of the century. However, the undecidability, the *play* between meaning and the questioning of that meaning creates a special theatrical effect which involves the spectator in the semiotic experience of *jouissance*.

In what follows I intend to examine the representational logic of the imagery of violence and the emblematic staging of abjection in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, a play in which the extreme juxtaposition of iconographic, emblematic and theatrical traditions results in an ironic criticism or mockery of these representational techniques.

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The Revenger's Tragedy has called forth an extraordinary range of critical attitudes. Some critics have condemned the play as an incoherent projection of an infected artistic mind, a decadent and immoral product of a pessimistic historical milieu. Those in the other extreme of the play's critical history defend the drama as a moral allegory unified by the co-existence and synthesis of several traditions of representation, a rare masterpiece in the genre typical of Jacobean England.

However, the play needs no defense, but a careful and comprehensive reading of its intertextual situatedness. To defend the unity of this play on the basis of its thematic structure and to argue that *The Revenger's Tragedy* is the culmination of the *danse macabre* tradition in English literature is to miss the very point of the drama.

A great deal of criticism has dealt with the Medieval and Renaissance traditions of representation that are so densely displayed in *The Revenger's Tragedy*. The pervasive presence of memento mori and *contemptus mundi* motifs, of the techniques originating in the *exemplum horrendum* and the Medieval homiletic moralizings is often supposed to turn the fashionable revenge theme into a unified moral allegory, the Emblem of Evil in the corrupt City of Man. Strangely enough, the study of one particular moral and iconographic tradition which has to do with all of the above mentioned discourses is usually ignored in these interpretations. The *Ars Moriendi*, the Art of Dying (Well) has a very powerful line in the Western history of ideas, and, by the late Renaissance, it goes through a representational metamorphosis which is of particular interest to Jacobean drama. *The Revenger's Tragedy* is not so much a culmination of as a mixture of ironic and internalizing comments upon the memento mori, and the scene upon which this satirical network is projected is the *Ars Moriendi*. At the same time, the thematic and purposefully disrupted structure of the play also displays a genuinely new and terrifying theme which is beyond any ridicule, and provides the audience with an *undecidability* typical of English Renaissance drama. P. M. Murray calls *The Revenger's Tragedy* an Anatomy of Evil: what we really have here is an anatomical imagery of the gap which streches between the Unrepresentable and the Meaningful, a display of the process which is characteristic of the subject oscillating between identification and disintegration, which borders on the limits that devide the Signifier and the Signified. *The Revenger's Tragedy* is a meta-dramatic study of the Abject, where bodies dissolve, skulls are exhibited and produced, and we are jolted out from our identity in face of the truly Other, which fascinates and horrifies us.

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What puzzles us in *The Revenger's Tragedy* is the juxtaposition of the Medieval allegorical tradition, where the transparency of meaning raises no interpretive challenge, and a psychologizing mimetic tradition, where role-playing and its meta-commentary do foreground an awareness of the signifying insufficiency. The allegorical frame of the play hides a laboratory where a Janus-faced agent investigates identities and anatomizes bodies. The axis of this frame rests on an introductory and a closing scene foregrounding problems of identity, and a semi-ritual sacrifice in the central dramaturgical turning point of the play; that is, Vindice's "descent" into the play, the murdering of the Duke, and Vindice's "self-murder" scene. In the following, I will concentrate on the first two of these points in the structure of the drama, but first we have to turn to the history of dramatic modes in order to understand how the special irony of the drama arises from the above mentioned juxtaposition.

On the English Renaissance stage at the turn of the 16-17th centuries, the representation of violence centres with anatomical penetration upon the *body*. Flesh is rotten by poison, bodies are mutilated and disintegrated, tongues are nailed down and torn out, heads are crowned with hot iron and cut off, etc. The product of these practices is, of course, the corpse, but the cadaver itself would not have fascinated so much an audience which grew up on representations and every-day realities of death: epidemics, plagues, public executions, tortures, murders, high death-rate, and an elaborate iconography of the dead body.

As already mentioned before, the appearance of three motifs signal the emergence of "literary" Renaissance drama after Medieval allegory: corpses, the love of women, and the violence of language. However, we should not fail to see that it is not really the display of the corpse that intrigues the imagination of the spectator, but the *moments* that witness the body turning into cadaver: the unsignifiable yet absorbing fluidity of the process that takes hold between the Wholly Other or Unrepresentable and the still-Meaningful. This is the process which marks the borders of identity and meaning, where the actor strives to arrive on the Renaissance stage. The *anatomizing and dissolving* of the body is a testing of the corporeal-material, an expulsion of signs in the face of the Abject which does not represent but engulfs and repudiates the spectator at the same time: the casting away of the mask and the probing of identity. In order to dominate the flesh around him , the actor has to produce corpses, because Death is the Pure Signifier, the Wholly Other, which seems to suspend the insufficiency of

representation for a passing moment. The *staging of the Abject is a prolongation* of this lapse of time, a dramatic source of jouissance.

What are the traditions that lead to the staging of the *Abject in death* in Jacobean theatre? The picturing of death was always connected with the Ars Moriendi in the Middle Ages. The dying man received advice from a number of counsellors gathering around the death-bed (cf. the ironic inversion in Volpone); allegories argued for his body and his soul, and the final representation of the corpse was often horrifying, but also, because of its very nature, static. The memento mori was an integral part of the Art of Dying, since the earthly pilgrimage itself was considered as a preparation for that vital moment of *passing over* to the other side where all our striflings are compensated for. Indeed, in Medieval moralizings the walk of life turns into an expanded Ars Moriendi: since Death is the possibility for salvation, it turns into a personified agent, loathed and desired at the same time. Dramatic action, unfolding in four dimensions, can problematize this point of passing over.

The iconography of the corpse undergoes a metamorphosis as we approach the Renaissance. The decomposing bodies, static replicas of the Abject covered with snakes and frogs, turn into clean skeletons, and finally, after the skeleton of the late moralitites and before the withered flower of Romanticism, we have the crystallized emblem of the Renaissance: *the skull.*

Nevertheless, we should always have in mind that by this time the representation of death is such a commonplace that it always carries an *ironic overtone*. Attempts to explain, denote, internalize the Unexplainable were so various and numerous in Elizabethan England that, for example, even whores wore medals with death's heads just in order to look like the real aristocrats, who displayed an immense variety of "death-accessories." It is arguable that the first pathetic appearance of Vindice with the skull in *The Revenger's Tragedy* is at least as laughable as frightening. The morbid is introduced later when we get to know that the death's head belongs to the body of his beloved.

The process of transformation and sublimation also affects the agents of Death. The demonic-allegoric crawling creatures and disembowelled corpses that inhabit the early Medieval engravings and tombs become the skeleton of the Dance of Death, which is macabre *and* carnivalesque at the same time (a point often ignored in criticism), and summons people of all estates to the grave. The Skeleton is also one of the most popular abstractions on the Medieval stage: Death now takes on a fiendish, mischievous character. It is not represented as an emblem of

horror, but becomes a threatening omni-present potentiality: Death peeps over the shoulders of mortals, it suddenly appears when the most unexpected, and always comments on its strategies and plottings in extra-dramatic *asides*. Ars Moriendi, by this time, is the ability to handle this potentiality in existence: "the readiness is all." Besides Death, there is only one character in Medieval performance which is granted the same privilege of playing with and mocking the idea of death; which occupies the same platea-oriented mediatory space between stage and audience; and which, again, unites the macabre and the carnivalesque, the tragic and the ironic-comic: this is the figure of the Vice.

Vindice's character is a condensation of all these raditions.

It is usually noted in criticism that Vindice appears at the beginning of *The Revenger's Tragedy* as the satiric presenter of the morality play, as the Vice who involves the audience in an extra-dramatic prologue right at the start. However, it is generally left unmentioned that Vindice, besides being a platea-oriented Vice-like character, is staged *exactly* like the allegorical Death of moralities and interludes who *directs* everybody to a final destination in the grave. This is a very fitting *role* for Vindice, the Director, whose main preoccupation will be the manipulation and production of corpses. But, again: is Vindice playing a role, is somebody playing Vindice taking on a role, or are we manipulated into believing that actor, revenger, corruptor and death are separate? We have to restore the original *theatrical logic* of these scenes in order to understand the layers of Vindice's figure.[4]

After the commonplace but also cynical ("go...Four excellent characters") moralizing with a dull skull in one hand (an *enumeratio* before symbolic action), Vindice becomes essentially *grotesque*, and, ironically, it is the grotesque that is capable of foregrounding the skull here. The death's head is the skull of the Death-presenter's beloved: a most unusual and morbid configuration, which would trigger as much laughter as terror among the contemporary audience. Precisely at this moment, Vindice turns the memento mori inside out: he starts a pathetic but really comic speech over the skull, which should be definitely staged so that the scene foregrounds its double nature: memento mori *and* its burlesque: "making death familiar."

As P. S. Spinrad points out, after the early Middle Ages the discourses about dying served to ward off the threatening presence of mortality, to internalize and thus neutralize the horror-capacity of death. By the time of the late Renaissance, and in the hands of Vindice, the skull becomes a *memento mockery*, a joyfully tragic game in the hands of the Vice, the great manipulator.[5]

While mocking the presence of death in the hands of Death, the initial monologue also sets off one of the most important themes of the play: the signifying potential of the material *body*, and the marketing of *commodified identities*.[6] Gloriana's most important signifying value here is a *commercial* one, and later, in the universe of the play, characters will be reduced to bodies that are exchangable on the market dominated by the commerce of lust. When sexuality becomes equated with death in the drama, as early as the initial skull monologue, libidinal drives are superseded by the death drive in Vindice.

Vindice's invocation to Vengeance and tragedy (I.i.39-40) further complicates the nature of the dramatic action. Now he clearly occupies the position of the Director, the organizer of the performance, a role not alien to a Vice-like figure. But he is still *outside* the play: he is just about to enter, descend into the world of the Tragedy, a movement familiar from mythology, where mischievous supernatural agents trouble the lives of mortals. Vindice is not supernatural, but meta-dramatic: he enters the dramatic world to test the nature of identities, and to cast an ironical overtone on everything through the undecidable juxtaposition of the comic and the tragic. The central undecidability is whether he is still an actor-director at the end. With a tone of almost intimate personal attachment ("be merry, merry,/Advance thee, O thou terror to fat folks" I.i.44-45), Vindice "rolls" the skull, his real lover, into the world of the play, and follows it promptly to pursue his primary drive: the production of skulls. This drive finds its Central Signifier in Gloriana's skull, which becomes the *origo of meaning* in the entire play, foregrounding the primacy of the death drive instead of the libidinal in the subconscious.

Vindice's "entrance" to the play echoes the traditional *typology* of Medieval (semi)dramatic representations, where the world of the allegorical play is considered to be the *exemplary Reality*, and the Real of the spectators but a corrupted world where we see "through a glass darkly." Vindice seems to offer an *exemplum* for the audience, a moralizing tragedy prepared by the Presenter, and it is the problematics of this task, this role-playing that is at the heart of the play. The Revenger's Tragedy is about a dramatic failure: the director becomes entangled in his own plottings; the idea of Almighty Revenge is ridiculed by a dissemination of revenges; the omni-present memento mori and the multiplication of sententiae become a laughable exhuberance of hypocritical moralizing.

By the middle of Act III, when we arrive at the dramaturgical climax of the play in the murder scene, revenge-plots are multiple, lust and death dominate the

imagery, and Vindice is "far from himself." The poisoning of the Duke is the most explicit staging of the Abject in the macabre world of The Revenger's Tragedy. The body of the victim is turned with anatomical detail into a corpse, a Skull, and we are witness to the *process* in which language collapses, and the Sign disintegrates into its unsignifiable materiality.

What is the epistemological background to this sytematic testing of the body in Renaissance tragedy?

The signifying status of the human being was extremely problematic in the epistemological crisis of the late Renaissance, when the vertical world-model of Medieval high-semioticity clashes with a new horizontal, syntagmatic model. In the first, Man is semiotically overcoded on several levels, and, like every element of reality in the Book of Nature, automatically refers to the ultimate Signifier, the Great Scriptor: God. Protestant theology shatters this semioticity, and makes the human signifier essentially passive, without any possibility to affect the Almighty in his decisions. The question becomes: are we writers of our fate, or are we passive signifiers, secretely written by the Ultimate Signifier (or, in contemporray terms: by the heterogeneous processes of the pre-conscious modalities of signification)?

Instead of moralizing on the theological positionality of the human signifier, Jacobean tragedy choses to investigate the very materiality of the human signifier: it tries to take us deep behind the Sign, behind the Flesh, to arrive at the Real, to catch the passing of Meaning from the dead body in the process of dying, at the prolonged moment of death.

We are witnessing the production of the Duke's corpse in *The Revenger's Tragedy* as if we were sitting beside the death-bed of a dying man, to catch the last words that could reveal something about the enigma of the Other, of Death. Ars Moriendi turned upside down.

The Duke identifies with death in a morbid kiss of the skull: neo-platonic Enlightenment is replaced by disintegration through poison. It is no wonder that the Jacobean stage favors *poisoning* so much: the decomposition of the Flesh, of the integrated Body has to be part of the staging of the Abject: the only state which takes us to a territory which is closest to the mystery of the unrepresentable.

"Brooking the foul object" (III.v.202.): Horror fascinates and distances us at the same time: suddenly, we catch a glimpse of the Real behind the diminished sign, and we are floating from "one identity to an Other" at the degree zero of signification.[7]

This epistemological answer to the Renaissance crisis is peculiar to late Renaissance English drama, and is situated in the context of commonplace questions about show and substance, seeming and reality, role-playing and identity.

The spectator can hardly "decide" how to relate to this emblem of the collapse of Language, an emblem of the Abject: a decomposing head (emblematic of Reason, Authority, Christian bond) with the tounge (discourse) nailed down by a dagger (villainy, corruption): meaning escapes the viewer in face of the cadaver-in-process, which borders on but does not yet enter the realm of the Unrepresentable. The *subject-in-process* gets closest to the Other in the gaze of the *body-in-process*.

Vindice arrives at the climax of his self-assertion upon the disintegration of the Duke's body: the ecstatic outcry "'Tis I, 'tis Vindice, 'tis I" is Vindice's total identification with the Role. However, this maintenance (and split) of identity borrows its integrity from the elimination of the Duke's identity: Vindice here also identifies with the Duke, which, again, typologically foreshadows his own "self-murder" scene, where his body is the corpse of the Duke.

The third pivotal point in the typological structure of the play, resting on problems of identity and role, is the beginning of Act V, where Vindice places the corpse of the Duke in place of himself, to be murdered again. The scene is emblematic of Vindice's identity split, and his total distancing from an identifiable centre in a maze of masks. However, these lines also contain a deep irony that is seldom recognized. Borrowing his new integrated identity from the Duke's death, Vindice (uncon-sciously) identified himself with the Duke, whose body now *really* stands for him, but now he is to far from himself to realize the macabre irony of the situation. "I must kill myself": it is when his body arrives at the highest point of its signifying capability (when it is metaphorically identified with the Cadaver) that Vindice abandons himself totally: the scene enacts the *paradox* that the Human Signifier can get to the origo of meaning, the other side of the gap between sign and the Other, only when he/she is *farthest* from original identity and self. Vindice, after a series of identifications, ponders about the mirror-image of his own body, now no longer his: he has arranged for his own metamorphosis.

At the very end we are provided with one more enigma, which questions the entire nature of the play. Vindice departs for his execution in excellent spirits: the tragic moment is deconstructed, the fall of the protagonist is made ironically meaningless. It is true that, after putting an end to all possible revenge plots, and producing an arsenal of skulls, Vindice the Director has nothing to do on the stage.

But is he contemplating his Work from the same meta-dramatic stance as at the beginning of the play? Is there a way to tell whether we are left with any identifiable trace that is continuous, and is in connection with the figure who utters the first words on the stage? Or do we suddenly realize that Vindice's message is a ridicule of the Ars Moriendi: eliminate your identities in order to die joyfully?

Just as the revenge theme is turned into a macabre burlesque of revenge tragedy, the memento mori line culminates in a satire of the Ars Moriendi moralizing promised by the Presenter at the beginning. We are left with ambiguities, undecidabilities that dissolve our secure identities in the face of the lack of meaning. This undecidability, characteristic of English Renaissance tragedy in general and not exclusively of Shakespeare, allows for only one permanent trace in the drama: that of the meta-dramatic perspective, which arises from the paradox of existence that we never know if we are writing or being written.

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Notes

1. Cf. Knapp, 1989, p. 104.

2. Cf. Wickham, 1963.

3. This would be, I think, a more subtle and semiotic understanding of theatrical subversion commonly theorized in new histroricism and cultural materialism.

4. Cf. Dessen, 1977 and 1983.

5. I would probably stage Vindice kissing the skull during the "a usurer's son/ Melt all his patrimony in a kiss" lines. Besides its intensifying morbidity, this interpretation could function in the *typological* structure of the play, foreshadowing the demystification of the neo-platonic kiss in the sexuality of the murder scene, and it would also make Vindice *identify* with the usurer's son, as indeed his mind is already infected by corruption.

6. Cf. Agnew, 1986.

7. Cf. Kristeva, 1980, Ch. IV. "From One Identity to an Other." For Kristeva's notion of the abject, which is the most archaic experience of the subject, and is neither subject nor object in its heterogeneity, see Kristeva, 1982.

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Balázs Dibuz

John Donne's Body
Incarnation and Visualization
in *Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward*

My intention in this paper is not primarily that of presenting a new interpretation
of a specific poem, but rather, that of positing an approach to reading Donne,
based on which I hope to show that Donne's use of images reflects a shift away
from the neo-Platonic seperation of the soul from the body, towards the
Aristotelean concept of the inseperable nature of man's body and soul. Equicola's
words, written more than one hundred years before the death of Donne, may serve
to represent this view:

> While this organic member is in being, one cannot think of the action
> of the soul apart from the body, much less seperate them.[1]

The approach I propose assumes a similarity between the visual aspects of the
devotional emblem and Donne's divine poems, both of which were influenced to
a great extent by elements of Ignatian meditation. The validity of this approach will
have to be tested by further practice and it may be too much like flogging a dead
horse. After all, a great deal has been said for and against seeing a relationship
between the emblem and the metaphysical conceit, with the result that this kind of
comparison has come to be seen as either capricious or profitless.
    I will not be concerned with describing, defining or categorizing genres,
literary or otherwise, but rather with approaching Donne's poems with special
attention to the importance of the visualization of his images. I must say a few
words, though, before I continue, about what I mean by emblem. Generally, I have
in mind a definition of the looser, less prescriptive kind, which emphasizes not the
form, but what Schöne calls the "emblematic mode of thought". The aspect of the
emblem which concerns us most in the study of John Donne is the way the pictura
(the visual part) and the subscriptio (the verbal part) work together in mutual
elucidation. I have chosen to call certain images in Donne's poem(s) illustrations,
because the original meaning of illustrare: to shed light on or clarify, implies a
function similar to that of the pictura in the emblem.

I do not want to imply that Donne's poems, or even *Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward* itself, can be interpreted as emblems. Rather, it is in some of the parallels between Donne's poetry and the development of the devotional emblems of emblematists such as Quarles specifically that I find significant similarities.

In a number of Donne's love poems, the body plays an important part in establishing a complete relationship between the lovers. I refer you to the work of A.J. Smith concerning this theme in *The Extasie*, but I would like to mention *Air and Angels*, in order to show how visualization can be part of the process of reading Donne's poems.

The poem presents us with an especially acute interaction between the abstract and the incarnate forms of love, with a comparison of this to the embodiment of the soul in "limmes of flesh". The argument of the poem centers on the necessity of incarnation and yet deals with the difficulties which arise from it. If we are to understand the disparitie between the two forms of love, we must, along with Donne, visualize love's concrete manifestations and see how this effects our comprehension of the abstract. What is unique about Donne's approach here is the inclusion of the self in the process of visualization. We are invited, in a sense, to accompany the poet in the inquiry. Rosemond Tuve emphasizes this quality of Donne's verse when she discusses the nature of Metaphysical imagery. She states that

> Donne's images are...a series of strenuous attempts to make us put our
> feet in exactly that path that will lead us through the inquiry.[2]

To make the step from Donne's love poems to his divine poetry, I would like to adopt and utilize John Freccero's main thesis about Donne's use of the compass conceit in *Valediction: Forbidding Mourning*. Freccero argues that in reaction to the developments in Italian love poetry of the Renaissance, which alienated the soul from the realm of human flesh, Donne "sought to reconcile the soul to it's body once more." The image of the compass is therefore a "protest in the name of incarnation, against the neo-Petrarchan and Neoplatonic dehumanization of love."[3] I will not attempt to relate Freccero's examination of this image even in an abridged from, but would like to carry his thesis over to one of Donne's divine poems and argue that what is true of Donne's concern with the relationship between the body and the soul in his love poetry is also true concerning his poems on religious devotion.

The devotional poem, *Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward* closely resembles in structure both Ignatius« prescription for meditation and Quarles devotional emblems. Karl Josef Höltgen deals extensively with the influence that the *Spiritual Exercises* practised on the emblem in his study on Quarles' emblems. On the other hand, it has often been shown (by Peterson concerning the Holy Sonnets and by Martz concerning the Anniverseries) that the *Spiritual Exercises* play a very important part in Donne's devotional verse. It is worth while looking at some of the changes the emblem went through in the early 17th century, as there seem to be clear parallels to the development of Donne's religious verse.

Höltgen sees the beginning of the devotional emblem in the simple, yet effective metamorphosis of the emblem of erotic love into the emblem of divine love. He emphasizes the ease and subtlety of the shift:

> Love will always find a way, and if there is no boat, he will use his own quiver in order to get to his Inamorata. The same might be said about the quest of the Soul for Divine Love; the old icon needs little more than the addition of a halo and some decent garments to convey its new message.[4]

The Jesuits, led by Herman Hugo, very quickly adopted the emblem and transformed it to their own needs, injecting the form with new vigour and greatly expanding its themes. It was Hugo, along with Quarles, who "achieved the amalgamation of the emblematic and meditative traditions." [46] This amalgamation, according to Höltgen, "becomes most obvious in the case of the compositio loci,"[5] about which I will say more concerning Donne's poem.

In this same period, the first decades of the 17th century, another important change took place in the emblem; a change which was very much in harmony with the influence of the meditative tradition. Rosemary Freeman describes the change as

> a shift in the later emblems from what is impersonal, to more individual and subjective types of material... As a consequence of this new interest, the later emblem writers preferred to invent their own images or to adapt familiar ones and apply them in their own way..."[6]

In order to illustrate this, she contrasts two emblems on the same subject (the shipwreck of faith), one from Sir Henry Goodyere and the other by Quarles. Ms.

Freeman also points out a related change, something which might be called the internalization of the emblem. She uses a comparison between two poets to describe this:

> The personified figures which Spenser uses so frequently might be found painted on a ceiling, embroidered on a cloak, or woven in a tapestry; but the material of Herbert's *Temple* is to be found in the human heart.[7]

Both these shifts in the emblem, the devotional quality and the movement towards more individual themes, adapted according to specific need, would make the emblem much more akin to the manner in which Donne's images illustrate the arguments or inquiries of his devotional verse and therefore I would like to keep these in mind when we look at *Good Friday*.

Turning now to the relationship between the meditative tradition and poetry, we find that it is not only Donne who is influenced by the Jesuits. In his essay "The Nature of Metaphysical Wit," S. L. Bethell points out that, although there was "virtually nothing on the theory of wit" in England at the time, the style (with its many different names) was extensively discussed by the Spanish and the Italians. I don't want to consider here the specific definitions developed in the 17th century, but Bethell's idea that

> the whole European movement of "baroque wit" or "metaphysical conceit" (may have) originated in a Jesuit revival of Patristic wit - first appearing in Spanish sermons of the sixteenth century[8]

seems to make sense, especially if we think of Donne's contact with the complexity and grace of the Spanish poet Gongorra.

Picking up the thread again and returning to the poetry itself, I'd like to relate the similarites between the development of the emblem and the conceit listed above to Donne's use of images in *Good Friday*.

Concerning the devotional emblems of Quarles, Höltgen says "the pictura or imago of the devotional emblem can sometimes simply replace the meditative compositio loci."[9] In the case of Donne's poem, the correspondence is not quite as simple as this, but the composition of place is fundamental to both what the divine poem is about and how this is presented. But a question arises in connection with this poem, which, if my interpretation is correct, sheds light on the unique

quality of Donne's illustration of devotion. The question concerns the composition of place. What is it exactly that plays the role of the compositio loci of Ignatian meditation and thus the pictura of the devotional emblem?

If we let, as Donne might say, the visual scene be the "spectacle of too much weight", the image of Christ crucified on the cross, we would have an illustration of the image present to the memory of the devotee, acting as the link between the devotee and the object of his devotion. This composition of place would be completely in concordance with the essential Ignatian recipe; it is precisely "a visual scene drawn from memory or imagination." Although the image Donne sets up as the object of devotion is, we could very well say, the visual scene which would serve as compositio loci, it is not the only, nor perhaps the most important one. If we call this scene the compostio loci, we have yet to account for the illustration which opens the poem, depicting the dual motion of the soul, being carried towards the west and bending towards the east.

What if we were to let, as Donne does say, man's soul, depicted as a sphere, be the compostio loci of the poem? Rather than choosing one or the other of the visual scenes to play the unique function of the compositio or the illustration, let us allow them both to stand in this role on two distinct levels. If we do this, we arrive at a meditation on devotion (or meditation) itself.

The key to this dual level of meditation is in the differentiation of the persons visualizing the scenes. After all, while it is the poet, the devotee on horseback, who witnesses the spectacle (image) of Christ on the cross, it is the reader, or some external viewer, who is asked to: "let man's soule be a sphere."

We are, therefore, invited to imagine a situation, very precisely and visually, in which a soul turns in devotion to its creator, within which we witness the meditation of the poet himself. The additional element, in comparison to the emblem, which works on a single level, is the inclusion of Donne's human existence as a participant in a spiritual relationship with God. I would like to look more closely at this framing situation, as it is an illustration of that level of existence, the bodily, which necessitates the mediation of Christ's incarnation for contact with the divine.

The poem can be divided into three distinct parts on the basis of the main visual images. The first is made up of the eight lines which depict the dual motion of the soul in cosmic language plus the two lines which bring the image back down to earth with the lines

> Hence is't that I am carryed towards the West
> This day, when my soules forme bends toward the East.

which gives a more concrete illustration of the motions of the soul. The double aspect of the soul, one part drawn by earthly desires: pleasure or business, and the other with its own, independent motion toward the image of Christ, establishes the basic relationship between body and soul in the poem, which is reiterated again in the last ten lines.

The tradition, extending all the way back to Plato, as A.B. Chambers shows in his study on *Good Friday*, which attributes dual motion to the soul in harmony with the motion of the heavens, went through a great many changes over the centuries. When Donne adopts this way of describing human existence, he adapts it to his own needs, creating a complex image to illustrate a complex state of being.

By the early 17th century, the image of the sphere with dual motion "had lost most - if not all - of the theological implication which it once possessed."[10] Allegorical images in general had become more loosely defined and therefore free game for a variety of independent applications, as we saw in the case of the Jesuit adaptation of the emblem.

The second part of the poem, framed by the first and last ten lines, is the meditation itself. This series of questions is much like the second part in Ignatian meditation, the *considerationes*, which is the examination of theological meaning. In Ignatian meditation, this second part of the process is an analysis of the visual scene set up to induce the meditation. Here, as in the case of the *pictura* of the emblem, the opening image, by illustrtating the condition in which the meditation takes place, also elucidates, or sheds light on, the meaning of the things meditated on in the second part of the poem. This becomes especially apparent in the way Donne answers the questions and resolves the tension in the last section of the poem.

Chambers points out that the string of questions is answered by Donne simultaneously with a yes and a no.

> Though these things, as I ride, be from mine eye,
> They'are present yet unto my memory,

These answers are based on the coesxistence of the body and soul presented in the opening image. "He is physically unable, but spiritually compelled to look."[11] The spiritual devotion and the form of meditation it takes is not the main concern

in Donne's poem. The significance of the opening visual scene is that it stresses, or includes innately, the condition of bodily existence, the soul incarnate, in the meditation.

The title of the poem (as it appears in the Grierson edition and since) includes the second descriptive sentence: *Riding Westward*. The visual scene of the devotee on horseback, actually riding towards the west, pinpoints the fundamental condition being examined by Donne. The image orients, or, more precisely, dis-orients us along with the poet, or devotee, to make us understand the essence of being corporeal creatures yearning for union with the divine.

The last section of the poem, beginning with line 33, which, as I mentioned, reiterates the visual scene of riding westward, resolves the theological tensions raised by the string of questions in the meditation of the longer, middle section. Similarly, according to Höltgen, the devotional emblems of Quarles end with a "final epigram of four lines, conclusion, affirmation or resolution."[12] In Ignatian meditation, the third and final step is called petitiones and iaculatoriae, that is: a resolution of the will.

Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward closes, in fact, with Donne's request for a restoration of Christ's image in himself, based on the doctrine, central to the Christian mystery, of the incarnation of the divine being of God in Christ. The visual scene which opens the poem and is reiterated at the end, and thus frames the meditation, illustrates the precise state of existence necessary for the resolution of the devotional relationship. By turning his face in the same direction as his memory, towards the east, or oriens, the poet, or devotee, will attain complete orientation towards Christ the only way possible, in his incarnate, human form.

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Notes

1. M. Equicola, *Libro di Natura d'Amore*. Vinegia, 1526, f. 110v.

2. Rosemond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1947.

3. John Freccero, "Donne's Valediction: Forbidding Mourning". *English Literary History* 30. (1963), p. 335.

4. Karl Josef Höltgen, "The Devotional Quality of Quarles's Emblems", in *Aspects of the Emblem*. Kassel, 1986, p. 43.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

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6. Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1948, p. 33.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 2

8. S. L. Bethell, "The Nature of Metaphysical Wit", in the *Northern Miscellany of Literary Criticism* I. 1953, p. 22.

9. Höltgen, p. 49.

10. A. B. Chambers, "Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward; The Poem and the Tradition". *English Literary History* 28. (1961), p. 40.

11. Chambers, p. 51.

12. Höltgen, p. 49.

Alan R. Young

"Colors without number":
Some Emblematic Flag Devices
of the Irish Catholic Confederacy
and of the English Army for Ireland in 1641-42

During the English Civil Wars of the 1640s and 50s, emblematic devices were frequently employed on the military flags of the Royalist and Parliamentary armies. These devices were part of the intense propaganda war fought between Royalists and Parliamentarians during and even after the military conflict itself. About these I have written elsewhere.[1] Today, I would like to draw attention to the fascinating body of emblematic material to be found on the flags of other distinct military groups that were active in Britain during the same period. There were a number of such groups or armies, all equally determined to express their own peculiar ideologies in emblematic flag devices that had been specially invented by individual military commanders for use during particular military campaigns. I have in mind the English army sent by Parliament to suppress the Irish rebellion in 1641/42, the Irish Catholic Confederacy army, the Scottish armies of 1648 and 1650, the Scottish Royalist armies, the so-called "Clubmen," and the armed members of the group or sect known as Fifth Monarchists. Here, I will confine myself to two groups — those of the English army sent to Ireland in 1641-42 and those of the Irish Catholic Confederacy.

Leaving aside the larger issues of the on-going conflict between King and Parliament in England during the Civil War, my focus here will be upon the Irish question and the dispute between on the one side Gaelic Irish natives and the so-called Old English (that is to say the pre-Elizabethan largely Catholic English settlers), and on the other side thousands of Scottish settlers and the so-called New English (that is to say, the seventeenth-century largely Protestant English settlers). These last two groups, of course, were strongly supported by the Protestant government in London. The actual conflict broke out some ten months before King Charles I raised his standard in Nottingham to begin his military campaign against Parliament. It lasted throughout the period of the English Civil War and was inevitably linked with it. Ultimately, Parliament's New Model Army in bloody and

never-to-be-forgotten manner brought the dispute to an end between 1649 and 1653.

The material I shall discuss here belongs, as will quickly become apparent, to the early years of the conflict. The rebellion began on 23 October 1641 when Ulster Protestant settlers, mostly of Scottish or English origin, were attacked by their native neighbors who soon attracted the active support of the Old English. Historians, according to their various biases have speculated about the actual number of casualties, but 2,000 would appear to be a reasonable and conservative estimate.[2] Regardless of the real numbers of the victims, the supposed number quickly became so inflated that, as one historian has pointed out, "Irish historiography and Protestant mentality from this time on" were severely affected.[3] Although the motives of those like Rory O'More who led the rebellion included a desire for religious freedom, their prime concerns appear to have been with more temporal matters, such as perceived threats to land titles, the desire of many dispossessed Irish to reoccupy their ancestral lands, and the wish to right the perceived unjust depredations of government. But such issues seem to have quickly become lost in the minds of those in Dublin and London who were deeply shocked by the unexpectedness of events and by the horrible stories of loyal Protestant citizens being massacred by Catholics. The shadow of contemporary events in Europe inevitably conjured up frightening images of religious conflict, so the response was understandably fierce and unconciliatory when Parliament first learned of the rebellion at the beginning of November 1641 and quickly set about raising an army both in Ireland itself and in England to suppress the dissension out of a general fear of an international popish conspiracy and fear of an Irish invasion of England that might be assisted by a foreign Catholic power. English Protestants were mindful too of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of French Huguenots, the history of the Inquisition in Europe, and "Queen *Maries* fires" in Tudor times.[4] Retribution for the thousands of English settlers who were said to have been slain was also a key motive. A Scottish army was sent against the rebels, and Parliament formed an army that was to serve under James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, who was made Lieutenant General in late November.[5] The combined Scottish and English units, together with those colonists who survived the initial massacres, showed no mercy in retaliation, and during the winter following the rebellion, "at least a sixth of the total population of Ireland disappeared from the face of the earth,"[6] with another dozen dreadful years yet to follow.

Information concerning the flag devices of about sixteen military units raised by the English Parliament in 1641 and 1642 for service in Ireland is known. From

these I offer a few brief examples. One entire regiment of horse, that of Lord Inchiquin (Murrough O'Brien), employed a varying number of gold harps upon a red field for each individual troop, the harp, of course, being the heraldic symbol for Ireland. Inchiquin initially commanded a troop of 100 horse raised in England and in July 1642 was appointed Commander of the army in Muenster. The common motto of the flags employed by the units in Inchiquin's regiment was 'Concordes resonem da deus alme sonos' (Grant, O kindly God, that I may send forth harmonious sounds). A second more inventive example involved a rather different use of the heraldic harp. Captain Douglas Trenchard for his troop of horse used the motto 'Fides temerata coegit' (Faith that has been defiled constrains), and upon a blue field he had depicted a gold harp with all its strings broken, an allusion, we may assume, to the broken faith of Ireland with England and the discordant nature of rebellion, the color blue perhaps being a deliberate choice to signify faith.

The eldest son of Lord Conway, who led a troop of horse against the rebels, used the motto from his family crest — 'Fide et amore' (With faith and with love). Conway's father, who had extensive land holdings in Ulster and was Secretary of State and Marshall of Ireland, commanded a regiment in Ulster, and one may assume that his son served under his command. For his pictorial device he had a blue anchor to represent faith. Upon the anchor was perched a white pelican vulning itself, the blood flowing from its breast. One may suppose that the anchor here represents Conway's Protestant faith, now in arms against Catholic enemies. The pelican, familiar in emblem literature as symbolic of loving sacrifice on behalf of others, represents his ostensible act of charity in going to the rescue of the threatened Irish Protestants. His actual motives were no doubt less altruistic than his emblematic device might suggest, since family interests were directly at stake.

The "threat" to Irish Protestants was not only a religious one. As already explained, it was believed in London that a terrible physical threat was involved. Rumors concerning atrocities committed by the Irish rebels flourished at the time the English army was being raised, and the various horrifying stories were given currency early in 1642 in *The Teares of Ireland...illustrated by Pictures*, a lurid piece of inflammatory propaganda by James Cranford, a Presbyterian and violent anti-Catholic. His work contained a number of gruesome illustrations that can only have served further to fuel the flames of hatred towards the Irish rebels. The mood created by the rumors and by such publications is of significance when one considers the flag devices, since the officers preparing to participate in the emergency were obviously affected by them. Thus, for example, the flag device of John

Niarne, a Scottish major, used the motto 'Crudella vindicat aether' (Heaven avenges cruelty) and upon a black flag depicted a naked kneeling woman being slaughtered by a man (presumably an Irish rebel) with a sword. While not referring specifically to alleged atrocities, other flags also made direct references to the campaign in Ireland for which they had been created. Not very emblematic in method perhaps, but certainly direct in its message, was the flag of the third son of the Earl of Salisbury. This was in the nature of a threat. Designed to intimidate any rebellious Irish who saw it, it depicted a man hanging on the gallows and used the motto "Hee is a rebell and deserves it." Such indeed was the fate of many Irish, often merely because they were Irish.

Sir James Montgomery, who commanded a troop of horse in Ulster, used for his flag the motto 'Opes non animum' (Wealth is not courage). Upon a blue background, he depicted a large building in flames. Such an image was entirely appropriate to events in Ireland. One historian has graphically described the situation of the beleaguered colonists as follows:

> Either the colonist must "go Irish" or he must be killed. In the killing neither man, woman nor child was spared. Indeed the Irish bloodlust went on to destroy everything English; the farms were burnt, the horses ham-strung, the cattle slaughtered. The Irish were bent on obliterating everything English, or that had even a semblance of being English. Nothing was sacred, nothing was to be spared. Wooden structures were burnt, stone buildings were torn down, and it was enough that a dog had prowled round an English midden for it to be killed; sufficient that a hen had laid eggs for an English table for its neck to be wrung.[7]

Montgomery's flag, with its picture of the burning building, was described by Thomas Blount in the 1655 edition of *The Art of Making Devises*. Blount suggested that the meaning of the device was that, although the rebels might destroy property (the burning building in the picture, or the 'Opes' of the motto), they could not destroy Montgomery's courage (the 'animum' of the motto). Elaborating upon this, one might also sense the religious implications, since the device suggests the dichotomy between material goods ('opes') and things of the spirit ('animum'), in this instance religious faith.

Another officer serving in the English army in Ireland (his name is not known) also expressed his consciousness of the physical plight of those who were suffering at the hands of the rebels. For his somewhat pedestrian motto he used

'Hibernia sanguine stillat' (Ireland is dripping with blood). Accompanying this on a blue background that perhaps represented the sea, he depicted a green island (the emerald Ireland itself) from which, however, there flowed numerous spouts of blood. Somewhat different, though still expressive of the violence of the situation was the flag of Sir William St. Leger, a professional Anglo-Irish soldier and commander of the Province of Muenster. St. Leger's regiment was almost entirely raised in Ireland. For his motto he used 'In tanto sed non in toto' (In so much but not in all). The accompanying picture employed the same kind of tree symbolism popular among English officers a year earlier when an English army had marched against Scotland. St. Leger's flag for the Irish campaign depicted against a black background a tree that had been cut down, except for one green sprout. Standing beside the tree holding an ax or sickle was the skeletal figure of Death. The meaning seems to be that though the rebels may have caused widespread death and devastation, not everything was lost. Indeed, that remaining vestige (the green shoot) would sprout, grow, and replace all that had been lost.

Following the outbreak of fighting in England at the beginning of the Civil Wars, and following the signed agreement for a "Cessation" of armed conflict in Ireland in September 1643, much of the army in Ireland that had fought against the rebels was transported to England to reinforce the Royalist army, though on arrival many officers and their men went over to the Parliament side. In Ireland itself the Irish Catholic Confederacy, strongly backed by the Catholic church, had been formed at Kilkenny in late 1642 as an alternative government which had then negotiated with Charles I in Oxford. Although the Confederacy did not send many soldiers to England in support of Charles I against Parliament, it is known that at least two thousand that had been raised in Ulster by the Earl of Antrim were sent to the Isles of Scotland during the summer of 1644. These men joined forces with the Marquis of Montrose to fight on behalf of the King against the Scottish Covenanters and had some notable and bloody early successes. It was possibly for the Earl of Antrim's Confederacy force that designs for a number of Catholic Confederacy ensigns were drawn up. That these were perhaps only designs may be deduced from the manuscript descriptions of the flags in the papers of Father Luke Wadding, an influential Franciscan Irishman at Rome, founder of St. Isidore's Irish College in Rome, an indirect instigator of the 1641 rebellion who sent officers and arms to Ireland and encouraged Owen Roe O'Neill to return home and lead the rebel cause, and a major influence upon the Pope and Cardinals on behalf of the Irish. Wadding's papers were initially kept in the archives of St. Isidore's College but were brought back to Ireland in 1872. Among them is the

item of concern here, entitled "Symbola Christiana quibus in Signis militaribus utuntur Catholici Hiberni."[8] Wadding's document provides eight descriptions of flag designs. However, three of the flags are given alternate designs as though the final choice had not yet been made. Regardless of whether the flags were ever made (and the evidence on this point is not conclusive), their symbolism was considered by the Parliamentary authorities in England to have been particularly heinous and threatening (no doubt because of their explicitly Catholic and Royalist content). Descriptions of them implying that they were actual flags were published in the Parliamentary newspaper, *The True Informer* (28 September to 5 October 1644).

This particular issue of *The True Informer* included for the benefit of its pro-Parliament and pro-Protestant readers the text of the Oath of Association "entred into by the Rebells and Catholike Army in Ireland," with its promise of "the free exercise of the Romane Catholike Faith, and Religion." It further explained that the flag descriptions had been included to show "the depth of their [the Confederacy's] designe of fighting onely for the Roman Catholike Cause." More neutral in tone was another contemporary description, added by Thomas Blount (himself significantly a Catholic) to the 1655 edition of *The Art of Making Devises*.[9] Blount's source was probably *The True Informer*. Though he offers only ten descriptions,[10] Blount's account is of some importance since it states that they had been "taken from the Irish Rebels in the late warres," thereby implying that the designs Father Wapping had seen were later used prior to being captured.

Each of the Confederacy ensigns, according to *The True Informer*, included in the upper left corner a canton containing a red diagonal cross of Ireland upon a gold background. Below this were the words 'Vivat Carolus Rex' (Long Live King Charles) and an imperial crown above the letters 'CR' (for 'Carolus Rex'). According to Father Wadding's description, there were eight flags in all. Each design had a different field tincture (white and spotted with blood, green, gold, blood-red, blue, scarlet, white, purple), and each had a different motto and pictorial device. For three of the flags, as already noted, Wadding listed alternate mottoes and pictures, so in all there was a total of eleven designs. *The True Informer*, however, listed all these eleven designs, together with a twelfth description not included by Wadding.[11]

The emblematic devices for these twelve flags reveal the obvious intention of proclaiming an allegiance to the Catholic faith. Thus, we find images such as a crucifix, St. Peter, a chalice and host, the Virgin and Child, and Christ delivering

the Fathers from Limbo. All of these, whether because they were images of sacred matters or because they were expressive of certain beliefs, were likely to be offensive to Protestants and Parliamentarians, particularly those with strong Puritan sensibilities. Even the motto on one flag, 'In nomine Jesu omne genu flectetur' (At the name of Jesus every knee is bowed) was a challenge. As Father Wadding pointed out in his comments on this flag, kneeling or genuflecting or inclining the head to reverence the name of Jesus had been forbidden by act of Parliament.[12] Lest one think that such challenges were perhaps unconscious on the part of the Confederates, one flag may give pause for thought. It showed an armed man setting fire to a copy of Calvin's *Institutes* and used the motto 'Sic pereunt haereses' (Thus heresies perish).

Most of the flags were no doubt equally disturbing to Parliament, whether consciously intended to be or not. One flag depicted against a red background two arms issuing from clouds, the one supporting a chalice with the Host over it, the other holding a sword to defend the chalice. The arms from the clouds obviously represent God who defends what for English Protestants was a quite unacceptable Catholic image that carried a strong reminder of the doctrine of transubstantiation. To make things worse, the motto reinforced the reference to King Charles, already present in the canton, by using the words 'Pro deo, rege, & patina' (For God, the King, and the Chalice). Any reminder to the Parliamentary faction of King Charles's possible association with Catholic interests inevitably inflamed hostilities. Less overtly disturbing, but still pointed in their message, were two other flags. One depicted an angel with a sword cutting the chains from St. Peter. With its motto 'Solvit vincula deus' (God loosens the chains), the device at one level merely alludes to Acts 12:7 and the story of St. Peter being freed from prison by the angel of the Lord who "smote Peter on the side," whereupon Peter's "chains fell off from his hands." At another level it suggests God's protection of the Catholic church in Ireland from English repression and the ultimate victory of the Confederacy which will bring with it freedom of religion. The other example I would offer here is a shade more threatening to the Parliamentarians. Upon this flag against a purple background is depicted Judith. Upon her sword is impaled a severed head (Holofernes' head, one assumes). Again, the allusion at one level is Biblical, in this instance the story of Judith and Holofernes in the Apocryphal Book of Judith, but the accompanying motto implies another meaning: 'Dominus vindicat populam suum' (God will avenge his people). Whereas the story of Judith is primarily to be understood as an *exemplum* of the courage and perseverance of the

Jewish people against an oppressor, here the flag can also be interpreted as alluding to the Catholic Confederacy's resistance against the Protestant English.

To these examples of Catholic Confederacy flags, I add one more. This appears in the descriptive list given in *The True Informer*.[13] Its picture shows upon a red background the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus in her arms. With her heel she tramples upon a serpent's head. Again, at one level, this has a straightforward religious significance. The Virgin and Child, and all they represent, triumph over evil. However, the motto is more specific, and once more one may suspect a conscious slight upon Protestant enemies. The motto states: 'Cunctas haereses interemisti' (Thou hast overcome all heresies).

In addition to the surviving descriptions of Catholic Confederacy flags referred to here, there is an actual flag, now preserved at the Dominican Priory of St. Mary's in Tallaght, Co. Dublin. There it still hangs on the wall in the entrance-hall. This flag, which to date I have been unable to examine, was, according to G.A. Hayes-McCoy, probably designed for use by the Confederacy. Shaped like a guidon, though much larger (five feet one inch by three feet seven inches or 1.55 x 1.09 meters), the flag has a blue silk field, decorated with gilt arabesques representing vegetation. There is no motto, but at the center is the figure of the Virgin and Child within a rosary,[14] typical of the Catholic symbolism employed by the Confederacy and so maddening to the Parliament side. The flag is apparently in a very fragile state and is preserved behind glass. Possibly, its other side has a motto but for the moment this is inaccessible.[15]

The flags of the English Civil War era and their mottoes and emblematic devices are very diverse, as noted at the beginning of this brief survey, and they are not confined to the large groups of flags belonging to the Royalists, the Parliamentarians, and the Scottish armies. The prime function of all of them was a purely military one, but their bearers understood, whether they were English, Scottish or Irish, Parliamentarians, Royalists, Covenanters, or Irish Confederates, that flags and their accompanying emblematic devices were also an effective and public medium for the expression of political, religious, and personal sentiments and attitudes. They were potential instruments of propaganda at a time when the full possibilities of widely-distributed printed propaganda were being discovered for the first time. At the same time, their frequent use of emblematic devices represents an extremely important manifestation of emblematic art, one not hitherto much studied by emblem scholars.

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Notes

1. See my article "The English Civil War Flags: Emblematic Devices and Propaganda". *Emblematica* 5.2 (1991): pp. 341-56; and *Emblematic Flag Devices of the English Civil Wars 1642-1660*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. See also "Ireland 1641-1642: Some Emblematic Flag Devices". *The Flag Bulletin* 34.5/166 (Sept-Oct 1995): pp. 178-91.

2. R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*. London: Allen Lane, 1988, p. 85.

3. *Ibid.*

4. James Cranford, *The Teares of Ireland*. London, 1642 (sig. A4a).

5. The actual commander was Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but he remained in England throughout the crisis. Ormonde eventually became Lord Lieutenant in September 1643. For an account of the English Army, see Ian Ryder, *An English Army for Ireland*. Leigh-on-Sea: Partizan Press, 1987.

6. D. M. R. Esson, *The Curse of Cromwell: A History of the Ironside Conquest of Ireland, 1649-53*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971, p. 59.

7. Op. cit., p. 55.

8. *Sicilegium Ossoriense* (ed. Patrick Francis Moran, 2nd series). Dublin: Gill, 1878, pp. 17-18.

9. Blount asserts that the flags were 'taken from the Irish Rebels in the late warres' (p. 87). If he is correct, the designs for the flags must have been put into effect.

10. Blount also ignores the matter of the canton.

11. Possibly Wadding had access only to information concerning the preliminary designs, whereas the author of the report in *The True Informer* saw the actual Confederacy flags, which he describes as "the Ensignes and Mottoes of their Army" (p. 355).

12. Moran, p. 17. Wadding also comments on the disputed matter of Limbo (Moran, p. 18).

13. Fr. Wadding's list associates this picture with the motto 'Solvit vincula deus,' a motto that *The True Informer* more appropriately assigns to the image of St. Peter.

14. G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *A History of Irish Flags from Earliest Times*. Dublin: Academy Press, 1979, p. 52. Hayes-McCoy includes an illustration of this flag on p. 53.

15. For this information, I am grateful to Hugh Fenning, O.D., of St. Mary's, Tallaght.

Ágnes Dukkon

Woodcuts in Old Calendars

In my study I would like to present a few calendar illustrations. My survey will be quite brief, and I will focus on just a few examples from hundreds of publications. First, I should define what I mean by "old calendars": printed almanacs and calendars from the 15th to the 18th century's Europe, that is the overall material of popular press between the apparition of the print and the Enlightenment. There are medieval manuscript calendars too, such as the first Polish written document, a calendar from 1250, according to Teofil Żebrawski's bibliography.[1] One of the Hungarian liturgical codices - the München codex from 1466 - contains a manuscript calendar too (for the years 1416-35). Another calendar that preceded bookprinting and came out in 1405 in Augsburg is Johannes von Gmunden's xylograph calendar[2] - a form of wood engraving, an intermediate stage between the manuscripts and printed almanacs. Out of this special edition form the German "Volkskalender" developed and, simultaneously with printed calendars it spread in several copies all through the 15th century. Those copies contained already various illustrations.

Calendar illustrations in the 15th and 16th centuries depict mainly astronomical themes, and their recurrence was strongly connected to the outburst of the astronomical and mathematical discoveries of the Renaissance. It is not coincidental that the most variable and richest illustrations appeared in Krakow and Vienna universities: just like the Bible pauperum, the woodcuts of the almanacs represented a special "Astronomia pauperum" (Figure 1). In Western Europe Flounders was such a center of mind: prognosticons and almanacs compiled by the Laet family and by Borchloen reached France and England and became very popular for a long time.[3]

The department of astronomy in Krakow was formed in 1410. By 1495 an independent astrological movement grew out from it. The scientists did not consider this "applied astronomy" inferior to their science, but they also practiced astrology, instead of having rejected it. The famous Polish mathematicians, Martin Bylica of Olkusz and Adalbert of Brudzewo (he was Copernicus's tutor) held professional connections with the Vienna School of Astronomy, with persons like Johannes Regiomontanus and Georg Pauerbach. Martin of Olkusz had for a while

been the astronomist of the king's court at Buda, just like Regiomontanus who made his calculation tables of the Planets in Esztergom in 1467 and dedicated it to Johannes Vitéz, Matthew's chancellor. Regiomontanus' calendar referred to the period between 1475 and 1530. He did not use woodcuts except for the initials and the geometrical representation of the eclipses of the Moon.[4]

The Renaissance calendar illustrations developed, therefore, in two directions: one shared the strictly scientific character of astronomical discourse, the other, addressed to laymen, had strong symbolic and mythological implications. Both groups attempted, however, to overcome the insufficiencies of one-dimensional representations, and to create perspective. One step in their endeavor was the depiction of astronomical instruments - for example illustrations of the astrolabium and armilarsphere, etc. Ewa Chojecka's remark[5] about Krakowian calendar illustrations is more or less valid for the period's German, English and other calendars as well. She speaks about three stages. The first, lasting till 1530, artistically belongs to the previous century and its astronomical illustrations are the most valuable, dominated by scientific astronomy. In the second phase, by the middle of he 16th century the popularity of astrology surpasses that of astronomy and the illustrations turn back to antique themes and motives. The third stage, by the end of the 16th century falls under the dominance of astrology and calendar illustrations approach folk art becoming literal illustrations: "Was der Text in Worten sagte, druckte in Illustration aus. Es bestand eine direkte Verbindung zwischen Wort und Bild."[6]

1.   One of the most interesting group contains illustrations of the planets personified (Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, Mars, Venus, Luna, Mercury). These representations came from two different traditions: the antique and the oriental culture. The oriental tradition became well-known all over Europe due to Michael Scot's miniatures which accompanied his tractatus written to Frederick Hohenstaufen the IInd, by the end of the 13th century.[7] Later the personified planets get dressed according to the European aristocrat's fashion in that epoch; for example in Mikolaj Toliczkow's calendar published in Krakow in 1512 (Figure 2). The portraying of Mercury and Luna reminds one of a troubadour and his lady, it could just as well be a woodcut variant for certain pictures from the Manasse Codex in Heidelberg. In Mikolaj Shadek's Prognosticon for the year 1519 (Figure 3), Mars, wrapped in armor and supplied with spear, and Saturn wearing a king's gown are so faithful to the period, that without considering their planetarian names, we could easily take them for wholly earthly creatures.

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2. Another constant motif of the calendars is the natural representation of the zodiac, that is the picturesque and literal illustration of symbols, the meaning of these being determined by the ever-growing number of laic readers. Chojecka also explains the metamorphosis of the dragon motif, borrowed from Hindu astronomy through Arab transmission into European calendars.[8] This dragon, little by little has lost its original astronomical meaning, and thus has become the embodiment of Evil on calendar woodcuts. The illustration of eclipses, together with this dragon motif will appear from the middle of the 16th century, not in the scientific publications of astronomy, but in the popular almanacs.

3. The so-called month representations (Monatsbilder) remained for the longest period the ornamental elements of calendars. The twelve months are symbolized by human figures and depict twelve different moments of farm- and housework. These pictures are quite realistic, sometimes idyllic as well. I would like to mention the woodcuts of a Hungarian calendar published in Vienna in 1641 (Figure 5)[9], but there are many other examples with similar pictures. These representations of the months sprang out from very old sources: according to several experts (Zinner, Brévart, Chojecka etc.) they originate from the late ancient tradition; in Philocalus' Chronograph - 4th century - human figures appear and stands for the months, each of them bearing a special character feature as a monthly attribute. From this tradition the medieval genre painting developed; the most famous examples the "Stundenbuch" of Jean duc de Berry from the 15th century. The late medieval miniatures influenced the woodcuts of the 16th and 17th centuries, as the before mentioned Hungarian calendar exemplifies. But the same influence can be traced on Csízió's woodcuts which was printed in Heltai's printing house in 1592 in Kolozsvár. The months, the zodiac, the planets and the blood-letting scene prove that Heltai used German sources[10]: the Temporal of Regiomontanus, the Planetenbuch and other calendars. This tradition was passed on, almost with no change, to the 17th century. There is another Hungarian version of Csízió, published in Lőcse 1650 and I could easily notice the survival of the German woodcuts and the traditional symbolism of pictures.[11] In general, these illustrations were common property of printing offices all over Europe, they wandered from one printer to the other in several variations as the comparing of the English, German, Polish, Hungarian and French calendars proves it.

There are many examples for noticing the combination of abstract astronomical signs and pictures: I mention a sheet calendar of Christopher Froschauer, edited in Zürich 1541, with various woodcuts informing the once

owner on months, feasts and medical advice: symbols of the months (30x25 mm), blood-letting manikin and blood-letting scene (55x55 mm) and very small symbolic woodcuts and signs printed in red and black.

4.   A very characteristic picture of old calendars is the blood-letting manikin. There was a strong connection between astronomy and medical science beginning from the ancient times (as we can see it in Tetrabiblos of Ptolemy, for example), through the Renaissance, and lasting perhaps till the Enlightenment, therefore it is obvious, why the popularity of medical astronomy (or astronomical medicine?) grew respectively.[12] I found such illustrations up to the end of the 17th century in Polish, Hungarian, English and German calendars. This theme was so popular that even in the second half of the 17th century in English mock-calendars the blood-letting manikin was always present as the object of parody. In Poor Robin's calendar for 1670 the following text comments the events of blood-letting: "The Anatomy of Man's Body, according to the manner as Julius Caesar was slain in the Senate House".[13] (The woodcut shows how this blood-letting, in this special case, serves for good.)

5.   Starting from mid 16th century, the Baroque style appeared on woodcuts: decorated title pages, dynamic and overcrowded images characterize most of the almanacs of that time. One example is Michael Peterle's calendar published in Prague 1578 (Figure 4).[14] A little more harmonic and more elegant publication was the Protestant "Calendrier Historial"[15] of Jean de Tournes which came out in Lyon in 1563. The framing ornamentation of the title page consists of arabesques, human and animal figures. In the middle of the page a serpent, biting its tail, forms a circle, and the same circle encloses a Latin aphorism: Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri non feceris. This illustration is also an old topos, I have found it in many English sheet calendars of the 17th century and in other almanacs of the earlier period.

   This "Calendrier Historial" is indeed very Protestant: for Prognostication the author quotes the Bible (Jeremiah 10, Leviticus 26) crying out against the vanity of star beliefs and predictions. Yet the calendar has wonderful woodcuts representing the months, these are real idyllic scenes accompanied by psalm verses in beautiful calligraphy. The second half of the calendar contains the Psalms, a long tractatus by Theodore Beze, a catechism, religious liturgy, and finally, the testimony of the French Protestant Church. The Psalms are surrounded by nice

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initials and various frame decorations. It is curious that these pictures seem to be closer to Rabelais then to the spirit of the Psalms.

Step by step, in the 17th century astronomical illustrations faded away, and more and more actual political pictures, coats-of-arms from different countries and towns, persons, portrays of high officials and of calendar authors (such as William Lilly's and George Wharton's), panoramas - as Leipzig, Wrocław, Lőcse, Nürnberg in David Frölich's and Christoph Neubarth's calendars.[16] This change was due to the process of separation between astronomy and astrology on the one hand, and on the other hand, it was caused by growth of the functions the calendar was appointed to have, and by the withering of astralmythology, in contrast with political, economical and cultural themes. Thus only the strictly geometrical illustrations appear to follow the astronomical facts, or an entirely different, a new symbolic pattern decorates the late 17th century calendars. This phenomenon shows how the relationship between art and science changed around the turn of the 18th century; while in the Renaissance the two formed unity, in the Enlightenment they split, and developed further on independently.

We could catch the last glimpse of the Renaissance unity in the Latin and German calendars of David Frölich (1595-1648, a German-Hungarian scientist from Késmárk).[17] His texts and illustrations have preserved the tradition of the classical, theoretical and practical astronomy. Among the Central and Western European calendars I have investigated so far, I have not found another such attitude, that of connecting the actual work to the spirit and form of late Renaissance calendars. This was not an anachronism from his part, but a conscientious preference, because his knowledge in natural sciences and arts was high at the level of the epoch, in physics and geography especially.

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Notes

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2. Bronisław Kocowski, *Drzeworytowe książki średniowiecza*. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974, pp. 97-102; Francis B. Brévart: "The German Volkskalender of the Fifteenth Century". *Speculum* 63 (1988), Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America, pp. 312-342.; *Apokalypse...Die lateinisch-deutschen Blockbücher des Berlin-Breslauer Sammelbandes* (Einführung und Beschreibungen Nigel F. Palmer). München, 1992.

3. Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press. English Almanacs 1500-1800*. London, 1979, pp. 23-67.

4. Ernst Zinner, *Der deutsche Kalender des Johannes Regiomontan* (facsimile). Leipzig, 1937.

5. Ewa Chojecka, *Astronomische und astrologische Darstellungen und Deutungen bei kunsthistorischen Betrachtungenalter wissenschaftlichen Illustrationen des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts*. Veröffentlichungen des staatlichen Mathematisch - Physikalischen Salons, Bd 4, Berlin, 1967.

6. *Ibid*. 22.

7. F. Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident". *Der "Islam"* Bd IV, 1912, pp. 165-169. Quoted in Chojecka, "Krakowska grafika kalendarzowa i astronomiczna XVI wieku". *Studia Renesansowych* III (1962), pp. 319-482.

8. Chojecka, op. cit. 1967, pp. 71-75.

9. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, RMK I. p. 710

10. Borsa, Gedeon, "A Csízióról". In *Csízió, vagyis a Csillagászati tudománynak rövid és értelmes leírása*. Budapest, 1986, pp. 165-176.

11. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, RMK I. pp. 834/b

12. Kákosy, László, *Egyiptomi és antik csillaghit*. Budapest, 1978; Szabó, Árpád - Kádár, Zoltán, *Antik természettudomány*, Budapest, 1984.

13. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashm 601 (3)

14. Bodleian Library, Oxford, G.Pamph. 1829 (21)

15. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce, CC 173

16. *Der Neue und Alte Schreibkalender Davidis Froelichii...*1626, Wroclaw: Ossolineum, XVII-7319-III; *Új és Ó Kalendárium ... melyet írt Neubart Christoph*, Lőcse, 1679, OSZK, RMK I. 1237, etc.

17. Dukkon, Ágnes, "Asztrológia és keresztény hit a régi kalendáriumokban." *ITK* 5-6 (1992), 584-607.

Figure 1. Jacobus de Iszlza: Calendarium...
1512, Kraków. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków.

Figure 2. Mikolaj Toliczkow: Judicium …
1512, Kraków. Biblioteka Jagellońska, Kraków.

Pronosticon Judicia-
ale futurorū euentuū anno dñi ₁₅₁₉.
in studio Crac/ per Magistrū
Nicolaum Shadek collectum.

Figure 3. Mikolaj Shadek: Prognosticon Judiciale,
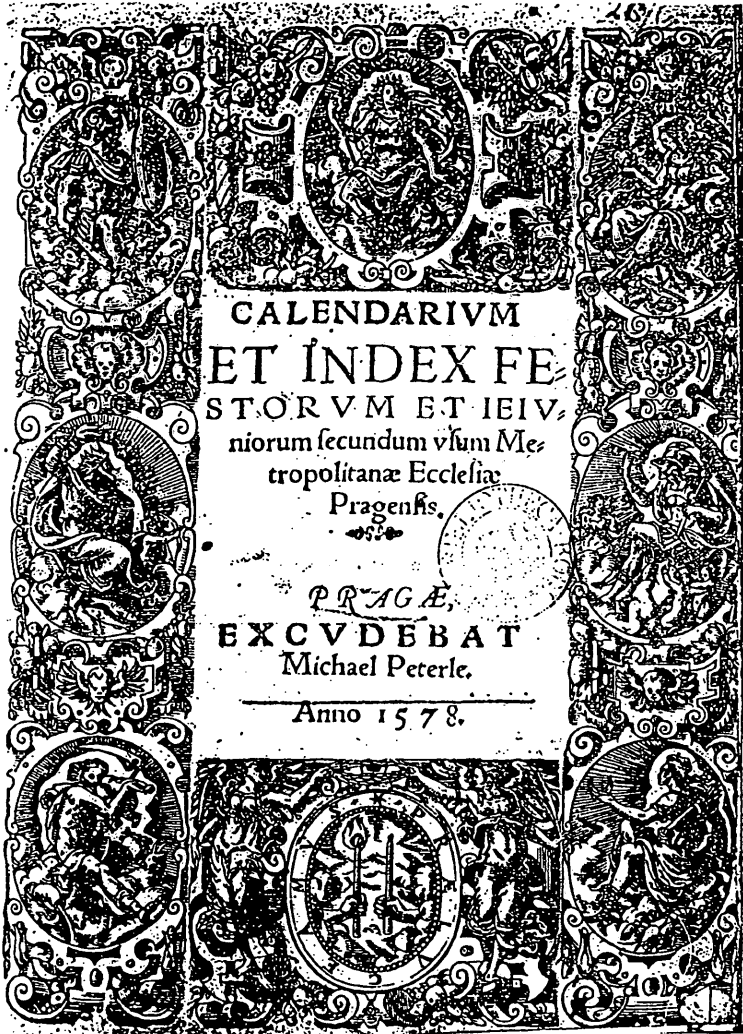1519, Kraków. Biblioteka Jagellońska, Kraków.

Figure 4. Michael Peterle: Calendarium, 1578, Praga.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.

M A R T I U S

1	Mar	d Albinus Püsp. · · · mértekl.
2	ti	e Simplici9 Páp. ☉ hofz.8.o.12.m.

¶ *Jésus ördögöt üz ki, mely néma vala.*
Sz. Luk. 11. réfz.

3	us	F. Oculi, Kunegund. Szüz. · · · hó.
4	of	g Cafimir Conf. ☾ 1.o. 24. n.
5	fi	a Adorián Márt. fzél
6	ci	b Evag. Püsp. · hó
7	o	c Aquinás Tamás Conf. haború
8	de	d Filemon Márt.
9	co	e Negyven Márt. melegh

¶ *Jésus ött árpa kenyézzel megh elegit.*
Sz. Ian. 6. réfz.

10	ra	F. Lætare, Viktor Márt.
11	tur	g Eutimius Püsp. ● 3.o.41.m,n.
12	Gre	a Gergely Pápa.
13	go	b Niceforus Püsp.
14	ri	c Matildis Afz. háboru.
15	an	d Longinus Márt.

Figure 5. Jan Tonski: Kalendárium ... 1641, Bécs
(in Hungarian).
Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest.

Piotr Wilczek

Baroque Pattern Poetry in Poland
In Relation to Theories of Literary Genres

Pattern poetry (also called figured poetry, visual poetry, poems of shaped verse or simply picture poetry) is an important iconographical phenomenon. However, literary critics have usually regarded it as a poetical entertainment and for that reason pattern poetry was either neglected or misunderstood in the past. Even though some interesting books and papers on pattern poetry have been published in the last century, especially after the Second World War, there is still a certain lack of enthusiasm for theoretical analysis of this kind of poetry. The most extensive and valuable works on pattern poetry are only bibliographies with basic descriptions and numerous illustrations.[1] In most scholarly papers a historical outline of this unusual phenomenon is more important than a theoretical analysis, especially concerned with the classification taking into account the theory of literary genres. In this paper I would like to examine some aspects of the relationship between Polish pattern poetry of the 17th century and the theory of literary genres.

It is difficult to formulate a definition of pattern poetry. According to Kenneth Newell "A pattern poem (...) consists of one or more stanzas, each of which is printed upon the page so that its type will outline a recognizable picture to the reader's eye. The picture may be a geometric design, a silhouette of some concrete object, or even an abstract representation of some mood or idea similar to that found in the words of the stanza."[2] This is, however, only a definition of *technopaegnia* — one kind of pattern poetry known from the *Greek Anthology* and imitated in the whole of Europe. This definition is not sufficient because it does not include other kinds of such poems. The same author defines then another type of picture poems called *carmina quadrata* or *carmina cancellata*. They "were box-like verses in which each line had the same number of letters and the number of lines in the verse equaled the number of letters per line. Acrostics, telestichs, and pictorial designs were formed in the lettering by capitalizing or inking in chosen letters with a different color or by drawing in separate outlines."[3] These two definitions do not comprise the whole variety of picture poems. A large number of poetic texts have been described by historians of literature.[4] These descriptions

entitle us to separate another two kinds of picture poems — labyrinths and "architectural poems". Poetical labyrinths are regular compositions similar to a chessboard with letters distributed on it. Such a poem (which may be also circular or spiral) should be read according to a proper order following the rules of a labyrinth.[5] "Architectural poem" is not the best description of the fourth kind of pattern poetry, the most heterogeneous one. Such poems were written mainly in the 17th century — pieces of poetry were put into various shapes, mainly architectural ones, but there were also triumphant gates, buildings, various monuments. There is an important difference between this kind of pattern poetry and *technopaegnia* in which the lines of a poem produce a picture — e.g. wings, an altar, a pipe or an ax. In "architectural poems" various pieces of poetry are put into a picture of a building or a monument and the shape of the poetical lines does not mark out an area of a picture. On the other hand sometimes it is difficult to make a difference between the *technopaegnion* and the "architectural poem", especially in the 17th century. It is important to distinguish between a poem written in a shape of a sword or a banner and a regular poem put into a picture painted before. The other difficulty is — as one of the scholars noticed — that it is sometimes difficult to decide if such a poem is an autonomous literary work or rather a part of an incidental architectural setting with a special poetical program.[6]

The above mentioned classification was based on the study of the most representative examples of the European medieval, renaissance and baroque pattern poetry. It should be mentioned here that in Poland the fourth kind was the most popular one, because Polish pattern poetry of that time was mainly eulogistic or panegyrical. Poems put into the shapes of triumphant gates, coats of arms, tombs or even insignia of a rule of Roman Catholic bishops were for that reason obviously the most common ones. Polish baroque poetry was also religious and theological, so we can find many poems in a shape of a cross and also of a star, which is a symbol of Mary the Virgin. There are also dozens of poems written according to the pattern of *carmina quadrata* and various poetical labyrinths.

In treatises and handbooks of poetics written during that time a notion that comprises the whole variety of pattern poems cannot be found. It is obvious that the role of poetics with its rules and principles was essential in the 17th century both in Poland and in the whole of Europe. Classification proposed in the beginning of this paper is based on the analysis of accessible material, but it is not acceptable from the historical point of view.

The old Polish poetics was theoretically based on traditional Aristotelian notions of *individuum — species — genus* (an individual — a species — a genre).

In practice theory of genres and species in 16th and 17th century Poland was far more complex. Subordination of species to genres (narrative, dramatic and mixed) was purely theoretical. In the 17th century authors of treatises on poetics preferred to isolate a few different notions, each of them having features of all traditional genres. Usually they mentioned the following genres: *poesis lyrica* (lyrical poetry), *poesis elegiaca* (elegiac poetry), *poesis tragica* (tragic poetry), *poesis comica* (comic poetry), *poesis satyrica* (satiric poetry), *poesis epigrammatica* (epigrammatic poetry), *poesis artificiosa* or *curiosa* (artificial or curious poetry). In handbooks and treatises these genres were situated in respect to hierarchy. At first the epic poetry was the most distinguished one but later it was replaced by the so called artificial (curious) poetry based on baroque concepts and formal, technical tricks.[7] Definitions and examples of pattern poems can be found in treatises and handbooks within the section devoted to the artificial poetry.[8]

There are no direct links between Polish theory of visual poetry and reflections that can be found in basic European works dealing with that issue, i.e. in Scaliger's *Poetics*, *The Arte of English Poesie* by George Puttenham and Alsted's *Encyclopaedia*. Puttenham who presented several poems written according to the rules of *technopaegnion* claimed that they had an oriental origin.[9] Alsted's work is more interesting from the theoretical point of view. In his *Poetica* (a part of *Encyclopaedia*) the whole chapter is devoted to *technopaegnion*. One can find there definitions and pictures of poems called by him *amphora poetica* (poetical amphora), *calix poetica* (poetical chalice (cup)), *ovum poeticum* (poetical egg).[10] On the other hand there are several definitions of poems in Alsted's work which cannot be included in the "pattern poetry" — emblems or acrostics — but it is worth mentioning that one can find them in chapters about "artificial poetry" in Polish treatises and handbooks.[11]

Pattern poetry belongs then to so called "artificial" or "curious" poetry. Of course not all methods of shaping poetry were described in Polish treatises. Quite the reverse, this is the best case to prove a statement that the scope of the theory of literary genres and species was not strictly in line with a collection of species existing in the old Polish literature. There were notions having literary equivalents and species having no equivalents in notions.[12] In typical treatises on poetics there are only few notions that may be referred to what we call "pattern poetry". Most pattern poems belong to a large group of literary species of a non-ancient origin (like sonnet or madrigal) that cannot be found in treatises. One characteristic problem may be observed in a Polish book on poetics, *Attica Musa* written by a

Piarist monk Andrzej Krzyżkiewicz (Ignatius a S. Francisco). In a chapter called *De ludis poeticis* various examples of "artificial poetry" were placed and there is also one pattern poem in a shape of a pyramid (defined as an *obeliscus*). On the other hand a significant *admonitio* (admonition) was put in the last part of the book. The author warned of "new poets" who write strange "artificial" poems. Two of them — a banner and a sword — were printed there.[13] They have no names, but we might call them *vexillum poeticum* (poetical banner) and *gladium poeticum* (poetical sword) according to the theory of Alsted. There was no separate treatise on pattern poetry, although it is obvious that most pattern poetry was written under an influence of the Jesuit order and its cultural institutions, especially colleges in which nearly all Polish gentry was educated at that time. The most magnificent book with pattern poems published in 17th century Poland, *Leopardus... Henrici Firley* was written by students of the Jesuit college in Kalisz as an eulogy for a new Roman Catholic archbishop. There are many examples of pattern poems in rhetorical handbooks used in Jesuit colleges. Shaped poems were treated there as a part of a section of epigrammatic poetry. Writing such poetry was a part of rhetorical exercises practiced in these schools. The official Jesuit educational program suggested that lecturers should teach methods of writing poetry — epigrammatic among other genres — and these methods were a part of poetics and rhetoric.[14]

There are however no sources that may be helpful while studying the problem of pattern poetry in the light of the theory of literary genres and species. Is pattern poetry a part of "artificial poetry" or a separate genre? Is it a collection of literary species or only one species with numerous variants? It would be easy to say that there are four different species of pattern poetry i.e. *technopaegnia, carmina cancellata*, labyrinths and "architectural poems" (if we of course have the right to isolate the "pattern poetry" as a separate genre; such a notion did not exist in the past) and that there are various variants of these species. Having made such a decision we are faced with insoluble problems. This provisional classification is anachronistic, because it does not take into consideration historical consciousness of literary genres. What is more, the *carmina quadrata* and labyrinths often intersect and differences between them often rub off. The fourth group is too heterogeneous and it is here that we can imagine all difficulties with any classification.

The most "legally valid" procedure will be to follow the old theories. As I mentioned above, there are not too many theoretical statements of that kind. It is

worth mentioning however that both in Polish and Western European treatises on poetics there is a tendency to define separate shape poems and give them names of objects represented by them. Examples from Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* and Polish handbook *Attica Musa* were mentioned above. This method of "creating" literary genres will make sense only with poems written in a shape of altars, wings, swords, crosses etc. In Polish books with pattern poetry we can find several poems in the shape of a banner, a star, a sword or a cross. Can they be recognized as separate literary genres? Such classification is possible but it makes sense only with books (especially eulogies written in Latin) which consist only of various shaped poems. There is however a group of poetical books written in Polish (by Adam Nieradzki and Adrian Wieszczycki) in which unique pattern poems not imitating popular structures are the compact syntheses of the contents contained in the work. Texts connecting the poetic word and the picture make summaries of the whole work. The typographical structure of the poems in Nieradzki's work is especially interesting and was compared to vanguard, 20th century visual prints.[15] Another example of such poetry called "architectural" is the work by Adrian Wieszczycki ("Archetyp..."). Poems are placed into the figures of a tomb monument and a magnificent obelisk. It would be difficult to analyze them as literary works — connections with the baroque architecture and funeral customs seem to be more important here. It is obvious that such poems can hardly be examined from the point of view of the 17th century literary theory. On the other hand it should be mentioned that in some poetical works written in Polish in which the text is interspersed by pattern poems these poems are not "vanguard" but slightly traditional. This is the case of Wieszczycki and many others like Wojciech Waśniowski.[16]

What solution can be provided to overcome theoretical difficulties concerning theories of literary genres and the classification of various kinds of the pattern poetry? There are at least three ways of connecting a poetical word with a picture. All belong to the genre of *poesis artificiosa* distinguished in old treatises on poetics. The first one may be called *technopaegnion* according to the very old tradition. Within this way of producing visual poems we can distinguish many species. Some of them were mentioned in old treatises. We may suppose that according to this theory every shape becomes a separate species. An important piece of evidence is a history of a species called "pyramid". Pyramid is the only visual species accepted by Krzyżkiewicz and separately described in his treatise *Attica Musa*. The significance of a pyramid as the most popular European species

of the pattern poetry in 16th and 17th century was·proved and much evidence was collected.[17] According to one of the modern theories even one manifestation of a literary species means that it began to exist.[18] I think that there is no contradiction between this statement and the essence of old theory — pyramids and also wings, altars, stars or crosses were separate literary species. Another literary species is *carmen quadratum* or *cancellatum*. This species was examined in old treatises as a one, separate species, although we should take into consideration that it had many variants. The third species is a poetical labyrinth with many variants as well.[19] Finally, we must turn to poems called before "architectural". They cannot be classified from the point of view of old handbooks of poetics. This type of visual poetry cannot be found in them. I think that it is not a part of literature only, because — in opposition to *technopaegnia, carmina quadrata* and labyrinths — it radically exceeds the limits of literature and cannot be examined from the literary theory point of view. "Architectural poems" are usually a part of occasional architecture — triumphant arches and gates, artificial buildings, temporary decorations — and they are beyond the old poetics and modern literary theory. Many such works contain simple and not "shaped" verses placed in an architectural work. I think that such works should be studied from an interdisciplinary point of view not as works of literature but simply as works of art.

When "architectural" poems are excluded from the world of pure literature, classification of so called pattern poetry will not be difficult. Both old and new theories of poetry can coexist here without contradictions. What is more, separation of "architectural poems", a magnificent example of the baroque imagery, may create a field for joint interdisciplinary studies of a phenomenon that is beyond literature as one of the best examples of baroque synthesis of various arts.

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Notes

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2. K. Newell, *Pattern poetry. A Historical Critique from the Alexandrian Greeks to Dylan Thomas*. Boston, 1976.

3. *Ibid.*

4. e.g. J. Adler, "Technopaegnia, carmina figurata and Bilder-reime: Seventeenth century figured poetry in historical perspective", in *Comparative criticism* 4 (ed. E.S. Schaffer). Cambridge, 1982; Higgins, op. cit.; P. Rypson, *Obraz słowa. Historia poezji wizualnej*. Warszawa, 1989.

5. P. Rypson, "Gdańska poezja wizualna XVII wieku". *Rocznik Gdański* 47.1 (1987).

6. Rypson, 1989

7. T. Michałowska, *Poetyka i poezja. Studia i szkice staropolskie*. Warszawa, 1982.

8. T. Michałowska, *Staropolska teoria genologiczna*. Wrocław, 1974.

9. G. Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) (ed. C. D. Willcock and A. Walker). Cambridge, 1936; M. Church, "The first English pattern poems". *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 61 (1946); A. L. Korn, "Puttenham and the oriental pattern poem". *Comparative Literature* 6.4 (1954).

10. J. H. Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*. Herborn, 1630.

11. Michałowska, 1974.

12. Michałowska, 1982.

13. A. Krzyżkiewicz (Ignatius a S. Francisco), *Attica Musa*. Cracoviae, 1974.

14. E. Ulčinaitė, *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII wieku*. Wrocław, 1984.

15. Rypson, 1989; P. Wilczek, "Funkcje wierszy wizualnych w utworze Adama Nieradzkiego "Kirys hartowny starożytnego żołnierza"", in *O literackiej ramie wydawniczej w książkach dawnych* (ed. R. Ocieczek). Katowice, 1990.

16. P. Wilczek, "Barokowa poezja wizualna w Europie i Polsce. Prolegomena", in *Staropolskie teksty i konteksty. Studia* (ed. J. Malicki). Katowice, 1989.

17. U. Ernst, "Europäische Figurengedichte in Pyramidenform aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert". *Euphorion* 76 (1982).

18. S. Skwarczyńska, "Niedostrzeżony problem podstawowy genologii", in *Wokół teatru i literatury (Studia i szkice)*. Warszawa, 1970.

19. P. Rypson, "The labyrinth poem". *Visible Language* 20.1 (1986).

Orthodox Iconography

Imre H. Tóth

Saint Cyril (Constantine)
on the importance of icons

The struggle between iconodules and iconoclasts, which took place in the orthodox church from the middle 8th century to 943, is not only a significant event of ecclesiastical history, but an important part of medieval philosophical thinking as well. If we look at the history of western philosophy, its analogy can for the most part be found in the centuries old controversy about universals. Both of them greatly contributed to the development of thought, for during the debates extraordinarily precise, delicate and subtle differentiations could be worked out. While in the West the basic principles of semantics were elaborated in the debates on universals via the discovery and rediscovery of the *sign* and *meaning,* the orthodox theologians went deeply into the reinterpretation (renewal) of Greek philosophical terminology.

Without entering into the details of the struggle between iconoclasts and iconodules, we want to draw attention to St. Cyril's activity defending the respect of icons. St. Cyril (his secular name being Constantine) was the creator of the Slavic alphabet and the founder of Slavic written literature. He was a convinced iconodule, who decidedly stood up for the respect of icons.

We can find two episodes in Constantine's legend where he unfolds his views concerning icons. The first episode is in the sixth chapter of the legend (*Vita Constantini,* VI:17-24), where we can read about the argument between the young Philosopher and Ioannes Grammatikos. The second one can be found in the tenth chapter of the *Vita* (X: 82-85)[1] which relates about the dispute of the apostle of the Slavs in front of the Khazar kagan. It is remarkable that relatively little attention has been paid to these episodes in the special literature on Constantine.

F. Grivec, the author of one of the best monographs dealing with Constantine, devoted just a little more than two pages to the first episode.[2] The second one deserved merely a sentence. E. Georgiev's detailed monograph on Constantine is not much different in this respect.[3] The famed Bulgarian scholar writes in somewhat more details about the argument with Ioannes Grammatikos, than Grivec, but he mentions the dispute about iconoclasm in the court of the kagan in just one sentence, too.

Such an attitude of the biographers can be accounted for by the fact that mainly theological significance was attributed to Constantine's debate with the iconoclasts. That is why they did not pay more attention to the analysis of the two episodes.What follows is an attempt to briefly investigate Constantine's debate in the defence of icons.

The first debate with former patriarch Ioannes Grammatikos took place presumably between 843 and 856. Ioannes Grammatikos II held the patriarch's dignity from 832 to 843. He was in the confidence of Leo V, the iconoclast emperor, and of his also iconoclast son, Theophylos II. He had written a textbook in grammar, that is why he was called Grammatikos. Meanwhile, however, his contemporaries accused him of cultivating black magic because of his studies in natural science. On ascending the patriarch's throne in the Blakherna palace, Ioannes made a sharp speech against the iconodules. Later, together with bishop Antonios he compiled a collection of citations from the Bible and the Fathers of the Church's writings in order to justify iconoclasm. After the respect of the icons had been restored, he was exiled to a monastery (probably Kleidion). There he lived in seclusion, still maintaining his conviction.

Instead of presenting the debate in detail, we only refer to the part dealing with the *icons*. Ioannes VII turned to his young debate partner with the following question:

> Then the old man said: "Why do we worship a cross without an inscription when there are also other crosses? However, if an icon is not inscribed with the name of its image, why do you not render honor to it?"
> The Philosopher answered: "Because each cross has the same image as the cross of Christ, but not all icons have one and the same image."
> The old man said: "When God spoke to Moses He said: 'Thou shalt not make anylikeness.' "Why then do you make them and worship them?"
> And to this the Philosopher replied: "Had He said: 'Thou shalt not make any kind of likeness,' you would be correct. But He said: 'Not any,' that is, any unworthy."
> Unable to contradict this, the old man fell silent, ashamed.[4]
>
> (Translated by M. Cantor)

Constantine's *Vita* does not contain the full text of the dispute, it uses digestion and omission instead, which raises difficulties in understanding this passage. It is clear

from Constantine's words, however, that he refers to two principles when defending the icons.

The first principle is similarity: owing to their shape, all crosses are similar to that of Christ. This *similarity* makes them worthy of respect. A devout Christian has respect for Christ's cross, as well as for a shape similar to it. Consequently, other crosses also receive the respect of Christ's cross. The idea of sharing the respect was first launched by St. Basileios, and later it became the basic principle of Ioannes Damaskenos, the founder of the "philosophy of icons."[5] The relationship between the prefiguration, the archetype and the image can be expressed through the concept *of share* (participation).

The second principle is that of exact *correspondence*. People are similar to each other concerning their figure. Thus, a picture, an icon can depict anybody. In order to avoid ambiguity, the depicted person's name has to be displayed on the image. With this, the depicted person is selected from among the similar, and is tied to a particular archetype.[6]

By being named, the icon is attached to a particular personality, so the depicted person acquires identity, which at the same time assures him his share in the respect given to the archetype.

Constantine does not say that the image and the archetype are identical, but stresses that the icon *is similar to* the archetype. With this idea he actually represents Theodoros Studites' opinion according to which the prefiguration, the archetype and the image, the icon are essentially different from each other: it is only their similarity that connects them. According to Theodoros Studites there is only one substantially identical relationship between prefiguration and icon: the one based on the identity between Father and Son (ὁμοούσια).[7] This specific *substantial* identity was first emphasized by apostle Paul, according to whom Christ is the image of the Father: ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ (Col. 1,15). It is the "*natural icon*", in its character opposed to the manmade artificial or "*artistic icon*". There is only one natural icon, and it is not depicted by hand.

In the second episode, where Constantine expresses his opinion about icons, he is asked the following question during the debate:

"How can you who worship idols pretend to please God?"
The Philosopher answered: "Learn first to distinguish the nouns, what an image is and what an idol, and considering this, do not assail Christians. For in your language there are ten nouns for this term.

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Therefore, I now ask you: Was the tabernacle which Moses carried down the mountain an image or an image of an image, a comparable image which he skillfully made with taches and skins and twined linens and extraordinary cherubim? And since he made it in this way, do we say that you for this reason render homage and worship wood, skins and twined linens rather than God, who at that time had given such an image? The same is true of Solomon's temple, since it had figures of cherubim and angels and images of many other things. Thus, we Christians also make images of those who pleased God, distinguishing good from demoniac images, and thereby render like honor. For the Scriptures condemn those who sacrifice their sons and daughters to devils."[8]

(Translated by M. Cantor)

The study of this debate can render us some interesting facts. The iconoclasts made no difference between *image* and *idol,* because they considered the image to be consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) with the prefiguration. Based on the identity of prefiguration and icon, they took all artistic images for idols.

Patriarch Nikephoros I calls attention to the necessity of differentiating the terms *icon* and *idol.* Icons are not idols, since they are the images of existing persons, in the same way as words are images of things.[9] Idols, however, have no prefiguration, since they do not depict real persons. Beyond icons real prefiguration, archetypes can be found, which they resemble. That is why they share the respect of the depicted persons. Idols can have no archetypes, therefore they cannot express similarity. Consequently, idols cannot receive real respect.

Here Constantine defends the iconodules' viewpoint using patriarch Nikephoros' teaching.

Further on the apostle of the Slavs refers to 25,40 Exod., saying that on the Holy Mountain the Lord showed Moses the *archetype* of the shelter and ordered him to have its image prepared. In Constantine's interpretation Moses prepared the image (picture, icon) of an archetype showed him by the Lord, with the aid of art (хоудожьств'о, τεχνή). This does not mean, however, that he respected the materials needed for the preparation of the shelter. The shelter was a sacred place for the Lord's worship, therefore the psalmist liked and respected the shelter, since it was the place of the Lord's presence.

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Constantine's words reveal that the icon is the image of the archetype created by artistic means. In the creation of the image art (τεχνή) plays a role, too. The icon becomes an image of the archetype by means of artistic activity.

We would like to point out one more thing. In Constantine's *Vita* the expression 'to pay reverence' is rendered as чьсть творити. The substantive чьсть is the equivalent of the Greek προκυνήσις. With this usage the Philosopher expresses that it only has to do with respect, not worship, the Greek equivalent of which would be λατρεία. With this he wants to make it clear that the respect of icons is not to be confused with the worship of icons, since worship is exclusively due to God.[10] Therefore he denies his opponents' accusation, who labelled him and his companions as infidels because of the respect of icons.

Relying upon the data in Constantine's *Vita* it can be established that the Philosopher reproduces the theories elaborated in the 8th and 9th centuries when defending the respect of icons. He bottoms his arguments upon statements by Ioannes Damaskenos, patriarch Nikephoros I and Theodoros Studites. Depending on the given occasion and his opponents' arguments, he actualizes them and makes them even more comprehensible and expressive by means of concrete examples.

Constantine did not work out a new theory or theology against iconoclasts, but he was well acquainted with the iconodules' theology and adopted it masterfully.

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Notes

1. F. Grivec — F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses*. Zagreb: Fontes, 1960.

2. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method. Lehrer der Slaven*. Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 37-39, 51.

3. E. Georgiev, *Kiril i Metodii. Istinata za szzdatelite na bulgarskata i slavjanskata pismenost.* Sofia, 1969, p. 33-36, 127.

4. M. Cantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*. Ann Arbor, 1983, p. 35.

5. A.H. Armstrong, *Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*. Cambridge, 1970, p. 509.

6. Without details, we just refer to what already Plato stressed. So as to judge the rightness of an image, first of all one has to recognize what is depicted, then one has to establish if it is depicted *correctly*. (Plato, Leges, 669b) The iconodules' postulate according to which an icon has to be unambiguous, probably has its roots in the platonic tradition.

7. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*. München, 1950, p. 305.

8. Cantor, op. cit., p. 57.

9. Beck, op. cit., p. 304.

10. Vanyó, L., *Az ókeresztény egyház és irodalma*. Budapest, 1980, p. 939.

Dorota Popławska

Local Tradition Versus Byzantine and West-European Influence on the Mediaeval Iconography of Musical String Instruments in Kievan Russia and Novgorod[1]

The problem of appropriate qualification of medieval sources is a subject of constant debate in the humanities. It includes various issues. One of them is the question to what extent the "material" presented in mediaeval iconographic sources from Central and Eastern-Europe is reliable. This paper is a tentative discussion of these issues, conducted on the basis of the iconography of mediaeval string instruments coming from the area of Kievan Russia and Novgorod. The aims of the research are the following:

— Did the Ruthenian iconography represent real instruments?

— Were there in the Ruthenian iconography any instances that followed foreign examples?

— Were there in the Ruthenian iconography any forms of string instruments characteristic of that area exclusively?

In this paper representations of string instruments on wall paintings, bas-reliefs, bracelets and manuscript illuminations have been used. Moreover, for the sake of comparison, the following instruments were chosen from amongst the group of instruments found at archaeological excavations in the Great Novgorod.

The iconography from the period of Kievan Russia preserved Byzantine and northern lyres, longitudinal zithers, lutes, rebecs, fiddles, triangular psalteria and symmetrical zithers. Ancient string instruments from Novgorod included longitudinal zithers, northern lyres and rebecs.

The first to be discussed are northern lyres and longitudinal zithers. They are characterized by an approximately rectangular shape. The lyres differ from zither by the hole in the yoke.

The oldest representations of longitudinal zithers from the Ruthenian lands come from three nearly identical bas-reliefs from the Pokrov Orthodox Church at Nerla in Bogolyubovo. They were made from Ruthenian masons and by other masons, who most probably came from Western Europe sent by Frederick

Barbarossa in about 1165.[2] A longitudinal zither adorns also a 12th century bracelet discovered in Kiev.[3] A similar zither was represented on a bracelet coming from Old Ryazan and dated in the period before 1237 (Figure 2).[4] Both bracelets were probably made by Ruthenian masters. To the 13th century one can also date a plastic representation of a longitudinal zither sculpted on a plectrum discovered in Novogrodok, likewise made locally.[5] The late 13th century brings, beside the representations of longitudinal zithers the ones of northern lyres and of the rebec, which is discussed below. These instruments can be found on a miniature in the *Hludov's Psalter* No 3, dated to 1270-1296, which, as regards the style of painting, manifests besides the local ones, the influences of Western Europe (Figure 3).[6] Northern lyres discovered during archaeological excavations are dated to the period from the beginning of the 10th to mid-13th century. Archaeological findings of any zithers, however, come exclusively from the late 14th century.[7]

Soundboxes of longitudinal zithers and northern lyres were scooped out and the soundboards, polished. These two elements were fixed with glue and small nails or wooden pegs. The soundboxes had flat backs. The zithers from Bogolyubovo from the mid-12th century and from the *Hludov's Psalter* (Figure 3) from the late 13th century are identical in form to the zither discovered in a layer dated to the late 14th century in Great Novgorod (Figure 4). A similar conclusion can be drawn from a comparison between the relics of northern lyres [mid-10th century — mid-13th century (Figure 4)] with the representation of this instrument in *Hludov's Psalter*.

The Ruthenian iconographic sources did not include the representations of zithers and northern lyres with soundholes cut in the soundboards. This practice is confirmed by the appearance of the 11th century soundboard of northern lyre, which had no soundhole (Figure 4).

Holes for string pegs were bored in the yokes of northern lyres and longitudinal zithers along one, gradually ascending line. Such location of pegs had a direct influence on the different length of strings. This can be seen both on the ancient objects and iconographical representations (Figures 2-4).

Strings in northern lyres and longitudinal zithers were tightened in two ways. The first one was to tighten the strings above the board, between two rows of rear pegs (Figure 3). In the second method of fastening the strings, they were stretched above the soundboard between the pegs and the neck. This system was used in the 11th century soundboard of northern lyre (Figure 4). The neck preserved in its lower part was made of two "eyes" located opposite one another, into which a roll

with several bored holes was inserted. Strings were drawn throughout the holes in the roll. Such a construction of the neck was represented on the 13th century bracelet from Old Ryazan (Figure 2). The time span between making the board and bracelet is approximately a hundred and fifty years.

Longitudinal zithers usually had five, or less frequently, four strings. The number of strings in northern lyres was between five and nine. This can be seen on the preserved instruments and in iconography (Figures 2-4).

Another form of chordophones known both from iconography and archaeological sources is the rebec. The oldest form of rebecs found in Novgorod is dated to the mid-11th century (there is also known a bridge of rebec from mid-10th c.) and the latest, to the late 14th century.[8] In Ruthenian iconography the rebec was presented only once, in the 13th century *Hludov's Psalter* No 3 (Figure 3).

The soundboxes of rebecs were, like those of longitudinal zithers and northern lyres, scooped out, but their backs were vaulted.

All the Novgorod rebecs had three strings (Figure 4). The rebecs known from the Kievan Cathedral and the so-called Bazylevski bowl,[9] however, had 6 strings (Figure 5).

In each of the discovered soundboards two, symmetrically located, D-shaped soundholes were cut. In rebecs known in Ruthenia from Byzantine iconography, however, there are no such holes (Figure 5). The existence of soundholes in the rebec from *Hludov's Psalter* is debatable, because at that place the painting is worn away (Figure 3).

The findings of pegboard include a triangular board, close to an oval, and of an irregular shape (Figure 4). In the iconographic material a triangular pegboard (Figure 3) has been found (*Hludov's Psalter* No 3). Byzantine rebecs (the Kievan Cathedral, the so-called Bazylevski bowl) however, were equipped with sickle-shaped pegboxes (Figure 5), and less often in pegboards.

The string instruments discovered in Great Novgorod were local products. This is testified not only by the fact that some of the construction elements and ornament details had not been completed, or that there are no traces of fastening the neck. Also the lack of traces of use on some of the instruments confirms that conclusion. The discussed string instruments were discovered during excavations within the houses or in their vicinity.[10] On the basis of written records (*gramota*[11] No 186) it has been established that the place where two zithers were found was a settlement of artisans and fishermen located opposite the buildings belonging to the boyar family of Mishincy.[12] On the territory believed to have belonged to that family two rebecs were found.[13]

All these facts indicate mainly that there existed a tradition of retaining the shapes of northern lyres and longitudinal zithers in Ruthenian lands. They make the Ruthenian iconographic representations of string instruments more reliable and credible. However the Novgorod rebecs known both from archaeological and iconographic sources differ from the Byzantine rebecs. The differences are most striking as far as the number of strings and the form of neck endings are concerned.

In the Ruthenian iconography there were some more forms of string instruments. An eight-shaped fiddle (Figure 3) had a broad, rather long neck ended with a pegboard. In the soundboard two D-shaped soundholes were cut. The instrument had three strings. Another type of fiddle is represented by a 15th century fresco from Meletovo in the Pskov area. It has one string and a S-shaped waist. The instrument was equipped in a broad, short neck ended with a pegboard.[14]

On the 11th century frescoes from the Kiev Cathedral made by Byzantine artists, besides the above-discussed rebec, a Byzantine lyre and a lute were represented.[15] The lyre consisted of a four-sided rectangular frame devoid of a soundbox.[16] The lute had five strings and a long neck, probably ended with a pegbox.

A representation of a harp, coming from Chernigov and dating to the 12th century was also made by Byzantine artists. It is on a gilded silver bowl. The depicted instrument is a 10-string angular harp. A nearly identical representation can be found on a "twin" bowl from Bilgort in the Urals area (West Siberia).[17]

In the late 13th century other forms of string instruments appeared in Ruthenia: triangular psalterium[18] and symmetrical zither (Figure 6).[19] They had a large number of strings, frontal or rear pegs, and no soundholes. Psalteria of triangular shapes are equilateral. Symmetrical zithers are characterized by the shape of soundbox which is almost half an ellipse cut along its longer axis.

After presenting the forms the next step should be taken, i.e. assessing to what extent the Ruthenian iconography followed foreign examples as well as if there were any forms of string instruments characteristic exclusively of that area. The influence of European iconography on the Ruthenian iconography can be assessed by comparing the two.

Longitudinal zithers are known from both Byzantine (Figure 1) and Ruthenian iconography. A comparison of their representations does not yield any valid differences. Rich iconographic and archaeological collections proved that this form was certainly included in the local instrumentation. The Ruthenian longitudinal

zithers might have existed in the investigated area independently from the Byzantine ones. It is, however, more probable that Ruthenia adopted this form from Byzantium.

Northern lyres appeared at the Ruthenian lands only in Great Novgorod. They are devoid of waist and have small holes in the yokes (Figure 3, 4). Byzantine lyres had a form of a rectangular frame with or without a soundbox.[20] Northern lyres from Western Europe mostly had waist and big holes in the yokes.[21] Both these forms differ from the Novgorod lyres. This is testified, i.e., by the style of the ornaments.[22] Thus, northern lyres in the Ruthenian area may be considered as a local product, typical of Novgorod.

The rebecs found during the excavations in Great Novgorod were likewise not similar to the Byzantine ones. They had a different fastening of the tailpiece and frontal or rear pegs in pegboards instead of pegbox. The instruments of Byzantine origin known from Ruthenia had six strings (Figure 5). and the ones from Novgorod had three strings (Figure 4). The Novgorod rebecs are identical with the numerous iconographical representations coming from Western Europe and dated between the 10th and 14th century.[23]

Representations of fiddles seldom appear in Ruthenian iconography. In West-European iconography, however, they are one of the most frequently represented group of string instruments.[24] The representations of Ruthenian fiddles were most probably the copies of West-European ones.

The form of the triangular psalterium, although slightly different from the Ruthenian one, was know in the whole area of Western and Southern Europe as well as in Byzantium.[25] However the equilateral form characteristic of Russia was relatively rare in Europe.

Symmetrical zither can not be found in European iconography outside Ruthenia. This type was characteristic only for that area. It appeared there at least from the mid-14th century onward. Originally it was known only from iconography[26], and at least from the early 19th century, from ethnographic collections representing this area.[27] Like in the case of northern lyres, triangular psalteria, rebecs, one may speak about a local, but this time, typical of the whole Ruthenia, form of a string instrument.

Not all forms known in Byzantine iconography had been adopted. In Ruthenian iconography there are no lutes, Byzantine lyres, dulcimers or harps, which, on the other hand, were common in Byzantine representations.[28] Likewise, Ruthenian iconography adopted only a few forms of lutes, psalteria, harps or fiddles known in Western European iconography.[29]

The number of preserved Mediaeval Ruthenian iconographic sources representing string instruments is relatively small. A similar situation is typical for the rest of Europe. In the late 13th century the instruments presented in official art played a symbolic role and were not to represent musical culture.

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The above-presented sources allow to draw the following conclusion:

— The comparison of iconography to the surviving instruments found at archaeological excavations proves that they were represented faithfully.

— The string instruments presented in Ruthenian iconography till the late 13th century did not derive from local tradition. However, Ruthenian iconography does not represent as many variants of instruments known at that time as Byzantine or West-European. The forms thus must have been selected from a greater variety of available models.

— Northern lyres in the Ruthenian area appeared most probably only in the Novgorod Ruthenia region. On the other hand, between the 14th and 15th centuries symmetrical zither — an instrument unknown in other areas — was introduced in Ruthenian iconography. All these facts may prove the existence of a specific tradition in Ruthenian iconography.

Warsaw

Notes

1. Sponsored by Fundacja Stefana Batorego, Warsaw; Photos by Edward Niemiro and Michał Dąbski.

2. G. K. Vagner, *Skul'ptura drevnej Rusi*. Moskva, 1975, pp. 122-192, ills. 87, 90, 105, 106.

3. N. N. Vovonin — M. K. Karger, *Istoria kul'tury drevnej Rusi, Domongol'skij period*. Moskva, 1951, vol. 2. ill. 215., vol. 2. p. 433.

4. V. P. Darkevič and A. L. Mongait, "Staroriazanskij klad 1966 goda", *Sovetska Archeologja 2* (1967), pp. 211-223, ills. 3.1; 3.3.

5. F.D. Gurevič, *Drevnyj Novogrudok. Posad — okol'nyj gorod*. Leningrad, 1963, ill. 13. p. 53.

6. A. N. Svirin, *Iskusstvo knigi drevnej Rusi*. Moskva, 1964, p. 71, ill./p. 189; N. N. Rozov, "Muzykal'nyje instrumenty i ansambli w miniaturach Chludovskoj (russkoj) psaltyrii", in *Drevnerusskoje iskusstvo. Problemy i atributy*. Moskva, 1977, pp. 91-105, ill./p.95; T.V. Ilina, "Dekorativnoe oformlene drevnerusskich knig". *Novogrod i Pskov XII-XIV ww*. Leningrad, 1978, p. 52.

7. B. A. Kolčin, *Novgorodske drevnosti, derevjannyje izdielija*. Moskva, 1968 (1968a), p. 86, plates 77; 81:1:2; 82:1:2:3:4; 84:3; B. A. Kolčin, "Kollekcja muzykal'nych instrumentov drevnego Novgoroda", in *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novyje Otkrytja*. Moskva, 1978 (1978a) pp. 174-187, ills./p. 176:1, 2, photo/pp. 177-179; ill./pp. 180-181; B.A. Kolčin, "Gusli drevnego Novgoroda", in *Drevnaja Rus' i Slavianie*. Moskva, 1978 (1978b), pp. 358-366, ills. 2.3,4.3; pl.2,4, photos 2,4; 4,4; V.I. Povetkin, "Novgorodskie gusli i gudki (opyt kompleksnogo issledowanja)", in *Novgorodskij sbornik 50 let raskopok*. Moskva, 1982, pp. 295-322, pl. 2, ills. 1; 3; 4.

8. Kolčin, 1968a, p. 87, pls.81:3:5:6:7, 82:4:5; 83:2,3; 1968b, pp. 66-71, ills. 1:1:2, 2.; 1978a, pp. 182-183, ills./p. 182, photo/p.184; Povetkin, 1982, p. 312 and n., pl. 5:1:2; 6,1:2;

9. V. P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe isskustvo Vizantii*. Moskva, 1975, ills. 97, 267.

10. Kolčin, 1968b, p. 68; 1978a, pp. 176-178, p. 182; Kolčin, 1978b, pp.361-364.

11. *gramota* — novgorodian document and letter (11-16th c.) written on: scroll of the bark of trees (usually: birch trees), slots or perdiment.

12. Kolčin, 1978a, p. 179; 1978b, p. 365

13. Kolčin, 1968a, p. 87; 1978a, p. 183.

14. N.N. Rozov, "Ešče raz ob izobraženii skomorocha na freske v Meletove. K voprosu o svjazach monumental'noj živopisi s miniaturoj i ornamentom", in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Chudoženstvennaja kul'tura Pskova*. Moskva, 1968, pp. 85-96, ill./p.87.

15. Darkevič, 1975, ill. 261.

16. Darkevič belives this representation to depict a trapezoid zither; Kondakov calls it a harp: Darkevič, 1975, p. 167.

17. Darkevič, 1975, ills. 3-5, 46-48.

18. Rozov, 1968, ills./p. 89, pp. 87-89; Ilina, 1978, pp. 53-55; F. Sielicki (ed.), *Powieść minionych lat*. Wroclaw-Warszawa-Kraków, 1968, ill. 7; J. Banach, *Tematy plastyczne w muzyce polskiej*. Kraków, 1956, ill. 5; A. Różycka-Bryzek, *Bizantyjsko-ruskie malowidła w kaplicy zamku lubelskiego*. Warszawa, 1983, ill. 85, p. 77.

19. Rozov, 1968, p. 93, ills./p. 91, 94; M. V. Ščepkina, "Teratologičeskij ornament", in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rukopisnaja kniga*. Sbornik II, 1974, Moskva, pp. 219-239. ill./p. 4; Ilina, 1978, p. 57.

20. Darkevič, 1975, ill. 261.

21. W. Bachman, *The origins of bowing and the development of bowed instruments up to the thirteenth century*. London, 1969, *passim*; T. Seebass, *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im fruheren Mittelalter. Studien ausgehend von einer Ikonologie der Handschrift*. Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, Fonds Latin 1118, Bern, 1973, *passim*.

22. Some Novogrodian northern lyres had on their yokes a plaited ornament with zoomorphic elements.

23. Bachman, 1969, *passim*; Seebass, 1973, *passim*; Darkevič, 1988, *passim*.

24. Bachman, 1969, *passim*; Seebass, 1973, *passim*.

25. Darkevič, 1975, ills. 253, 258

26. Only one small piece of soundboard of symmetrical zither was discovered so far in Great Novgorod.

27. K. A. Vertkov, *Atlas muzykal'nych instrumentov narodov SSSR*. Moskva, 1963.

28. Darkevič, 1975, p. 169, ills. 120, 133, 137, 253, 258, 259, 260b, 261.

29. Bachman, 1969, *passim*; Seebass, 1973, *passim*.

Figure 1. The bowl from Berezov. Gilded silver.
A detail showing a musician playing a longitudinal zither,
late 12th century. From Darkevič, 1975, il.119.
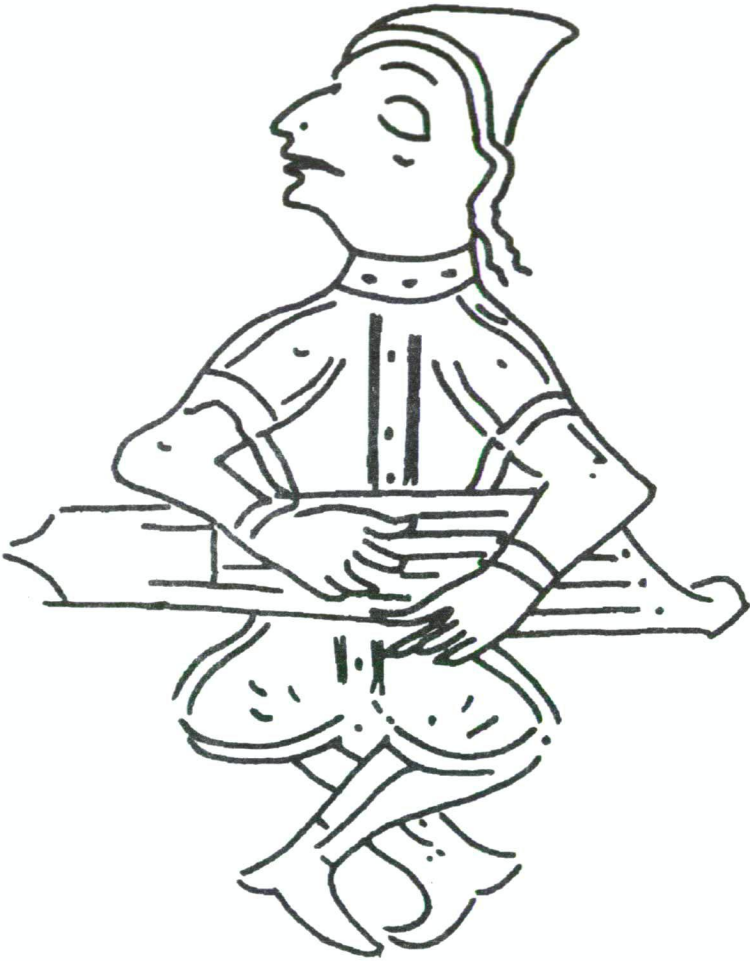
Figure 2. Old Ryazan. **A** silver bracelet.
A detail showing a skomoroh playing a longitudinal zither
(before 1237). From Kolčin, 1978b, il. 1.

Figure 3. Hludov's Psalter No 3, fol. 1v.
A whole-page miniature showing king David composing
a psalm surrounded by more than a dozen figures
making music (1270-1296). From Svirin, 1964, il./p.189.
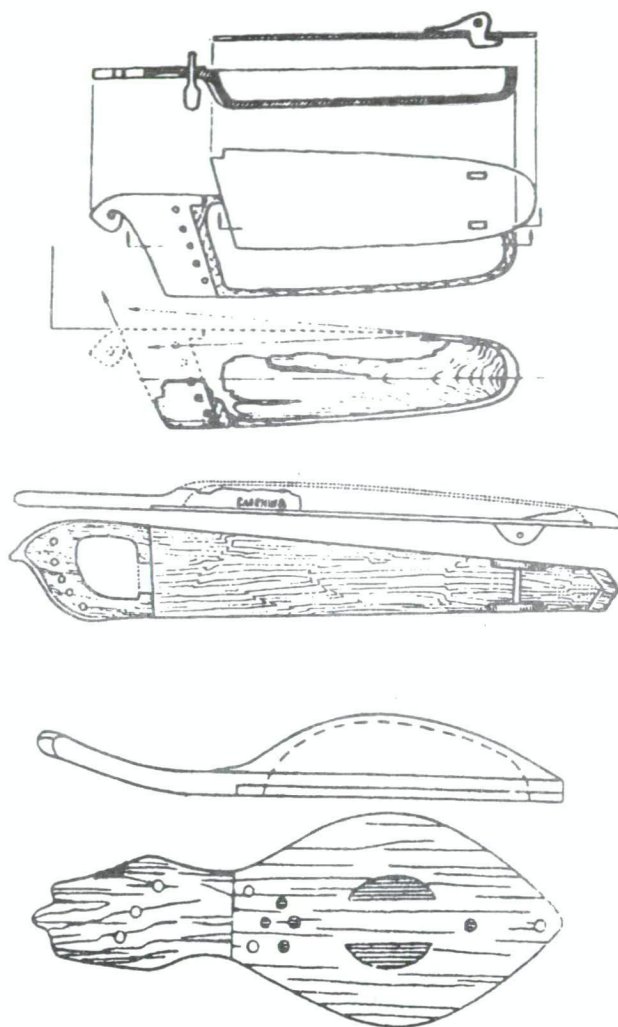
Figure 4. Great Novgorod. Zither, late 14th century.
From Povetkin, 1982, tab.3,1; Northern lyre,
mid-11th century. From Kolčin, 1978a, il.176:2;
Rebec, 14th century. From Kolčin, 1968a, tab.81,5.

Figure 5. The so-called Bazylevski's bowl. Gilded silver.
A detail showing a musician playing a rebec, late 12th century.
From Darkevič, 1975, il.97.

Figure 6. The Novgorod Prayer Book, fol. 29v. A scene
in the initial "D" representing king David playing
a symmetrical zither (mid-14th century).
From Rozov, 1968, il./p.91.

Applied Iconography

Marcell Jankovics

The Color of the Rose -
Symbolism of a Mixed Color

There are clear definitions of symbolic meanings of pure colors as red, blue, black and white etc. This is not so with mixed colors and tints as brown, orange, pink and others.

I have chosen to write this paper on the fundamentally sexual symbolism of pink in our culture partly because of the gap in research mentioned above, and because of the unbelievable dominance of this color in everyday life schemed by television programs and commercials from animated cartoons to cosmetics, but mainly because I have told my notions on this topic in an interview for a television serial made about colors, the editor however, from plain Victorian conviction, cut them out.

For the color of the rose in English the most common word is *pink*. Anglo-Americans use adjectives derived from the noun rose only in compounds like *rose-colored*, *rose-tinted*, *rosy cheeks* or, in a more sophisticated form like *roseate*. The fact in itself that the color of the best known and most popular flower is named after another flower seems to me rather meaningful. In other words the usage of *pink* instead of *rose, rosy* may indicate discomfort the reason of which can be that either its propagators had no doubt about the shameful symbolic meaning of the rose or, at least they unconsciously felt it. Therefore they might choose pink as an euphemism. Further on we shall see, even with it they were unlucky. In other European languages the words used for pink without exception formed from the name of the rose. See Greek ροδιος, Latin *roseus*, Italian *rosa, roseo*, Spanish *rosa*, French *rose, rose*, German *rosa, rosig*, Russian роgovый. Of course sometimes they are as sophisticated as their English counterpart, like Greek ροδοχρως, Italian *rosaceo*, German *rosenrot, Rosenfarbe*, Hungarian *rózsaszín*.

More interesting that even the word *red* may have the same root as *rose* has. See Italian *rosso*, French *rouge*, German *rot*, Russian рúжий, Hungarian *rőt*. And I think that on this opulent linguistic rosebush many words of similar sound and related in meanings grow in every European language. Among others the Latin *ruber, rubus* and *rufus* from which the English *ruby* originates. (*Rubus* is the Latin name of groups of related brambles of the rose-family and of their edible red,

purple or black fruit. See raspberry, blackberry.) Or, there is the word *rust*; *robigo* in Latin, *rouille* in French, *rozsda* in Hungarian, *ръжда́* in Bulgarian. Then ore means *руда* in Russian — important iron ores as hematite, siderite have red, reddish brown color — , and the Hungarian name of the red copper is *réz*. Even perhaps the Hungarian name of the fox, *róka* can be attributed to the animal's *ruddy* fur. Partly because of their similar sounding with *rózsa*, words as *rocska* (English bucket), *rokka* (spinning wheel) could have also got the same sexual meaning.[1]

The original denominator is the five-petalled whitish flower of the thorny wild rose or sweetbrier tinted with pale red. It didn't only give its name but also its rich symbolism to the color all around Europe. The rose is universally accepted as the flower and red as the color of love; of carnal or earthly love at first, and of spiritual or heavenly love later, in Christianity. The rose was sacred to Venus in antiquity and is her attribute in art. According to one tradition, it was originally a white flower, but, as the myth states, while Venus was hastening to help her dying lover, Adonis, a thorn pierced her foot and the drops of blood fell on the white petals staining them red. The metaphor can also be interpreted in a way that the white flower symbolizes virginity (or simply, cleanness), the red stain on the petals as the sign of defloration (or, impurity, i. e. menses). The literal meaning of defloration in this context is especially notable.

It's worth mentioning that copper whose Hungarian name, *réz* may derive from the same root as rose was the metal of the Rose-goddess, and its name (Latin *cuprum*, *cyprium*) was given after Cyprus, the mythological birthplace of Venus, since the island was famous of its copper mines. Astrological relationship between the planet Venus (the Morning Star, the Star of the blushing sky of dawn) and copper can also be found in fairy-tales, and with sexual meanings associated to the latter in current phrases.[2] Similar conclusion can be drawn of the fox as a venereal animal spirit in Hungarian lore. (E.g. the 'fox-bride' or the 'matchmaker fox' in tales, the fox as genital symbol in folksong:

"Kis kertemben uborka,/ Reákapott a róka…"
(In my garden cucumber / Is taken by the fox…)

As for the rose attributed to the Morning Star, see the sexual connotations of the Latin words *ros*, 'dew' and *aurora*, 'dawn'. On the basis of certain connections —

commonplaces as 'dew on rosepetals' or 'rosy dawn' — I daresay that all the three words: *rosa, ros, aurora* should derive from the same root. (See in tales too.)

Some functions and attributes of the Love-goddess was inherited by the Virgin Mary, thus, among other things the Morning Star and the rose. Because of her sinlessness the Blessed Virgin was the 'Rose without thorns' in prayers and preachings.

Of course the sacred love is associated with the Holy Mother of Jesus and the profane with Venus, though the latter as the personification of love was double-natured in this sense according to the renaissance humanists. In fact, this idea of twin Venuses who represents two kinds of love was formulated in the antiquity by Plato in the dialogue on the double nature of Eros in his Symposium (180 ff.).

Considering the trend of the progress of thought we can be sure of that the rose had been originally the symbol of Venus Vulgaris, and only later became the ethereal flower of the goddess of homosexuals: Venus Coelestis. The secondary meaning of the ancient Greek name of the rose proves this. *Ροδον* means female genitals that sounds much too reasonable, one can easily visualize it. "The rose with its petals nestling to one another - says Bernáth - had been made the metaphor of the outer female genitals because of its similarity in form and color to the labia. From this the rose became symbol of the young girl, of the mistress." (édes rózsám', 'my sweet rose' in Hungarian.[3] See feminine names as Rosalie, Rosalind, Rosamund, Rosemund, Rosemary, Rosie, Rosita.)

Through the centuries the flower also kept its original meaning. Both profane and religious poetry and art show the endurance of the metaphor. The best-known example perhaps is the medieval French didactic poem, the *Roman de la Rose* written by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung in the XIIIth century. The subject of the poem is an allegory of the courtly love in the form of a quest of the "Rose" profanely modeling on the legendary Quest of the Holy Grail. To find the rose in the poem is identical with the consummation of love, and certainly needless to say what the rose in question stands for.

Similar, if somewhat more symbolic quests of roses can be found in Hungarian fairy-tales. E.g. the young hero descends to the Underworld for his abducted sweetheart, who is usually called Rose, Rosalie or other name formed of the rose. Even the name of the hero may point to the flower and its goddess (see Rose, Dawn, Morning Blush etc.). Sometimes the hero is led to his "Rose" by a red, golden or black rose thrown into the wind or by a walking wildrose-bush in flame.

Apart from the fact that roses of the tales personified or not also symbolizes the sun just like the rosette, the rose-window, the Christmas-rose and the five flowery wounds of Jesus Christ, the hidden meaning consciously held on in them is clear. Certain representations of the Nativity show the Child Jesus emerging from a rose, as e.g. on a German woodcut with New Year's greetings from 1520, or as the baroque Tree of Jesse altar in the village Gyöngyöspata, Northern Hungary, which tree is actually a rosebush (without thorn) on top branch of which the Virgin Mary with the Child on her lap are sitting in the cup of the uppermost flower, or as an altarpiece of Aix-en-Provence painted in 1476 that shows the Madonna and the Child emerging from Moses' burning bush. This type of representations of rose in religious art, has the same function as the mandorla (vesica piscis) and the latter has the same sexual meanings inasmuch as it symbolizes the genitals of the Heavenly Mother, i.e. the gap of the Milky Way from which the sun god appears to come into the world at winter-solstice.[4]

The birth in a rose-bush is frequently used motif in Hungarian folksongs[5]:

"Rózsabokorban jöttem a világra.."
(In a rose-bush I came into the world..)

"Édesanyám rózsafája / Engem nyitott utoljára."
(On the rose-bush of my Mother / I am the latest flower.)

"Nem anyátol lettél, / Rózsafán termettél.."
(Not a woman bore you, / On a rose-bush you grew..)

In many Hungarian folksongs there are more erotic hints:

"Rózsis asszony bokrétája / Kigyöngyözött az utcára."
(Beady posy of Lady Rosie / Glistened all over the road.)

"Fölmegy a legény a fára, / A meggyfa tetejére,
Lerázza a meggyet, / Te meg babám szedjed
Rózsás kötényedbe."
(The lad climbs upon the treetop, / Where are plenty
of cherry./ He shakes down the berry,
And you, pluck them, baby / In your rosy apron,)

Here is an allusion to the color itself:

"Rózsaszínű csík a tutyim kötője,
Legény legyen, aki aztat megkösse."
(Rose-colored ribbon is my buckskins' strap,
Be a man, if you want to tie that up.)

The same notion also appears in prose. E.g. in English 'to pluck a rose' means 'to take virginity'[6], in Hungarian a generation ago "rózsabimbó" (*rose-bud*) could mean a girl's genitals. The Transylvanian grandmother of a friend of mine still used it.

The quotations may explain why the pink and its shades are considered all but exclusively women's colors. The few exceptions in men's case are either the sign of dubious taste, the consequence of the contemporary unisex style in fashion or, that of the confusion of sex-roles. The matter is complicated by that pink is the regular color of little girls' belonging. Obviously I don't deny the necessity of learning of the sex-roles in the formative years, on the contrary, but whenever I see rosy-cheeked cute little girls in TV-commercials from top to bottom in fluffy pinks as soft and sweet as cotton candy, hear their cooing and bubbling, I have the weird sensation as if dwarf sex-symbols of pedophils were toddling around. I don't think I'm exaggerating or I'm the only one feeling like that. Let's look this topic inversely. Lovers call their sweethearts rather childishly Sweetie, Sugar, Honey, Babe, Baby; dolls of little girls have sexy female figures like the "rosiest" of superdolls: Barbie. Cute female characters in cartoons are simultaneously childish and sexy like Betty Boop, the animated Yankee heroine of the thirties, or "the late" Little Annie Fanny of the Playboy Magazine. The same can be said of the pink animal-heroes: see Miss Piggy of The Sesame Street, Gummibears, My Little Pony. Even among the greatest movie stars the most popular are baby-faced like Brigitte Bardot and Marilyn Monroe were. Wide, wondering eyes, full, protruding lips, smooth, rosy skin, roundish shape are baby-characteristics, but also the sexiest appeals for men: according to human etiologists these marks urge us, males just by their childishness to protect the women. "Lencsi baba", (*Lensie Baby*) is an apt expression in Hungarian for women who has gifts like these; the "lens" refers to the round, wide eyes.

In this connection the rose color has the function to increase the desirable effect. The blush of face — so to say — beautifies. The make-up (lipstick, rouge) takes its origin from the perception of this. Reddening and swelling of lips can be

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the visible signal of sexual arousal, readiness for love-making. The averted, pink lips — declares Desmond Morris — imitate the pink labia, and "the role of the female lips as labial-mimics has often been emphasized by advertisements employing phallic-shaped objects approaching the open mouth or by the use of gently parted lips, moistened and reddened in erotic or sexually teasing photographs."[7]

The importance of the pink (or rose) color in this connection is undeniable and it can hardly be considered but the result of social advance. Indeed in nature we meet similar phenomena everywhere, on every stage of the evolution. E.g. the rump of female apes and monkeys reddens and swells, when they are ovulating. The female "use" coloring as part of the sexual display, as signal, that she is "on heat" ("tüzel" in Hungarian), gets the color of the fire, which literally means reddening. Similarly in rutting season many species of birds as fowls, members of the pheasant and grouse family, e.g. the turkey and capercaillie cock produce bright-red or pinkish skin-swelling on conspicuous parts of their body, i. e. on the head or neck in display. The male frigatebird inflates its throat-pouch in display. Finishing it, the huge bright-pink balloon shrinks and becomes just a small red patch. To show an example from the world of the fishes, there is the salmon with its bright-red skin when spawns, even its roe has similar color: pinkish orange. Then there are the plants with their many colored flowers, the greater part of which are "flesh-colored", not by chance some tint of purple, red or pink, and the function of which is the very same as stated above: displaying themselves to the insects to attract them to get fruitful.

Hence we have arrived to the beginning, and — returned to our starting point. The symbolism of the color of the rose comes from the flower itself, more properly, from the procreative function of it. There is, however, one contradictory point in this interpretation. Namely, the original product of nature, the simple five-petalled whitish flower of the wild rose resembles the female sex organ much the less than the variations improved by gardeners, from which I conclude, that the rose-gardeners consciously improved the double red, purple and pink varieties in order to increase the resemblance between the genuine thing and its symbol.

And now, let's return to the pink. The derivation of the word is questionable. Earlier it was used in compounds as *pinkeye* which meant literally "little eye", a translation of the French *œillet*. In first sense pink is the name of any of a number of related plants with five-petalled pale-red flowers. And since sexual allusions can

be associated to every species of flower, and the same can be said on eye, the examination of both naming results in similar conclusion.

Pannonia Film Studios, Budapest

Notes

1. Bernáth Béla, "A magyar népköltés szerelmi szimbolikája", in *Előtanulmányok a magyarság néprajzához*. Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatócsoport, 1981, pp. 19, 45.

2. See Bernáth's identical interpretation of the Hungarian phrase: "kivágja a rezet", 'cut out the copper'. Bernáth Béla, *A szerelem titkos nyelvén*. Budapest: Gondolat, 1986, pp. 231-239.

3. Op. cit., p. 8.

4. Jankovics Marcell, *A fa mitológiája*. Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1991, pp. 83, 217.

5. Bernáth, 1981, 40 ff.; Jankovics, pp. 115, 160.

6. Bernáth, 1981, p. 39.

7. Desmond Morris, *Manwatching - A Field Guide to Human Behavior*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. Publishers, 1987, pp. 239, 241.
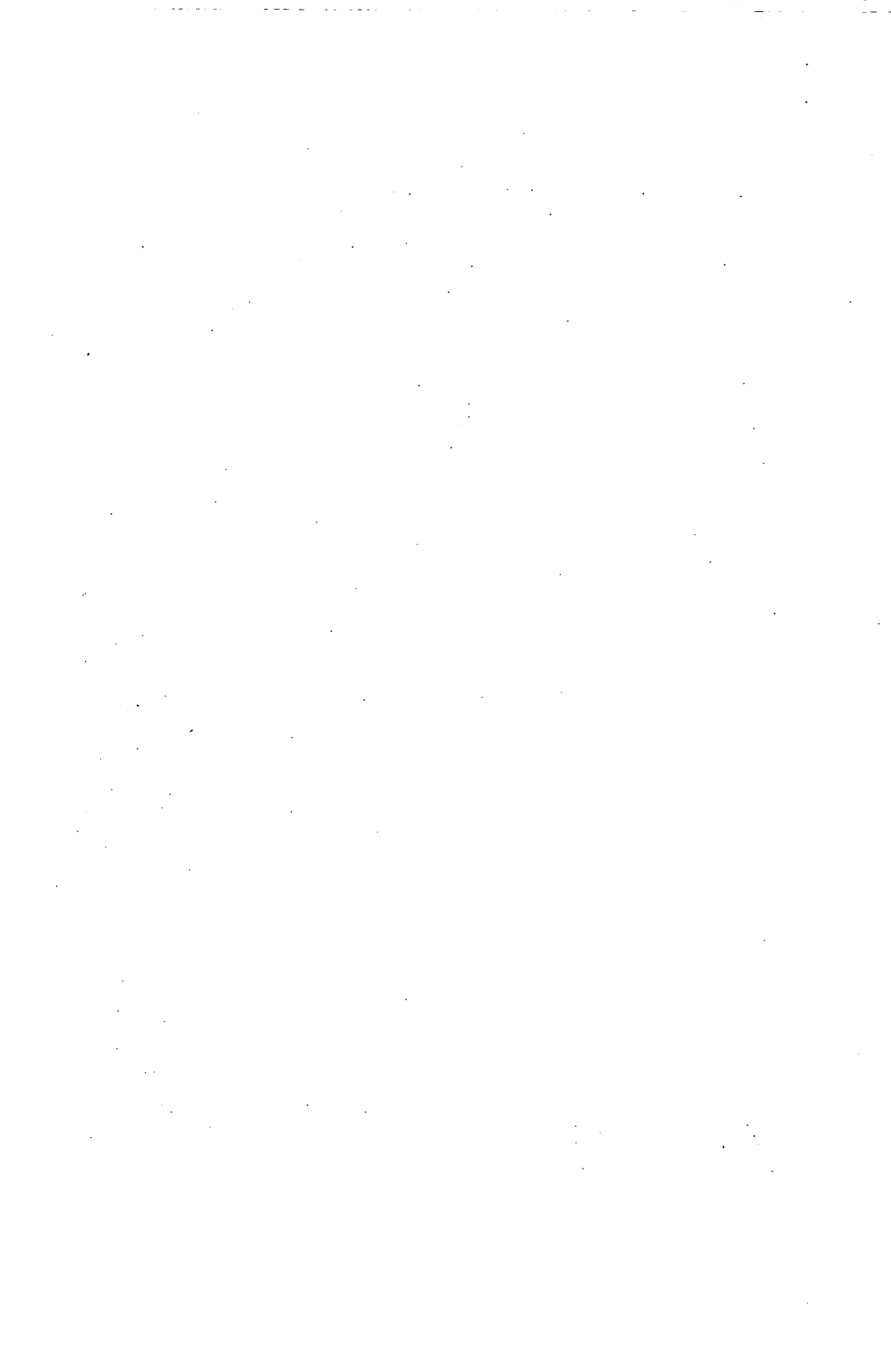
Enikő Molnár Basa

The Emblem Tradition Echoed
in the State Seals of the United States

An interesting offshoot of the emblem tradition might be traced in the seals of the states of the United States, and even in the great seal of the Union. The joining of an image with a motto fulfills the basic requirement of George Puttenham's "vse and intent of liueries, cognizances, emblems, enseigns and impreses" as cited in Peter M. Daly, "England and the Emblem:"

> ... the vse and intent ... is to insinuat some secret, wittie, morall and
> braue purpose presented to the beholder, either to recreate his eye, or
> please his phantasie, or examine his judgement, or occupie his braine
> or to manage his will either by hope or by dread, euery of which
> respects be of no litle moment to the interest and ornament of the ciuill
> life: and therefore giue them no litle commendtion.[1]

As Daly argues later in the introduction to *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, the "combination of motto, picture, and epigram" helped shape all the visual arts for this merging of forms "is best regarded both as an art form and as a mode of thought. It finds expression in illustrated books, but perhaps even more importantly it helped to shape all the visual arts. Combinations of mottoes and pictures, as well as emblematic motifs with their implied meanings, are to be found in paintings and portraits, wall and ceiling decorations of all kinds, carving, stained glass and jewelry."[2]

In the case of the seals adopted between the 17th and 20th centuries in the United States, these principles underlying the emblem tradition are present in a very real sense. In some instances the old heraldic tradition — itself a form of emblematic expression but an examination I do not wish to pursue at this point — played a major role in the adoption of the device to symbolize the state as it thought of itself. In others, the symbolism of certain emblems or the essence of emblematic expression were the dominant factors.

Most states adopted a seal and flag when they declared independence from England or when they applied for admission to the United States. In some

instances, they carried over emblems that had served them during a period of independence or when they were only territories. In seeking a pictorial expression of their new status they were, perhaps often unconsciously, fulfilling one of the requisites of the emblem, namely the conveyance of a message. In devising the seals, the symbolism of the emblem tradition was applied.

Maryland, which in 1876 readopted the seal sent from England in 1632, has probably the oldest emblem in the United States. It, like the flag itself, is based on the arms of the Calvert family, Lord Proprietors of the colony. On the obverse is an equestrian figure of the Lord Proprietary, arrayed in complete armor and bearing a drawn sword in his hand. The caparisons of the horse are adorned with the family coat of arms. On the ground below is represented a sparse growth of grass on sandy soil with a few small blue and yellow flowers. On a circle surrounding the obverse of the seal is the Latin inscription: Caecilius Absolutus Dominus Terrae Mariae et Avaloniae Baro de Baltemore." This side, however, is used only for some decorative purposes, and the official seal is on the reverse. This is a quartered shield with the Calvert arms in the first and fourth quarters and the Crossland family arms in the second and third. This formed the coat of arms of the Cecil Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. The Earl's coronet above the shield indicates that Lord Baltimore was absolute Lord of Maryland, although only a baron in England.[3] The helmet also indicates sovereignty, while the supporters of the shield, a plowman and a fisherman, symbolize the chief occupations of the Calvert's holdings. The motto, in Italian, is the Calvert motto, and has been adopted as the state motto. It reads: "Fatti Maschii, Parole Femine," loosely translated as "Manly deeds, womanly words."[4] It is interesting to note that while the elaborate shield with its historical connection to the days when Maryland was not only a colony of England, but the feudal possession of an English lord have not been challenged, and in fact most Marylanders seem proud of the heritage expressed therein, the motto has recently been a matter of debate in the Assembly: feminist groups object to what they term a "sexist" statement. For the moment, the matter has been dropped, but alternative translations are being sought. Certainly, an appreciation of the tradition from which such mottoes or emblems of the state spring should make legislators and protesters think twice before jettisoning them. A second motto encircles the shield and is a verse from Psalms 5: "Scuto Bonae Voluntatis Tuae Coronasti Nos," or "With favor wilt thou compass us as with a shield (Figure 1.)."[5]

The seals of Georgia, New Jersey, New York, and South Carolina date to colonial times. Adopted between 1776 and 1798, these emphasize independence

and the state's role in the events that led to the emergence of the new nation. Georgia's emblem was adopted in 1799 and shows three pillars supporting the arch "Constitution." The three pillars represent the three separate branches of government, namely the legislative, the judicial, and the executive, while the words around the pillars, "Wisdom, Justice, Moderation," also refer to the qualities needed by these branches. A soldier with a drawn sword represents Georgia's military role in the Revolutionary war, and the date 1776 also refers to the date of American independence.[6] New Jersey's great seal was authorized in 1776 and the representation is less literal: "three ploughs in an escutcheon, azure; supporters, Liberty and Ceres."[7] The dress and accessories of these figures further symbolize freedom and prosperity, while the sovereign's helmet and horse's head crest emphasize strength and commerce with the helmet particularly standing for the "supremacy of the human mind in all civilized life (Figure 2.)."[8]

New York's seal dates to 1775 and its design, as is usual with 18th century seals, keeps the emblem tradition in mind: sailing ships are depicted in front of mountains with the sun rising above. A river and grassy shore refer to the Hudson, New York's most important river, and the figures of Liberty and Justice flank the shield. An eagle perched atop a globe further emphasizes both world trade and independence.[9] New York was also the first state to use the eagle in its seal, making that a symbol of the United States, while its facing westward proclaims the future westward growth of the country.[10]

Similarly, South Carolina used symbols to advertise its ideals. It is made up of two ovals, with the one depicting a Palmetto tree growing on the seashore for a fort on Sullivan's Island, and at its base a torn up oak tree, its branches loped off, prostrate, **typifying the British Fleet defeated by defenders of the fort.** Twelve spears **bound to the stem** of the Palmetto and the band uniting them inscribed, "Quis separabit," clearly refer to the union of the colonies, while the inscription under the prostrate oak, "Meliorem lapsa locavit (having fallen, it has set up a better) hint at the new form of government, and the inscription that surrounds the oval reading "South Carolina animis opibusque parati (prepared in mind and resources) attest to determination to carry through what in 1776 was still only a possibility. The other oval contains the figure of a woman walking on a seashore over swords and daggers, typifying Hope overcoming dangers but also linking her to the victory at Sullivan's Island. The laurel branch in her hand and the sun rising from the sea symbolize honor and good fortune, while the motto here reads: Dum spiro spero (while I breathe, I hope) (Figure 3).[11]

Some of the original states changed their seals several times but retained essential elements, as is the case of Connecticut whose elliptical seal was formally described in 1931 but whose three grape vines and motto, "Qui transtulit sustinet" reflect colonial roots.[12] Pennsylvania, on the other hand, adapted the symbols of three of its counties in 1809 when it devised its seal. The images reflect the occupations of the state: divided into three horizontal parts, the first one contains a ship under full sail under blue skies; the second a plough on a golden background; the third three sheaves of wheat on a green background. An olive branch and a stock of corn flank this shield, and it is surmounted by an eagle.[13] Thus, in addition to the occupations of the state, peace and prosperity as well as independence and sovereignty are represented.

Virginia, whose current seal was not adopted until 1930, nevertheless dates in its important details to 1776 and was designed by mostly by the classical scholar George Wythe. The figure of Virtue, clad as an Amazon warrior standing over a defeated tyrant has the state motto, "Sic semper tyrannis" inscribed at her feet. Her spear, point downward, rests on the earth, while a sheathed sword points upward, symbolizing both readiness to fight and willingness for peace. The tyrant's fallen crown, broken chain and scourge depict the victory over tyranny referred to in the motto. The reverse of the shield has figures representing Liberty, Eternity, and Prosperity and the motto, "Perseverando" (Figure 4.).[14] Virginia uses both sides of the seal on official documents.

As new states joined the Union the tradition of symbolic representation of their resources or ideals continued, although purely pictorial elements seem to dominate more and more. For example, Indiana, Kansas, and Nebraska depict complex scenes on their seal. While not formally adopted until 1963, Indiana had used the present device since 1816 when the House Journal described it as, "A forest and a woodman felling a tree, a buffalo leaving the forest and fleeing through a plain to a distant forest and the sun setting in the West with the word Indiana."[15] The elements here obviously refer to the settling of the state and the displacement, further West, of both Indians and buffalo. It is interesting to note that with the westward movement the sun tends to set over the horizon rather than rise as in the seal of the Eastern states.

But this use of the sun is not unequivocal. In the seal of Kansas a rising sun represents the rising importance of Kansas. A river and a steamboat stand for commerce while a settler's cabin and a man plowing with two horses obviously refer to future prosperity based on agriculture. The state's role as a gateway to the West is indicated by a wagon train, while a herd of buffalo, retreating and pursued

by two Indians on horseback harkens back to the same idea as Indiana: civilization displacing the wilderness. Thirty-four stars below the motto refers to the number of states in the Union in 1861 when Kansas joined, and belief in the inevitability of progress is expressed by the motto: "Ad astra per aspera."[16]

California's seal unites several symbols of what in 1849 was seen as a western outpost of civilization: Minerva with a grizzly bear at her feet and in the background ships upon a mountain-rimmed bay. While the mountains signify the grandeur of nature and the ships commerce, Minerva stands for California's political birth: it did not have to go through the "probation" of being a territory first. She is also the goddess of Arts and Science and so is appropriately paired with the bear, California's symbol.[17] A goldminer at work and the word, Eureka, are references to the event that brought California the huge influx of settlers which led to its break with Spain and union with the United States as the thirty-first state, symbolized by a semi-circle of 31 stars.[18]

Classical elements of the emblem are used in the seals of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Utah. Arkansas and Utah adopted the beehive as symbols of industry, but Louisiana is the only state to use the pelican (Figure 5.). In fact, the pelican is the symbol of the state and appears on its flag as well. The first use was in 1812 when Governor William C. Claibourne first used the bird with 12 young to indicate the state's responsibilities to its citizens. During the Civil War there were two seals: that of the Confederate part of the state had the bird turned to the right and a nestful of young; Governor Hahn in the Federal section used the design much as Whitney has it, although with four young in the nest. In 1870 the number of young was changed to three, as the scientifically correct number of young a pelican will have at one time,[19] but thus also making the image exactly as it was used in Whitney's *Emblems* (London, 1586, p. 87)[20]: A Pelican, with its head turned to the left, in a nest with three young; the Pelican, following the tradition, in act of tearing its breast to feed its young."[21] In Whitney's book, the picture carries the following poem:

> The Pelican, for to reuiue her younge,
> Doth pierce her breast, and giuve them of her blood:
> Then searche your breste, and as yow hauve with tonge
> With penne proceede to doe our countrie good:
> Your zeale is great, your learning is profounde,
> Then helpe our wantes, with that you do abounde.

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The motto in Whitney is "Quod in es te, prome" (Bring forth what is in you). While the text in the seal of Louisiana is limited to the three words, "Union, Justice, Confidence" the pelican assuredly conveys the idea that the state provides for its citizens. While not as graphically depiced as the plows and farmers of some of the other states, the wealth of the waters and the fields, not to mention its oil resources in more recent times, are riches brought forth from the body of the state. Even the patriotic sentiment in the verse is echoed in the motto of the state.

When Emma Edwards Green designed the seal for the state of Idaho in 1891 she incorporated a political statement, as she herself stated, "The question of Woman Suffrage was being agitated somewhat, and as leading men and politicians agreed that Idaho would eventually give women the right to vote, and as mining was the chief industry, and the mining man the largest financial factor of the state at that time, I made the figure of the man the most prominent in the design, while that of the woman, signifying justice, as noted by the scales, liberty, as denoted by the liberty cap on the end of the spear, and equality with man as denoted by her position at his side, also signifies freedom. The pick and the shovel held by the miner, and the ledge of rock beside which he stands, as well as the pieces of ore scattered about his feet, all indicate the chief occupation of the State ... The shield between the man and the woman is emblematic of the protection they unite in giving the state." The shield also carries symbols of the state: a large fir for the timber interests, the plowman and grain for agriculture, the cornucopia for horticulture, and the elk which forms the crest for the game laws that protect the elk and the moose; the river depicts "our mighty Snake or Shoshone River," and "the star a new light in the galaxy of states (Figure 6.)."[22]

The seal of New Mexico shows the use of elements found in that of other states but with a difference. Designed in 1851, it was adopted in 1887 by the then Territory of New Mexico. The "Mexican eagle grasping a serpent in its beak, the cactus in its talons, [is] shielded by the American eagle with outspread wings, grasping arrows in its talons."[23] The Mexican eagle, from the flag of Mexico, goes back to old Aztec legend: God had commanded the Aztec to settle where they found an eagle perched on a cactus eating a snake.[24] In adding the large American eagle the suggestion of power and strength were combined with the symbolism of protector of the new territory. This territorial flag was retained when New Mexico became a state in 1912.

Originally intended as a homeland for the Indians, primarily the major Eastern tribes who were expelled from their homelands, the seal of Oklahoma incorporates their symbols around a five-pointed star whose center contains the

motto, "Labor omnia vincit" (Figure 7.). The symbols of each of the five tribes that settled the state are depicted in the five points of the star: the Cherokee's ancient seal, a seven-pointed star partially surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves; an Indian warrior standing upright with bow and shield for the Chickasaw Nation; the Creek Nation's symbol of a sheaf of wheat and a plow; the Choctaw emblem of a tomahawk, bow, and three crossed arrows, and the Seminole symbolized by a village with houses and a factory beside a lake upon which an Indian is paddling a canoe. As is clear from these emblems, the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole did not chose the weapons of the hunt or war for their symbols. The Cherokee confederation united many smaller tribes, while the Creek emphasize their farming skills. The Seminole in Florida had a thriving industry based on the riches of the Everglades. Surrounding the central star are forty-five smaller stars, the number of states in the Union when Oklahoma joined as the forty-sixth.[25] The territorial seal was retained as the central motif in the star: Columbia, representing Justice and Statehood holds her scales above an American pioneer and a Native American who are shaking hands, thus symbolizing both equal justice for both races and the friendship of the two groups of residents. Below them is the horn of plenty and the olive branch while in the background the buildings of the white man symbolize commerce and industry but the tepee of the Indian is given an equally prominent position.[26]

The last state I will comment on is Hawaii, which kept the seal it had used as a Republic upon becoming a state in 1959. A heraldic shield of the islands depicts the stripes of the Hawaiian flag in its first and fourth quarters — eight bars standing for the eight major islands, and a white ball pierced on a black staff, symbol of the ancient Hawaiian kings, in the second and third quarters. These puloulou or tabu sticks were carried before chiefs in ancient Hawaii and denoted power and authority (Figure 8.).[27] A five-pointed star is in the center on a green escutcheon, representing the 50th star in the United States flag. All these elements form an interesting union of the symbolism borrowed from the flag of the United States seen in many of the other seals also, namely that the five-pointed star, but here the red, white and blue bars also echo the stars and stripes of the American flag. The supporters of this shield are King Kamehameha I who united the islands and founded the dynasty that ruled Hawaii until it became a Republic; and Liberty holding the Hawaiian flag partly unfurled. Again, native tradition and the more usual symbols of western tradition are united. The crest is a rising sun, symbol of the birth of a new state, while below the shield a phoenix with wings outstretched

rises from flames, surrounded by taro and banana leaves and maidenhair fern. Thus the symbol of the sun and of resurrection or rebirth are joined to the staples of the Hawaiian diet and the symbol of the rain forest. The phoenix also stands for a democratic government rising from the monarchy, yet the motto comes from King Kamehameha III who made it the motto of his kingdom: "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness," or, in Hawaiian as it appears: Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono."[28]

The strength of the tradition can be seen in the way in which symbolic elements continued to be combined with sentiments — the mottoes — to express ideas. It is "a mode of thought" as Daly had indicated. Sometimes the sentiments expressed no longer seem appropriate and then the symbol can be changed; sometimes the associations of the emblem are such that later generations return to an original motif. Elements can come from western tradition, and in most instances have done so, but in some significant ones other traditions have also played a part. Pictorial representation also has been important, and in some instances a great deal of detail was included in the compass of a state seal.

Library of Congress, Washington DC

Notes

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4. Benjamin F. Shearer, *State Names, Seals, Flags, and Symbols: a Historical Guide*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987, pp. 44-45

5. Berg, p. 70

6. Berg, pp. 38-39

7. Shearer, op. cit., p. 51; *The Flag of the United States and State Flags, Seals, & Mottoes*. Washington, D.C.: United States Capitol Historical Society, 1989, p. 28.

8. Berg, p. 98

9. Shearer, 1989, p. 29.

10. Berg, pp. 103-104

11. Shearer, 1987, pp. 55-56

12. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

13. George Earlie Shankle, *State Names, Flags, Seals, Songs, Birds, Flowers, and Other Symbols*. New York: Wilson, 1941, p. 209.

14. Shearer, 1987, p. 59.

15. Shankle, p. 193

16. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

17. Berg, p. 23

18. Shearer, 1987, p. 37

19. Berg, pp. 62-63

20. Peter M. Daly (ed.), *The English Emblem Tradition I*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1988, p. 184.

21. Shankle, p. 43

22. Shearer, 1987, p. 41

23. *Ibid.*, p. 51

24. Berg, p. 100

25. Shearer, 1987, pp. 53-54

26. Berg, pp. 116-117

27. Berg, p. 42

28. Shearer, 1989, p. 11; 1987, p. 40; and Berg, pp. 41-43.

Figures

Figure 1

Figure 2

OBVERSE

Figure 4

REVERSE

Figure 3

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 8
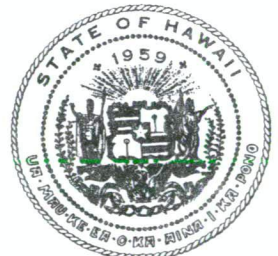
Figure 7

József András Fehér

The Tree of Life
According to C.G. Jung's Theory

The *tree of life* is a fundamental agro-lunar symbol, which expresses the unity of macrocosm (universe) and microcosm (man). According to Uno Holmberg, it is the greatest legendary creation of mankind. It can be found in Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern peoples' traditions alike with very varied forms of pictorial expression.

It is common with every depiction of the tree of life, that they are all in the center of the traditional world concept, they grow right from it. The other important traditional symbols are placed on or around them. Concerning the place value of the Tree, we can say without exaggeration, that the *tree-gestalt* is the Alpha and Omega of symbol- analysis and that it is an interdisciplinary subject matter. Now it is going to be the topic of a complex Jungist analysis.

The depictions shown below come from a book called "The Roots of Consciousness" by C. G. Jung, the discoverer of the collective subconscious. From a total number of 32 pictures in the book, I chose 16, and by changing their order, I found new possibilities for interpretation. Some of the pictures were made by sick, some others by healthy or cured patients and three of them are alchemist prints. With my lecture, I'd like to demonstrate, that the tree of life is a symbol which has a threefold message:

1. It is the symbol of the starting point of psychic development, of individualization.
2. It is the symbol of the mankind's development, of evolution.
3. It is the symbol of the integration, of contrasts, that is the target, the *coincidencia oppositorum*.

Following Jung, let's see first, which are the most common verbal associations concerning the topic of the *tree*, what we think of first, when we hear the word *tree*. Well, the following associations are the most common: growth, getting into shape both in a physical and spiritual sense, growing both from the top downwards and from the bottom upwards, protection, shade, shelter, eatable fruit,

source of life, duration, being rooted, inability to move, age, personality, death and rebirth.

I have divided the pictures into groups. The first group is called

A) *The constituent parts of the tree of life*

1. Beside the tree

Tree and bird, bird and tree usually belong together, but it is not true for this tree; and this bird. On the contrary, this bird in the right bottom corner has lost the key and is now weeping over it. Here it is the rootless modern man expressed by a bird tree — key — forgetfulness pattern.

2. Vertical and horizontal

The dynamic horizontal animal and the static vertical plant seem to be the co-ordinates of vividness, x and y. They can only be realistic together, without each other they are irrealistic. That is true for all the other pairs of contrasts as well.

3. Version and inversion

Twin trees stand on the shore of a lake. One of them grows from the bottom upwards, the other from the top downwards. How can both of them be true? Well, according to the Aristotelian logic nohow. If one of them is true (a tree), then the other must be false (not a real tree). In the drawing and in the psyche both of them are real, there's no choice of "entweder — oder", the two of them together build up the symbol. Jewish tradition e.g. knows about both of them.

4. Hanging from the tree of life

We can see the mythological *wak-wak* tree, which has human fruits. It is well known as a sacred tree with dead bodies hanging from it and with young people's heads blossoming on it in Persia, Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula as well as in India. The source of life and the source of death is very same. Hanging is such a conservative and ancient method of suicide.

5. Riding on the tree of death

This Buddhist tree of death is partly the opposite of the previous tree of life. The previous one could be characterized by growth, while this one is stiff and motionless like a statue. It has bare branches on seven levels with six figures sitting on each level. Maybe the picture wants to say, that it is possible not only

to live, but also to die on different levels. It is remarkable, that these figures are not hanging from the tree, but they are riding on their deaths, thus becoming eternal.

B) Trees of life and the elements

6. Earth in the tree

Tradition knows about four elements, the first of which (from the bottom upwards) is the *earth*. All the trees grow from it, this is where they are rooted. Well, this tree is earthy, massive, heavy, with a tendency to grow downwards. Its trunk is especially well-developed (thick) and so are its branches, its roots must be huge, too. It is under the influence of the earth.

7. Water in the tree

Here we can see the second element depicted as a tree. Slim as a fountain, it springs out of water, above the water level (which is below naturally). The previous tree did not succeed in growing above the earth so much as this one succeeded in growing above the water. In the original color picture its branches are also decorated with flaming red flowers.

8. Fire in the tree

We have arrived at the third element, the *fire*, which also has a corresponding tree image, which is a fire-tree with seven branches. Its branches are formed in flames, which illuminate the inside of a hole, a cellar or a cave. Anyway, it's got a *menorah*-shape, which is known from Jewish mythology. It symbolizes the seven planets and it originates from Mesopotamia

9. Air in the tree

As we can see, the tree can integrate all the four elements. This one here happens to integrate the fourth. It is a little airy arbor aurea with ripe, golden leaves falling from it on the original picture. Supported by its branches its only fruit, the Sun can be seen. But if its fruit is the Sun, then it must originate from above, from the Sun . itself, too. This tree has reached its target: it managed to grow up from the bottom, it could reach the air. (Compare it with first massive

tree.) Lapis ex quator elementis compositus. (The philosopher's stone must be made of the four elements.)

C/ *The tree and man's development*

10. Tree guarding treasure

Every tree hides an immanent treasure. All of them do; especially under the ground among or inside its roots. What? First of all, liveliness, *vitality*. This treasure belongs to those who can find it, who are capable of noticing it. As the old alchemists say: "The way it is outside, it is inside".

11. Hero looking for treasure

One must search for the treasure, and the one who does it with enough strength and determination is a hero. Young hero enters from the right followed by a little dragon as by a slavish spirit. Young hero touches the tree, but it seems, he does it a bit too
early, for as an answer, flame shoots up from the tree. The root of the tree resembles an old man's hand. It is clutching the treasure box. Conflict of generations: "Give me the money!" — "No, I won't." It is not the same to take it away and to take it over.

12. Woman in the tree

The hero has got a partner too, but she is not always a heroine. This woman is still in the tree: she is still preoccupied with herself, with her own petty life. She enjoys being inside, being immanent too much. The only thing she can think of is the tree and domestic animals. She is childish, she is not independent. She hasn't come out of, and down the tree, out of the woods, although a snake is bending to her ear as if whispering: "What are you waiting there for? Come on, leave the tree!"

13. The independent woman

She is not over-involved with vegetation as the previous woman is. She has placed herself in the middle, she is put in the center of the world, which is her adequate place. It is not mere chance, that she is the one who's placed there. She is the female ' equivalent of the young hero. Four animals and plants are surrounding her from the top, from the bottom, from the left and from the right.

She is in harmony with herself and the nature, but she still has a lot to do. She isn't in an easy situation.

14. Tree curving dog

It is a revealing movement, a symptomatic bending over. What does it mean? It means, that the person who drew it, is not straight, is not healthy, he/she is sick. He/she must be in a physical and psychological trouble, and is now fighting it. He/she is trying to straighten again or reaching back to the ground to gain strength from it. There is an interesting saying in Hungarian, which suits here: "Should I be incurved like this, if what I am saying is not true".

15. The development of a woman

It is an alchemist print. It depicts Eve, who is the female aspect of the Prima Materia. How can lead turn to gold, how can the woman develop from her static, vegetative state of being tied to the tree into the dynamic, pneumatic state of getting free from the tree. The picture shows seven steps of the transformation (the unity of seven!). The woman's development starts from being inside the tree and finishes with getting outside of the tree, that is from immanence to transcendence. At the end of her development, she meets the royal man (crown) with lightening and sword in his hands.

16. Man's development

It is also an alchemist print. It depicts Adam, Eve's man. Three stages can be seen here: confrontation — getting injured — blossoming. Until there's no confrontation there's no injure, and the same way, until there's no injure, there's no blossoming. Adam lying horizontally on the ground confronts with celestial Eve (Moon). Above him on the left there's a hand and on the right there's the Moon. Mercury's arrow hits him in the chest on the right. His phallus starts to grow as a tree of life and starts to seed. Conjunction, the encounter of heaven and earth is the result of meeting powers which perform their effect from up downwards and from down upwards. According to Jung's philosophy all this happens on the Ego — Selbst axis. This axis is demonstrated by the sixteen pictures I chose.

I have to emphasize, that it was not my purpose to analyse single pictures of trees, but much rather to present a series of pictures which depict man's psychic

contents and to follow the changes of man — tree — picture. That is in fact the examination of human evolution.

It seems, that — in harmony with the research of H. Silberer, C.G. Jung, M. Eliade and some others — alchemists themselves meant alchemical operations the same way and it was not at all their purpose to produce real gold (aurum vulgi), but it was to model the human psychic states and processes and to develope it and make it more and more perfect ad infinitum (the perfect human being).

According to the interpretation of alchemistry above, the Jungist complex psychology came to the same conclusions as real, serious alchemists did, which conclusions are worth summing up shortly. Depictions of trees seem to be a good basis for doing so.

Tree-gestalt is an indispensable aid of self-expression and self-development for those people of all ages who look for their own souls. If we do not want our present knowledge about the psyche to remain sterile and abstract, beside the more precise the better words we need adequate, the more lively the better pictures, too.

So that mankind should not lose its deepness and should not get lost in chaos, in nigredo, it is necessary to bring basic symbols up from the unconscious. We need a symbol which bares the notion of gradual growing and coming up by nature. The basic condition of it is man's positive attitude to his dreams, memories, imagination, which can bring about the tree diagram into which one can easily project his/her psychic contents, which are the following:

Those parts of the tree pictures which are above the surface (trunk, branch, leaves) symbolize the conscious and those which are under the ground (roots), symbolize the unconscious.

The left side of the tree is in connection with the mother, thus it is female, while the right side is in connection with the father and is male (alchemical tradition differentiates between a tree of Sun+ and a tree of Moon-). A distorted, broken, hollow tree or one which leans left or right, which deviates, is always a sign of psychic problems (complexes).

Where he/she places himself/herself, that is, his/her tree in the sheet, whether it is in the corner, at the side, or in the middle, how big and proportional his/her tree is, all these are always characteristic of the picture he/she makes about himself/herself and his/her social role he/she would like to have.

Experience proves, that trees are easy to personify. There are some people, who draw faces to their trees, which can be masculine or feminine character. This way, tree pictures always include man's relation to the woman inside (anima) with

male drawers, and with female drawers it includes woman's relation to the masculine picture inside (animus).

Finally, beyond the phases of the role personality and the anima-animus, the contrast of the real and false self, ego and Selbst also appears in the tree pictures. There are closed, more closed and open, more open tree depictions, there are ones which only depict themselves (closed systems e. g. branches), and there are some other kinds which are open, inspiring systems having artistic and/or sacred value.

C.G. Jung calls the process in which man's inborn, eternal potential self developes, becomes conscious and mature, individualization. It is the final purpose of every important alchemical and psychological dream-imagination series. Its stages are the following:

1. *Beside the tree*: A negative relation to ourselves, impotent state, no getting inside the tree.

2. *Vertical and horizontal*: Growing from down upwards becomes conscious, content of the unconscious come up.

3. *Inversion*: What is underground is the same as what is above the ground. Contents of the conscious and the unconscious change places mutually in harmony.

4. *Hanging from the tree of life*: The limits of life driven by instincts.

5. *Riding on the tree of death*: Life has a higher meaning — it is more than itself.

6. *Earth in the tree:* The imaginative target is solid.

7. *Water in the tree*: The imaginative target is dissolved.

8. *Fire in the tree*: The imaginative target is incandescent.

9. *Air in the tree*: The imaginative target is floating.

10. *Tree guarding treasure*: The treasure of life is hidden in the unconscious.

11. *Hero looking for treasure*: The one that is looking for treasure is determined and resolute.

12. *Woman in the tree*: Anima as an integrated part of life.

13. *The independent woman*: Anima should not be mixed up with what she seems.

14. *Tree curving down*: The opposite of connecting up and down — illness.

15. *The development of a woman*: Getting out of immanency.
16. *Man's development*: Getting into immanency.

That is *arbor philosophica*.

Jungist Association "Tree of Life", Budapest

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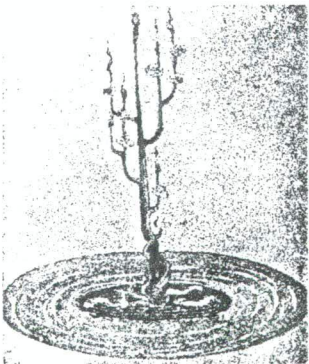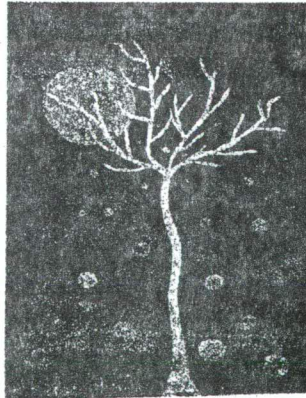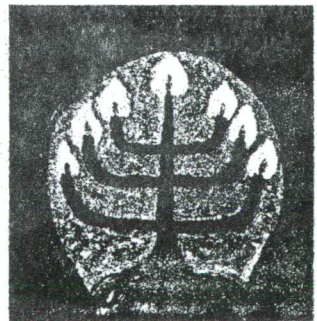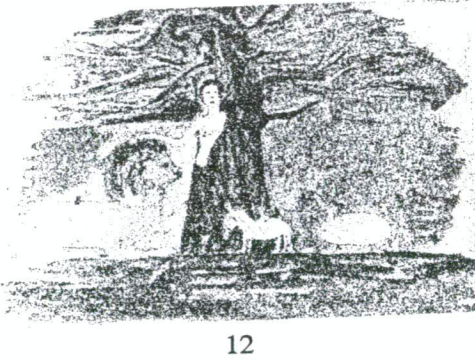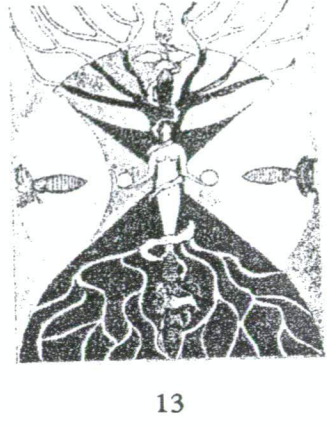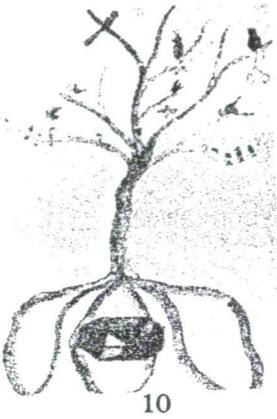
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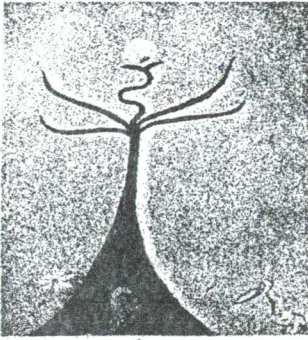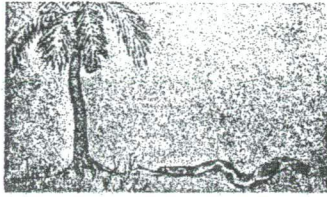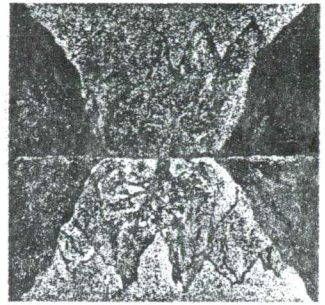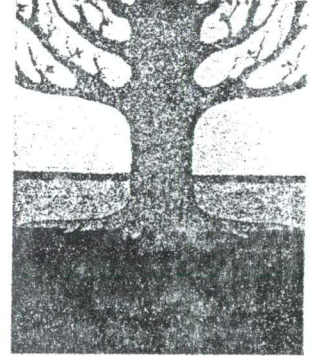
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David Graham

Personal Computers and Iconography:
Issues and Lessons Arising
from the Macintosh Emblem Project

In assessing the potential or actual value of any computer-assisted research project in the humanities, I believe we must be more than usually vigilant in the way we ask three crucial questions, which are: How much has it cost so far, and how much more is it likely to cost in future? What new benefits does it promise to confer on scholars which would justify the cost of the project? Are scholars in general likely to participate in the project or to benefit from it, or is it more likely to remain the property of a coterie of technocratic initiates? The answers to these questions may not always be to the liking of those of us who advocate applying computer technology to humanities research, but the fact that they can be asked at all is in itself significant: only a few years ago the cost of computer technology was such as to prohibit its use entirely in our field, and the difficulty of using computers was daunting to all but a few enthusiasts. I believe that my own experience creating software for emblem study shows that the personal computer and iconographic research are made to go together, and that even a single scholar can produce software of high quality. My work has left me convinced that only when a comprehensive hypertextual database has been created and made widely available through our collective efforts will emblem studies be able to attain full maturity.

My emblem database software, as I use it, now consists of half-a-dozen HyperCard stacks running on a Macintosh PowerBook 170 computer. HyperCard is simply a form of computer software which offers great flexibility in mixing text and graphics on the same computer screen, so that the pictorial and textual codes which characterize emblem books can readily be displayed simultaneously. A HyperCard 'stack' can be thought of as something akin to a drawerful of file cards which can be displayed on the computer screen in any sequence. In addition to the display of text and pictures, however, the software — and this is what has consumed most of my time with the project — offers users a number of additional features: the ability to conduct visual or textual searches, to make notes on individual emblems or on groups of emblems, to assign emblems to thematic groups of their own devising, to create reciprocal links between emblems, to

collect copies of emblems to a separate stack, to create an index of interesting words in the text of an emblem book, to export their notes, or the emblem texts, or the index, or the table of contents of any stack to a computer text file suitable for use in a word processing program, and so on.

I learned early on that cost is the single biggest drawback to computer-assisted research projects conducted by individuals. When I first began to work some five years ago on a computer-assisted visual database of emblem books, I had no inkling that something which I had imagined primarily as a way to save myself time and effort would in the end exact from me not only far more of those precious commodities than I could well afford but more money than I had thought possible. I little dreamed at that time of the effects which a steady diet of intensive computer-assisted research could have on a scholar's health, career or family relationships. I had no notion at all of how profoundly frustrating it can be to develop computer software on one's own with no prior experience.

There is no escaping the fact that computer-assisted research is first and foremost a radically different financial proposition from a visit to the library with pencil and paper. Once involved in computer-assisted research, one needs and wants to acquire ever-better computer hardware, of course, but buying a computer is only the beginning: there are very substantial expenditures involved in peripheral equipment, and computer software of various kinds has to be purchased and kept up to date. Iconographic work is especially costly: a scanner is a necessity, and software tools have to include suitable graphics capabilities. Use of an existing computer-assisted project developed by someone else is of course less financially burdensome, but in the final analysis, it is probably going to be difficult for most scholars to support development of a new computer-assisted project unless they are independently wealthy or can attract significant support in the form of research grants or private sector funding.

The greatest cost for most scholars who embark on development of a computer-assisted research project, however, will surely be the drain on their time. Most humanities scholars have little or no research funding even to hire a student to enter texts into the computer, let alone to engage a professional programmer. Scholars who become interested in computer-assisted research soon find in any event that very few computer professionals are interested in or adept at the kinds of things scholars in the humanities want to accomplish, and so they either abandon their projects or drift into developing their own software. As a result, they begin to invest very large quantities of their time in software development: learning one or more programming languages; mastering a number of different kinds of

computers and different software; entering texts into a computer, or scanning pictures, or training a graduate research assistant to perform those chores. All these tasks can eat into one's time to a huge extent, which can have serious implications for the careers of those scholars who are 'bitten by the computer bug'. I am sure we all know someone of whom it has been said, "What a shame about Professor X! He could have been a first-rate scholar, but he got sidetracked into computers and now he spends all his time fiddling with hardware instead of working on his research."

Not only can tinkering with hardware become a compulsive habit for some, but the temptation to write software is seductive. Programming is often more immediately satisfying and intellectually less taxing than writing scholarly articles, since the work itself, while difficult and complex at times, is far less abstract than scholarly research, and a finished computer program can be put into operation at once, whereas an article can take months or even years to get into print. The result, for many scholars, is to succumb to the urge to devote ever-increasing quantities of time to their programming.

Most scholars who have not tackled computer programming will have little or no conception of just how much time it can consume. The urge to tinker and to perfect is part of the problem, but simply managing to write software that works as intended can be an enormously time-consuming and frustrating process. The authors of a 1992 article in *Scientific American* offer a cogent summary of many reasons why bug-free software is in practice impossible to write (Littlewood and Strigini). Among the factors they adduce is one which will be familiar to anyone who has tried to write software, which is that merely correcting one bug can frequently introduce new and potentially more serious ones which will take even more time to locate and fix. I recently spent the better part of two days attempting to locate, understand and deal with a software fault in my emblem software which turned out to be caused by an undocumented problem in a commercial software product, as I eventually discovered when I called the manufacturer. This problem was located by a colleague who was testing my software, and had never cropped up before simply because the circumstances which caused it to appear could not occur on my own computer. In attempting to cure the problem, I managed to make some changes to the software which interfered with features which until then had worked perfectly, necessitating even more work to fix these subsidiary problems. Needless to say, the time consumed by dealing with the problem would have been more profitably spent on actually thinking about and writing about emblem books,

and I would have been happy as well not to have to make an expensive phone call to California. This is merely one very small example of something which happens constantly to any scholar involved in work of this sort. The computer, in short, can be a huge drain on your time, rather than a labor-saving device.

While spending a great deal of time programming is probably a less harmful addiction than spending large quantities of one's disposable income on, say, gambling at the racetrack, or illegal drugs, time expended on software creation must be taken from something else. Normally it will be drawn from research time which could have been spent thinking, reading or writing: this, as I have just said, is not only frustrating and irritating, but hazardous to one's career. There is a danger, however, that time needed for writing software will simply be skimmed from time one might otherwise have spent with one's family or friends. How many spouses of scholars who are also involved in humanities computing have asked "Aren't you ever going to come to bed, dear?" over and over only to hear the unvarying reply, "I'm just going to get rid of this one last bug...". There is always, alas, "one last bug" to deal with, and insisting on dealing with it at all costs can have disastrous results on one's private life.

There can be costs to one's health, as well. After a number of years spent staring fixedly into a computer screen, I am uncomfortably aware that my eyesight, never first-rate, is now worse than it was. How much of that deterioration is simply the inevitable result of ageing, and how much can be attributed to computer use, I do not know; but the possibility must be considered that computers have caused at least some of it. Other strains and stresses on one's physical well-being are certainly attributable to too much computer use: neck and back pain from long hours spent at a cramped keyboard, carpal tunnel syndrome or other less acute but still bothersome hand and wrist pain from too much typing or too much repeated mouse use, for example. To put it bluntly, too much computer use is almost certainly a very bad thing for one's health.

Having painted this gloomy picture, however, I hasten to add that I am still a convinced and fervent devotee of computer-assisted humanities research. Many if not all of the costs which I have described can be greatly curtailed by collaborative work, and there is no denying that the computer has brought and will bring to scholars in our field powers and abilities whose nature we can still only partially appreciate. Few of even the most traditionally minded scholars in the humanities who have used word processors would be willing to return to a typewriter. What computers have not yet meant for most of us, though, is a change in the ways in which we actually do things, and in the ways in which we actually

look at our work: in other words, the introduction of the computer into the lives of scholars in the humanities has not altered our research paradigm in any fundamental way. Most scholars in the humanities still unabashedly use their computers as a kind of marvelous and strangely powerful typewriter: its screen displays text which has been entered and can be edited, and that is all. Until we can free ourselves from the constrictive limits imposed by this "typewriter metaphor", the use of computers in our work will be very far indeed from achieving the kinds of results which it ought to achieve.

One advantage of computer-assisted textual study is simply the ease with which one's results can be checked by other scholars. Once a text is entered into the computer and checked for accuracy, it can be disseminated very easily and cheaply to all interested scholars in the same area. The signal advantage of such a procedure is that everyone will be talking about the same thing — if necessary, interesting textual variants can readily be incorporated into the corpus, which remains 'fixed' and stable in a sense that traditional corpora for literary study rarely if ever are, especially when one is working on old books.

In the case of iconographic studies, where access to the visual image is paramount, the computer offers advantages which are similar to those enjoyed by textual scholars: the ability to store and search large quantities of material very quickly, for example. There are certain difficulties connected with image storage in computers, though, which make computer use for iconographic study rather a different proposition: in particular, the amount of storage space required for large images, especially those in color, has made the use of large numbers of images impractical for scholars equipped only with a personal computer, which until recently were not powerful enough in any event to manipulate large color images satisfactorily. This roadblock is rapidly disappearing, however, as computers become ever more powerful and as the cost of disk space (whether magnetic, optical or CD-ROM) continues to dwindle.

My enthusiasm for computer-assisted research has not led me to believe, however, that any computerized database will in the short or medium term be viewed by many of us as a satisfactory alternative to consultation of the original material, or even as an acceptable substitute for a good photographic reproduction. There are a number of reasons why this should be so. To begin with, the resolution of even the best computer screens is currently more than an order of magnitude less than that of a good printed or photographic reproduction: for this reason alone, even the most painstaking computerized reproduction of visual

material will give results which would be entirely unsatisfactory for many purposes. As well, the dimensions of most computer screens preclude reproduction of many original visual artifacts in anything approaching their original dimensions, though the ability of the computer to enlarge visual material at will does allow us to present some very small originals at a size larger than life, so to speak. Bibliographers and conservators, whose raw material is of necessity the physical object, whether book or picture, will almost certainly find a computerized reproduction essentially useless. In the case of material originally in color, it must be said that computerized reproductions, even in the case of machines able to reproduce 24-bit color (in other words over 16,000,000 color gradations in all), simply cannot accurately duplicate the original hues. This is an intrinsic problem with any reproduction process which relies on transmitted rather than reflected light, but it is greatly exacerbated in the case of computers by the fact that no two manufacturers use exactly the same processes and materials, and that no two screens from the same manufacturer are likely to have exactly the same color calibration.

Nonetheless, these technical drawbacks are not outweighed, in my view, by the extraordinary advantages to be derived from a very large visual database; let us suppose, then, that we decide to go ahead with a large-scale collective project. Before we actually set out to create our new database, we face a number of fundamental and crucial decisions. The first question to be posed by many scholars is that of what corpus will be selected for reproduction. In the case of much purely iconographic material, the corpus is relatively self-selecting in the sense that each object is truly unique in a very real way. In the case of books, though, the situation is very different. Emblem scholars, while in agreement that many books formerly identified as emblem books are not in fact emblem books, have been unable to reach consensus on the exact composition of the emblem corpus. It now seems clear that many books contain emblematic material without being actual collections of emblems; is it worthwhile or indeed interesting to reproduce an entire book merely to show the context of the few scattered emblems or fragments of emblematic material it may contain? Do we need to reproduce every edition of Alciato's emblems? Most scholars would probably say we do. Do we need to reproduce every translation as well? Every edition of every translation? Every state of every edition? Every copy of every state of every edition? Surely not, for not only will the sheer volume of such material overwhelm all but the largest computer disks for some time to come, but the usefulness of exhaustive reproduction is wholly insufficient to justify it. In practice, then, we are likely to find that in many

cases the corpus to be selected for inclusion even in the most comprehensive project is likely to have its boundaries delineated by material whose interest only marginally justifies the cost and effort required to include it; in other words, the corpus is almost certain to be self-limiting.

I believe for this reason that the most fundamental decision faced by iconographic scholars, and one which has to be faced regardless of whether computers are to be used in the work, is that concerning the kind of information which is to recorded: whether the data base, in other words, will contain reproductions of the raw material itself (whether visual or textual) or merely information about the raw material. In other words, scholars have constantly to decide whether they require a copy of the original material to be always available, or whether they can content themselves with a more or less exhaustive textual description or summary of the data to serve as an aide-mémoire. Scholars who opt for the former solution often face very onerous expenditures for duplication and reproduction of material by photographic, microphotographic or xerographic means. Duplicated material is in any event frequently bulky to transport and to store and cumbersome to consult. The use of a computer data base once again can obviate many of these difficulties: once the material has been scanned and stored on disk, it is permanently available for consultation, and can also very readily be indexed in order to facilitate localization of a given image within seconds. Scholars working in all areas of the humanities now face a common dilemma, which is whether or not to attempt to acquire and maintain a fully digitized version of whatever raw material is the object of their research: our colleagues who work on novels, for instance, have for some time been able readily to have the full text of their favorite author's works continuously available for computer analysis, if they can afford the time and money needed to enter and check the texts and to purchase the software needed to perform textual analysis. Scholars working with visual material are at last in a similar position, though as recently as a few years ago, it would quite simply have been wildly impractical, for both technological and financial reasons, even to suggest something like a comprehensive visual data base of emblem books, for example.

In connection with this question, nothing has occurred to alter my original opinion of computer data bases of emblem book and other visual material: I still strongly believe that a computerized visual data base rather than a textual description, however complete, will provide scholars with a far more satisfactory research tool. As scholars working on the *Index Emblematicus* and the *Index of*

Christian Art have found, no two individuals will describe the same image in the same way, and two descriptions separated in time will differ as well, because of changes in method, in descriptive vocabulary and in perceptions of visual material. It therefore makes far more sense, whenever possible, to furnish the visual material itself to scholars.

If we are to reproduce pictorial material which now exists in book form (rather than as isolated images, as in the case of the *Index of Christian Art*, say), a further choice immediately presents itself. We must decide whether we wish to reproduce the information in book form or to fragment it, whether to group images by artist, by theme, by period or in some other way. The latter solution will be recognizable as that adopted by Henckel and Schöne in their monumental printed compendium of European emblems; the former is the one I chose in my own work. There are, I believe, very good reasons not to fragment our visual material any more than we need to, and once again the speed of the computer makes it unnecessary to do so, always provided that the software used allows us to sort and present the material as we choose, rather than being limited to a single form of presentation. This is why my emblem stacks include the ability to create a so-called 'working stack', in which users can group copies of emblems selected from any book in the collection.

It will be now be apparent that I am a firm believer in reproduction of the material in something approaching its original form as closely as possible. Given that this is so, one might reasonably wonder whether we might not simply scan our chosen corpus in its entirety and reproduce it as it is, to create something like the computerized analogue of a microfilm. There are good reasons not to content ourselves with such a passive and static data base, however. One obvious one is that some visual material includes textual data. This is the case for emblem books, but it is also true of many other kinds of iconographic material: Byzantine sacred iconography is an obvious case in point. Scanned text, as far as the computer is concerned, is not text but part of the image unless it has been converted to text by text-recognition software, and therefore it offers none of the advantages of computer text: it cannot be indexed, searched, compiled as a text file, exported to a word-processing program or another database, exchanged with other scholars and so on. Here again I think the choice is clear: we must have access to the texts themselves in order to take advantage of the many possibilities which the computer affords: this in turn means that the texts must by entered into the computer as text, usually by typing them because they are not often readable by text recognition

software; as we have seen, this in turn entails either the expenditure of a large amount of precious time, or the hiring of an assistant for secretarial purposes.

What features might the ideal computerized iconographic data base offer its users? Aside from the obvious benefits of integral visual and textual reproduction, and in addition to certain obvious gains in speed, memory and power, computers are beginning to offer scholars advantages previously unthinkable. Imagine, for example, a computerized edition of Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens*, that exquisite book, which would enable scholars not only to see color reproductions of the illustrations, not only to read and search the text and its translation into the language of their choice, but to hear for themselves the very melodies whose score Maier includes! There is no technological reason why such an edition could not easily be prepared now, and the fact that we can have access to dynamic versions of the documents which interest us, I think, means that we should not be satisfied with a static visual database. A hypermedia visual database, offering the capability to link pictures one to another, to make notes and associate them with images, to use the computer to gather together interesting groups of images for deeper study, to perform keyword searches on the images according to criteria which we ourselves specify: all these things are an absolute requirement in any future undertaking of this sort.

A number of subsidiary issues of a practical nature must also be treated in any consideration of a scholarly visual database project. Just as I have argued that any future visual database should be conceived first and foremost as dynamic and hypertextual, I would also plead at each stage of the process in favor of making any such database accessible in whole or in part to as many interested scholars as possible: in other words, it should not be considered something which only an institution would purchase and use. This has a number of consequences which are far from trivial. It means, for instance, that the cost must be kept reasonable, or individuals simply will not purchase it; this almost certainly imposes a modular design. It means that the software must be simple to operate, or even individuals who purchase it simply will not use it. It means that the software must run on readily available, reasonably priced computer hardware, and not on vastly expensive workstations. In practice, then, I think we should be thinking in terms of collections to be distributed on CD-ROM or optical disks, using software which will run on PCs and Macintoshes with a minimum of conversion.

I strongly believe, on the basis of my own experience, that intelligently conceived and implemented hypermedia visual databases have the potential to

revolutionize the study of iconographic material. For that potential to be fully realized, however, it is imperative not only that scholars with experience and ability in computer-assisted visual studies collaborate with one another to design the most useful research tools possible, but that they take into account the talents and wishes of colleagues who before now have shown little or no interest in computer-assisted research. Any database which goes unused is *ipso facto* useless — let us do our best to ensure that we create not just computerized research tools, but accessible and standard reference works which no scholar would dream of being without.

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